

THE  
YORKSHIRE  
ARCHAEOLOGICAL  
JOURNAL

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF  
THE COUNCIL

OF THE

**Yorkshire Archaeological Society**

VOL. XLI

*(ISSUED TO MEMBERS ONLY)*

PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY BY  
THE WEST YORKSHIRE PRINTING CO. LIMITED, WAKEFIELD,  
MCMLXVI





## PREFACE

Volume XLI covers the published parts of the *Journal* for the years 1963 (Part 161), 1964 (Part 162), 1965 (Part 163), and 1966 (Part 164). This volume will rank as an historic one in that it is likely to be the last in the present format which goes back to the very first issue of the Society's publications in 1870. The new format has not been finally decided upon by the Council at the time of writing but it will certainly be larger than the present one.

This is the third complete volume (eleven parts) edited by the present editor covering a span of eleven years. May I again extend my thanks to the Council, to the members of the Advisory Editorial Panel, the members of the Society and to the various contributors for their tolerance, encouragement and help. I apologise for the late publication of the last part of the volume.

The index to this volume has been compiled by Mr. Harold Richardson and Mrs. J. T. Brighton, both of York. All who will have occasion to refer to this volume will be indebted to them for the meticulous care with which they have performed this task.

LESLIE P. WENHAM, *Hon. Editor.*

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MCMLXIII

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THE  
**Yorkshire Archaeological Journal**  
YORKSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL REGISTER  
1962

This register is intended as an annual record of casual finds with brief notes of excavations throughout Yorkshire. Such a register has an obvious usefulness to archaeologists and local research workers on whose goodwill the compiler is dependent for its completeness and accuracy. He wishes to thank those who have contributed. They are listed below and their names appear in *italics* at the end of each entry.

Work is not finished on some of these sites; in some cases further excavation is planned, in others systematic watching or fieldwork is in progress. It is hoped that these notices of discoveries will stimulate an enthusiasm for fieldwork, but anyone so encouraged would do well first to consult his local museum or research group or, in case of sites listed below, the named contributor. There is too much work to be done to afford the luxury of duplicated effort.

There are some obvious gaps in the list. It is hoped that the publication of this first register will be its own advertisement and lead to greater completeness next year. Delayed entries for 1962, entries for 1963, and suggestions for improving the usefulness of the register should be sent to H. G. Ramm, at R.C.H.M., 23 High Petergate, York.

Sites are listed under the names of the parish or nearest village in alphabetical order. The Riding is indicated by the initials E.R., N.R., or W.R., and a map reference is given to the national grid. To facilitate reference an index by periods follows.

*Stone and Bronze Ages:*

Blubberhouses, Boltby, Bradfield, Bridlington, Cumberworth, Denby, Dunford, Ecclesfield, East Heslerton, Ferrybridge, Flasby, Foston, Great Ayton, Helperby, Holmfirth, Langsett, Lindrick, Rudston, Sneaton, Snilesworth, Spofforth, Stainburn, Stirton, Styrrup, Suffield-cum-Everley, Swinton, Wickersley, Woolley, Wortley and Wykeham.

*Iron Age:*

Askwith, Bainbridge, Bradfield, Huggate, Hull, Kildale, Kilnsea, Levisham, Meltham, Millington, Sheffield, Spofforth, Stirton, and Westerdale.

*Roman:*

Acaster Malbis, Appleton-le-Moors, Bainbridge, Brantingham, Brough, Dinnington, Drax, Egton, Goldsborough, Hemmingborough, Hull, Hutton-le-Hole, Ilkley, Kilnsea, Rothwell, Rudston, Sancton, Seamer, Sheffield, Sinnington, Slack, Spaunton, Tadcaster, Warmsworth, and York.

*Post-Roman and pre-Norman:*

Aberford, Flamborough, North Elmsall, Seamer, and York.

*Mediaeval:*

Barwick-in-Elmet, Beverley, Flasby, Goldsborough, Hutton Mulgrave, Kirby-moorside, Millington, North Cowton, Pontefract, Scarborough, Swine, and Upper Heaton.

*Post-Mediaeval:*

Catcliffe, Easedike, East Ayton, and Pontefract.

*Unclassified:*

Bewerley, and Grassington.

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 G. F. Willmot, Keeper, Yorkshire Museum, York.

*Aberford, W.R.*

SE.43603783. Aberford Dyke. The dyke was sectioned by M. Thackrah, during the winter 1961-2 where crossed by the new Aberford by-pass, and the section recorded by R.C.H.M. The bank, here, had been surmounted by a timber palisade and had always had a sloping face without stone revetment. The apparent gap now occupied by the by-pass was not an original entrance. *R.C.H.M.*

*Acaster Malbis, W.R.*

SE.592457. Roman imperial coin not yet identified; surface find by Mrs. J. Wadman, in whose possession the coin now is. *M. Thackrah.*

*Appleton-le-Moors, N.R.*

SE.736880. Roman coin found by J. and R. Swales of Lastingham whilst excavating for a septic tank behind the cottage lately occupied by C. Turner, on the N.E. side of the village street below the church, April 1962. The coin is now in the possession of Mr. Bert Frank, Lastingham Museum. It was found at a depth of 2½ ft. in sandy soil. R. H. Hayes examined the pit and



noticed scraps of grey ware (?Roman) pottery and thin slabs of limestone at this depth.

Obv: IMP GORDIANVS PIVS FEL (?) AVG head of emperor R.

Rev: LAETITIA AVG.M. . . (or N. . .) Laetitia (left) holding wreath and staff R.

Condition fairly good. A.D. 238-44 R. H. Hayes.

### *Askwith, W.R.*

SE.176513. Snowden Carr. A group of earthworks surveyed by J. Barrett. A large 'D' shaped enclosure 180 by 150 ft. with surrounding ditch and bank and traces of internal structures, lies to east of two smaller enclosures at respectively SE.178513 and 177514. S. and W. of the enclosures a linear bank and ditch 12-15 ft. crest to crest, 4-5 ft. deep runs in a wide curve. Two groups of small cairns lie one to the S. of this bank and ditch and the other N. and E. of it, a more scattered group immediately W. of the enclosures. A neolithic flint site has been reported in the area and the 'Tree of Life' stone lies S. of the main enclosure. J. Barrett.

### *Bainbridge, N.R.*

(1) SD.944877. S.W. slope of Addlebrough. Iron age or Romano-British native settlement, hut circles and enclosures surveyed by J. Barrett. J. Barrett.

(2) SD.937902. Roman Fort. Annual excavation by the department of Latin, Leeds University, Summer 1962, gave additional information on the Severan extension of the fort (Leeds Phil. and Lit. Soc., *Proceedings*, ix, 110ff.). A granary and a building with a hypocaust system, perhaps a bath house, were shown to belong to the Severan phase. A notable find was a lead seal of Coh. II Asturum. B. R. Hartley.

### *Barwick-in-Elmet, W.R.*

SE.400369. Richmond Field. Human remains exposed July 1962 on building site by J. Roberts. Two male adults, one in stone coffin (probably 12th century), the other in grave without any associated finds. C. V. Bellamy.

### *Beverley, E.R.*

TA.038394. Site of Dominican Friary (part), bounded by Eastgate and Friars lane, excavated 1960-2 for M.O.W. by K. A. Macmahon and G. D. Lloyd. The position of the church was established and its relationship to the claustral area. The finds included mediaeval pottery etc. and miscellanea.

K. A. Macmahon.

### *Bewerley, W.R.*

SE.112638. Greenhow Hill. Rectangular earthwork. Trial trenches were cut across the ditches, which were cut into the bed-rock. Some stones formed the bank at one point. No finds were earlier than the 17th century but this was not conclusive. Pateley Bridge extra-mural class, April/May 1962.

C. V. Bellamy.

### *Blubberhouses, W.R.*

SE.156542. Stone axe, found on line of Roman road over Blubberhouse Moor, found June 1962 by M. T. Pollard and Ann Sharp; macroscopic identification by J. Davies as group IX porcellanite from Tievebulliagh, N. Ireland. Harrogate Museum. Mrs. C. E. Hartley.

### *Boltby, N.R.*

Near Boltby Scar, Hambledon Moor. Quantities of Neolithic pottery found by T. Lord (Settle), Stickle Fell axe and pieces of jet.

### *Bradfield, W.R.*

(1) SK.194994. Surface finds at Mickledene Edge by E. E. Rayner, Barnsley. Mesolithic type flint flakes, in possession of finder. G. D. Lewis.

(2) SK.27268759. Found on wall of Ronksley Hall Farm by A. H. Henderson. Upper stone of a Beehive quern. In Sheffield City Museum. G. D. Lewis.

*Brantingham, E.R.*

SE.932288. Cockle Pits. Roman Villa, excavated Oct. 1962 by I. M. Stead. 4th century mosaic pavement, 38 by 24 ft., uncovered and parts removed to Hull Museums. *I. M. Stead.*

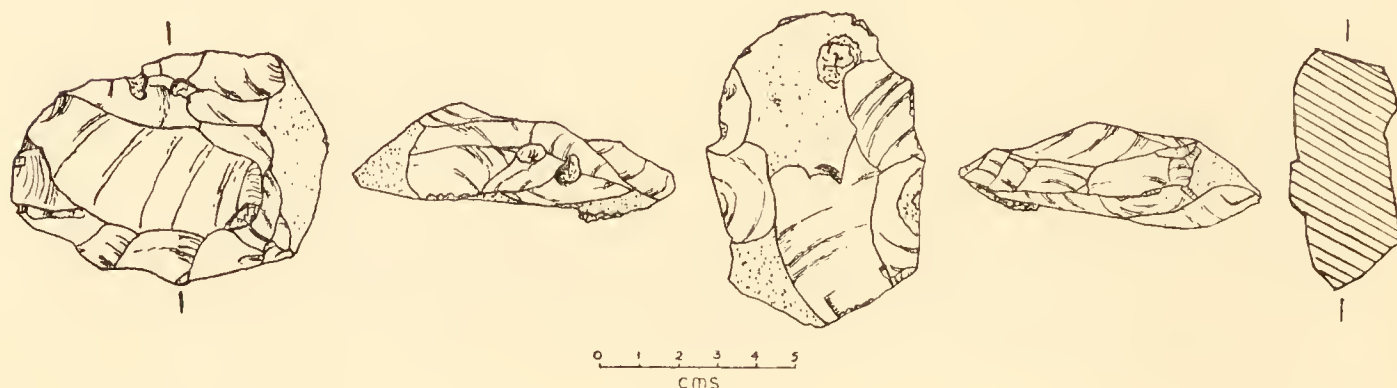


FIG. 1.  
Flint tortoise core found at Sewerby, Bridlington.

*Bridlington, E.R.*

TA.203687. Sewerby. A middle-Palaeolithic flint tortoise core found on the surface near the new Sewerby steps, about 100 yards E. of the pre-glacial cliff, probably disturbed by recent bull-dozing. It is 82 by 63 by 24 mm., stained orange and yellow, mottled in parts dark green, recently chipped in places to reveal grey and brown flint. There are cortex remains on both back and front. Five shallow flakes have been struck off the ventral side and a series of steep flakes struck off three sides of the dorsal surface, and finally a larger flake has been struck along the horizontal plane across the prepared surface. Identified by T. G. Manby and P. Mellars (Cambridge) by the flaking technique and iron staining. Compare middle-Palaeolithic flints found 1930, Kelsey Hill, Burstwick E.R. (Prehist. Soc. E. Anglia, *Proceedings*, vi (1930), 231-2). *J. R. Earnshaw via T. C. Manby. (fig. 1.)*

*Brough, E.R.*

- (1) SE.93752669. Two stone-set floors found in a foundation trench with 4th century Romano-British pottery lying on the upper, now in Hull Museums. *Hull Museums.*
- (2) SE.93932655. Four walls of a small town house found in the back garden of 5 Grassdale Park; 4 internal floor levels; 2 coins of Vespasian in the foundations; glass pottery and wall plaster from floors now in the Hull Museums. *Hull Museums.*
- (3) SE.94052666. Bozzes Field. Surface find. Mortarium rim stamped VIATOR now in Hull Museums. *Hull Museums.*

*Catcliffe, W.R.*

SK.42548862. Glassworks, founded 1740 by William Fenny of Bolsterstone. Glasscone still standing and shortly to be scheduled. Excavations by Sheffield City Museum to record structure and to investigate any available glass waste. All finds date to the 19th century and are now in Sheffield City Museum. *G. D. Lewis.*

*Cumberworth, W.R.*

SE.221091. Surface finds at Hartcliffe Tower by E. E. Rayner, Barnsley. Mesolithic type flint flakes, in possession of the finder. *G. D. Lewis.*

*Denby, W.R.*

SE.247087. Surface finds on One Tree Hill, by E. E. Rayner, Barnsley. Mesolithic type flint flakes, in possession of the finder. *G. D. Lewis.*



*Dinnington, W.R.*

SK.5285. Found in a field at Dinnington, reputedly with two others, by Mr. Hudson, Rotherham, an Antoninianus of Claudius Gothicus:

Obv: IMP C CLAVDIVS AVG. Radiate head right.

Rev: GENIVS EXERCI. Genius.

In possession of the finder. *G. D. Lewis.*

*Drax, W.R.*

SE.690261. The Stannells. Excavations continued in 1962 on Romano-British building by K. Wilson. Further walls were uncovered. Finds included post-Roman pottery. *R.A.S. minutes for 24/8/62.*

*Dunford, W.R.*

SE.191050. Surface finds on Upper Whitley Edge by E. E. Rayner, Barnsley. Mesolithic type flint flakes in possession of the finder. *G. D. Lewis.*

*Ecclesfield, W.R.*

SK.328955. Surface finds at Grenoside Wood by E. E. Rayner, Barnsley. Mesolithic type flint flakes, in possession of the finder. *G. D. Lewis.*

*Easedike, near Tadcaster, W.R.*

For detailed account, see p. 24.

*East Ayton, E.R.*

SE.990852. Castle Gate. Two kilns excavated at mouth of small natural cave. Probably part of a 17th or 18th century fulling mill. Excavated early 1962 by members of Scarborough & Dist. Arch. Soc. directed by Mr. F. C. Rimington. Finds, chiefly pottery, in Scarborough Museum. *J. G. Rutter.*

*East Heslerton, E.R.*

SE.939753. East Heslerton Long Barrow, East Heslerton Wold. Excavated Oct. to Nov. 1962 by F. J. de M. and H. L. Vatcher, on behalf of the Ministry of Works. Barrow over 400 ft. long with shallow side ditches. The east half only was excavated, where no mound remained. Evidence of mortuary enclosure structures beneath: shallow bedding trenches containing traces of posts, many burnt, ran parallel approximately 40 ft. apart for the whole length of the barrow: indications of more than one phase. Across east end a crescentic facade of large posts set in a deep bedding trench, the majority of the posts burnt. No burials remained as the protected surface had been partially ploughed away. Flint artifacts and pottery found.

*Mrs. F. J. de M. Vatcher.*

*Egton, N.R.*

NZ.80. Wade's Causeway. Survey of Roman road between Amotherby and Esk Dale by Messrs R. H. Hayes and J. G. Rutter, assisted by members of the Scarborough & Dist. Arch. Soc. and others, was completed in Autumn 1962. Excavations during the year include the sectioning of the Roman road near Hollin House (NZ.808001) and trial trenches at various points in the parishes of Egton and Hutton Mulgrave. (Publication of report on this survey by the Scarborough and Dist. Arch. Soc. is in progress.) *J. G. Rutter.*

*Ferrybridge, W.R.*

SE.473245. Two bronze age barrows excavated April 1962 by A. L. Pacitto. (1) Two concentric ring ditches, 55 ft. and 75 ft. diameter, previously excavated. (2) Remains of a ring ditch, 25 ft. diameter, central grave, inhumation with flint dagger. *I. M. Stead.*

*Flamborough, E.R.*

TA.215732—216693. Danes Dyke. Surveyed (including a detailed contoured survey of the original entrance) and recorded by R.C.H.M., Aug. 1962. The existence of a sloping stone (chalk) revetment where the ditch was rock-cut and a turf revetment elsewhere was noted. In profile and in siting the work is similar to the only slightly smaller Aberford Dyke and to other dark age dykes. *R.C.H.M.*

*Flasby with Winterburn, W.R.*

(1) SD.935575. Field system. Surveyed by J. Barrett. Boundaries consist of ditch with double bank. *J. Barrett.*

(2) SD.935575. Cup marked stone, now in a ditch of the field system, removed from a now destroyed barrow by the farmer (A. Taylor of Friar Head) when he ploughed the field in 1959, noticed by the Gargrave Archaeological Association. The stone is a small sandstone boulder with cups on all except one face. *L. Atkinson.*

(3) SD.939579. Group of 8 small mounds, 1-5 ft. high, 25-40 ft. diameter. One was excavated by the Gargrave Association. No grave was found. The mound was composed of a uniform brown clay, preserving an old turf line. Late mediaeval pottery and glass was found in the topsoil. The mounds are apparently not barrows and are like two excavated by Dr. Villy in 1912 with similar results. These latter lay amongst the nearby Giants Graves, which rectangular low mounds are part of a mediaeval rabbit warren. *L. Atkinson.*

It is very probable that both the round mounds of (3), the Giants Graves, and the field system (1) which contains these and other features, including the fragmentary remains of a limekiln and the foundations of a small rectangular building, are to be associated with the grange of Furness Abbey at Friar Head. The whole complex merits systematic archaeological and historical study. *H. G. Ramm.*

*Foston, E.R.*

A late Cresswellian site excavated by C. and E. Grantham, at Brigham. Flint waste and implements (obliquely blunted, shouldered and backed points, graters and scrapers), and a siltstone rubber. *T. G. Manby.* (Brigham is a village in Foston parish S.E. of Driffeld.)

*Goldsborough, W.R.*

(1) SE.379559. Roman coin, *Ae.* House of Constantine, c. 335-41 A.D. GLORIA EXERCITUS one standard between two soldiers. Mint indecipherable. Found unstratified during excavation of mediaeval moated site, March 1962. Sherd of everted rim cooking pot also found. Finds to be put in Harrogate Museum. *P. V. Addyman.*

(2) SE.379559. Moated site. Emergency excavations undertaken in March 1962 by P. V. Addyman and C. E. Hartley on part of a moated site being developed for housing. Limestone and cobble footings of a substantial building within the moated area were found. Not enough was uncovered to indicate the plan, but a further excavation is intended. Postholes beneath these walls indicate an earlier phase of occupation. Pottery of 13th-14th century date, and sherds of a glass vessel of probably eastern origin were found. Finds to be put in Harrogate Museum. *P. V. Addyman.*

*Grassington, W.R.*

SE.016657. Circular platform 60-63 ft. diameter, surrounded by a ditch 20 ft. wide (crest to crest) and an outer bank. One entrance to S.E. Surveyed by J. Barrett. *J. Barrett.*



*Great Ayton, N.R.*

NZ.595113. Great Ayton Moor. Surface finds of flint flakes and wasters made by E. C. Waight on 24th Oct. 1962 from a small area of erosion, now in the finder's possession. *E. C. Waight.*

*Helperby, N.R.*

SE.448699. Flint knife found 1962. Now in Yorkshire Museum. *G. F. Willmot.*

*Hemingborough, E.R.*

(1) SE.675314. Brickworks. Roman bronze camp kettle from R.B. site (pottery, ditches and a well previously recorded) and probably from a well. Now in the Yorkshire Museum. *G. F. Willmot.*

(2) SE.676304. Sherds R.B. pottery found in a sewer trench and now in the Hull Museums. *Hull Museums.*

*Holmfirth, W.R.*

SE.175068. Surface finds near Hepworth by E. E. Rayner, Barnsley, of Mesolithic type flint flakes. In possession of the finder. *G. D. Lewis.*

*Huggate, E.R.*

SE.858558 Huggate Dykes. A contoured survey by R.C.H.M., Aug. 1962. There are clear indications that this work is not a unity but is the work of more than one period and for more than one purpose. *R.C.H.M.*

*Hull, E.R.*

(1) TA.108337. Beverley Road, building site. Sherds of R.B. pottery, including Huntcliff type rims, found during sewerage work, now in Hull Museums. *Hull Museums.*

(2) TA.136323. Salthouse High School. Settlement site, three circular huts defined by ditches, central hearth; also one circular and one sub-rectangular ditched enclosure. Rescue excavation by East Riding Archaeological Society in Sept. 1962. Sherds of coarse hand- and wheel-made pottery, 1st century A.D.; now in the Hull Museums. *Hull Museums.*

*Hutton-le-Hole, N.R.*

SE.717894. Cooper's Riccal Field. R.B. site, two fields west of Old Pasture site at Spaunton (*q.v.*). L. Davison of Hutton-le-Hole ploughed up R.B. potsherds 1960-2, and with his permission and help R. H. Hayes and R. Close excavated in 1961. Only 4-6 ins. of soil overlay the natural rock into which had been scooped an oval basin  $3\frac{1}{2}$  by  $2\frac{3}{4}$  ft. set with slabs of stone on edge around the sides. To S.E. and S.W. were cobbles and further slabs forming a floor similar to those described by R. H. Hayes in Scarborough Arch. Soc., *Transactions* I (1958). The pottery was almost completely of late 4th century date [signal station type 26, hard smooth grey ware jars (*cf.* Crambeck), hammer-headed mortaria, straight-sided and flanged dishes] but also included besides some scraps of castor and samian ware a rim of calcite-gritted ware of an Iron Age type (*cf.* Levisham Moor). Other finds were part of a flat rotary quern, a hone, various utilized stones and pebbles all burnt, some very eroded animal bones, scraps of metal and much iron slag. Stone field walls in the vicinity include parts of 14 beehive and 3-4 flat rotary querns. (2 beehive querns were found 1933-4 at SE.725899 at a depth of 3 ft.) *R. H. Hayes.*

*Hutton Mulgrave, N.R.*

NZ.8210. Near Birk Head. Discovery of unrecorded linear earthwork about 1 mile long between NZ.822098 and 822112 by Mr. R. H. Hayes. Probably part of medieval deer-park boundary. Trial trenches to obtain profile in May 1962. *J. G. Rutter.*

*Ilkley, W.R.*

SE.116478. Roman Fort, excavated Easter and Summer 1962 by the Department of Latin, Leeds University. The northern and western defences and selected parts of the interior were examined. The original fort of c. A.D. 80 was modified before evacuation c. A.D. 120, when the timber buildings and the turf rampart were demolished. Reoccupation came in the mid-Antonine period although the new fort still had timber buildings and a clay rampart without stone wall. Destruction in A.D. 196-7 was followed by a rebuilding of the defences and interior in stone. The fort was then occupied without a break until the end of the Roman period, although there was extensive rebuilding at the beginning of the Constantian and Theodosian phases. By location of the *via praetoria* it was possible to show that the fort was more than an acre larger than had been previously thought, and the size is now seen to be appropriate to the only recorded garrison. *B. R. Hartley.*

*Kildale, N.R.*

NZ.610115. Percy Ridge. Iron Age hut circles, excavated R. S. Close 1962 (still in progress). Four circular huts with concentric ditches. Small finds include sherds, pot-boilers, whetstone, saddle quern, and portion of a flat rotary quern. *R. S. Close.*

*Kilnsea, E.R.*

- (1) TA.416152. Ditch on the Humber foreshore. Coarse pottery, ? iron age; found March 1962 by R. Mackey, now in Hull Museums. *Hull Museums.*
- (2) TA.407158. Ditch on the Humber foreshore. Sherds R.B. pottery found March 1962 by R. Mackey, now in Hull Museums. *Hull Museums.*

*Kirbymoorside, N.R.*

SE.699868. Site of Neville Castle, probably a small hunting lodge still standing and habitable in 1616 A.D. Trial excavation was carried out by the M.O.W. in Oct. 1962. The walls were preserved to a height of 4 ft. in some places though not visible above ground level: the results suggest two ranges of buildings flanking an open court, with possibly a third range to the east. *B. K. Davison.*

*Langsett, W.R.*

SK.175999: 170999: 153999: 160994-166944 and SE.165000. Surface finds at Upper Hordron, Ladycross Road, Laund Clough, and Fiddlers Green by E. E. Rayner, Barnsley, of Mesolithic type flint flakes, in the possession of the finder. *G. D. Lewis.*

*Levisham, N.R.*

SE.831924. Levisham Moor. Excavations by Scarborough & Dist. Arch. Soc. directed by Mr. F. C. Rimington continued during May and September 1962 on earthwork complex. Additional pottery of Iron Age character obtained. Excavations to continue in 1963. *J. G. Rutter.*

*Lindrick with Studley Royal and Fountains, W.R.*

SE.27907077. Saddle quern cracked by fire action, found by E. C. Waight, May 22nd 1962 amongst a pile of field clearance stones, original provenance not known, now in the finder's possession. *E. C. Waight.*

*Meltham, W.R.*

SE.087101. Oldfield Hill. Fortified Iron Age site. Third season's excavation by J. P. Toomey August 1962. Palisade of first phase, and the box rampart, with double dry stone faces and rubble filling, the ditch and counterscarp



bank of the succeeding phase were examined. A western entrance, secondary to that already known at the east, was added soon after the construction of the stone rampart. The main finds include 2 stone discs, half of a rough-out quern and a few scraps of flint. No pottery was found. Huddersfield and District Arch. Soc., *Bulletin* xi (1962) 1-2. (Duplicated News-sheet.)

### *Millington, E.R.*

- (1) SE.816535. Grimthorpe. Iron Age hill-fort, excavated by I. M. Stead, Nov.-Dec. 1962. Eight small granaries now identified behind the rampart on the S.E. side. *I. M. Stead.*
- (2) SE.813512. Ousethorpe. Norman earthwork excavated 1962 by W. F. Varley.

### *North Cowton, N.R.*

NZ.265052. Cowton Grange, a grange of Fountains Abbey, excavated Aug.-Sept. 1962. Timber frame buildings of the 16th century overlying work of the 14th century and earlier. Abundant pottery ranging in date from the 13th to the 17th centuries. *C. Platt.*

### *North Elmsall, W.R.*

SE.477127. White Hart Farm. Human remains, exposed July 1962 in a drain trench by F. Button and J. Fish. Skeleton loosely flexed, male, about 50 years, 5 ft. 10 ins. Gilt-bronze object and spear-point associated. Anglo-Saxon, 7th century. *C. V. Bellamy.*

### *Pontefract, W.R.*

- (1) SE.466231. Nevison Leap. Human remains, exposed by bulldozer, Oct. 1962, W. Horner. Assorted bones from seven individuals:—three male, one female, rest uncertain, all adult. A cannon ball was found adjacent but stratified association not proved. Nitrogen analyses suggest a 16-17th century date. Probably Civil War. *C. V. Bellamy.*
- (2) SE.463226. Pontefract Priory. Systematic excavation was continued, April—July 1962, by Leeds University Extra-Mural group, on the east end of the church and the south side of the Lesser Cloister. Structures include Eucharist Oven, copper smelting crucible, and a well. Numerous graves, assorted pottery and small finds. *C. V. Bellamy.*

### *Richmond, N.R.*

NZ.135020. Foot of Whitcliffe Scar. Stone fortification examined but not surveyed in detail by R.C.H.M., Spring 1962. The work is not paralleled by any local Iron Age forts but has many similarities to Hamsterley Castles, Co. Durham, which is of post-Roman date. *R.C.H.M.*

### *Rothwell, W.R.*

SE.371268. Methley Hall. N.-S. line of Roman road sectioned by M. Thackrah. The ridge is preserved for 100 yds., 20 ft. wide and 3 ft. above old land surface. *M. Thackrah.*

### *Rudston, E.R.*

- (1) TA.099658. The mound on Woldgate shown on O.S. 6 ins. and excavated by Canon Greenwell is now shown by an air photograph taken by Dr. St. Joseph to be at the S. end of a *cursus*, thus confirming ground observation and fieldwork undertaken by J. Bartlett in 1961. The *cursus* runs N. parallel to the modern road from Woldgate to Rudston village, and then curving slightly E. to cross the road at TA.099665 where the road bears W. A second

air photograph shows what may well be the same work crossing the main Bridlington-Sledmere road at TA.102677, E. of the church and monolith, and continuing N. until its W. ditch is overlaid by the Argam Dykes. *R.C.H.M.* (2) TA.088667. Roman Villa, excavated Apr.-May and July-Aug. 1962, originally excavated 1933-7. Excavation of 'workshop' completed and three first century A.D. skeletons found in the filling of a ditch. Three mosaic pavements were moved to Hull Museums, July 1962. *I. M. Stead.*

### *Sancton, E.R.*

SE.903375. Fox Covert, ploughed field. Sherds R.B. pottery found March 1962, by East Riding Archaeological Society, now in Hull Museums. *Hull Museums.*

### *Scarborough, N.R.*

TA.047889. Nos. 4-9 St. Mary's Street. Emergency excavation during re-building operations by Scarborough & Dist. Arch. Soc. directed by Mr. F. C. Rimington in February 1962. Cess-pit with large quantity of 13th-14th century pottery, leather and animal remains. (For report on leather see *Transactions of Scarborough & Dist. Arch. Soc.*, No. 5, 1962, 22-3.) Finds in Scarborough Museum. *J. G. Rutter.*

### *Seamer, N.R.*

TA.030834. Crossgates Gravel Pit. Excavations have been continued during 1962 by Mr. G. R. Pye, assisted by members of the Scarborough & Dist. Arch. Soc., on the site of the Romano-British and Anglian settlement. Additional plans of Anglian huts have been obtained, together with pottery, iron, bone and jet objects and loom weights. Romano-British material includes pottery (chiefly 4th century), beads and a quern. Excavations continue. (For account of earlier excavations, see *Scarborough & Dist. Arch. Soc. Research Report No. 1.*) *J. G. Rutter.*

### *Sheffield, W.R.*

(1) SK.29858526. Discoveries during building operations and small rescue operations by Sheffield City Museum 1961-2 on corner of School Green Lane and Brooklands Avenue, Fulwood. Excavations between house and Brooklands Avenue along line of stone tumble aligned approximately N.W.-S.E. Stonework not dated conclusively but quantity of Derbyshire ware found near S.E. end together with coarse ware dating to late 2nd century A.D. Other unstratified finds from the area include beehive querns and Iron Age type bead. All finds in Sheffield City Museum. *G. D. Lewis.*

(2) SK.31208580. Found in the garden of 55 Tom Lane, Fulwood, Sheffield by G. Edge. AE 3 or 4 of Constantine I:

Obv: URBS ROMA Helmeted bust.

Rev: Wolf suckling twins.

Ex: SMTS A.

In the possession of the finder. *G. D. Lewis.*

### *Sinnington, N.R.*

SE.723854. Sinnington Common. R.B. site. On the N.E. slope of a ridge of higher ground (225 ft.), W. of Sinnington Manor a whin covered pasture was ploughed in Sept. 1962, when 3 potsherds were found. Excavation by R. H. Hayes and G. Formstone, 5 Nov. 1962, revealed a stony area 28 ft. by 20 ft. of which a portion 12 ft. square was cleared. The stones were set in a stiff brown clay and it was difficult to extract the potsherds from between the stones. The pottery was mainly late 4th century, Signal Station type 26 predominating. The occupation was less intensive than at Coopers Riccal Field (see Hutton-le-Hole). No trace of postholes or earlier occupation was found under the stones. This site is on the line of an ancient route from Spaunton southward



through Normanby and Barugh. This route, which was certainly in use in the mediaeval age when an indenture of 1331-50 shows that St. Mary's Abbey, York which owned Lastingham and Spaunton had a right of way across Sinnington Moor, is still marked in its northern sector by lanes and tracks and for 300 yards S. from SE.72348806 by the Ings Balk, a remarkable ridge 10-12 ft. wide and cambered up to 8 ft. high with a layer of small limestone rubble on top. The occurrence of R.B. sites and finds along the line of this route may well indicate its earlier use in that period. *R. H. Hayes.*

### *Slack, W.R.*

SE.085174. Roman Fort. Excavation in Spring 1962 by Tolson Memorial Museum, Huddersfield with Heath Grammar School, Halifax. The S. and E. ramparts were sectioned and shown to be built of turf and clay with stone pitching under the outer edge. The bath house outside the fort was located and part of the hypocaust and stokehole of one room were excavated. The finds included pottery, hones, tiles and *graffito* PHILOD . . . . IVS. *T. G. Manby.*

### *Sneaton, N.R.*

NZ.893046. Haxby Plantation, near Soulsgrave. Surface finds from a flint site include petit-tranchet derivative arrowheads, scrapers and knives. Deposited in Scarborough Museum. *J. G. Rutter.*

### *Snilesworth, N.R.*

SE.5294. Iron Howe, Cow Ridge. Extensive cairn group and ancient field system surveyed by Messrs. R. H. Hayes and J. G. Rutter assisted by members of the Scarborough & Dist. Arch. Soc. and others. (For plan see *A History of Helmsley*, 1963, fig. v.) *J. G. Rutter.*

### *Spaunton, N.R.*

SE.721893. Old Pasture. R.B. site. In the S.W. corner of a 15 acre field called Old Pasture on the 1830 Tithe map, near the old footpath to Kirbymoorside are two parallel mounds, 12-14 ft. wide, 2½-3 ft. high in the centre, which were thought by local farmers to be the remains of a cartshead or barn but were not marked on the O.S. maps, the Tithe map, or the 1770 estate map. R. Close, A. Paccitto, B. Frank, L. Davison and R. H. Hayes cut a trial trench 44 ft. long by 3 ft. wide across the mounds. Both contained the remains of walls, the N. mound much stone and some large boulders set on edge, the S. a foundation wall of thin limestone slabs, 2 ft. wide and 1 ft. 8 ins. high, the two walls being 36 ft. apart. In the central area were two further parallel walls only 5½ ft. apart, of clay and stone with square post holes, on a different alignment to the outer walls. About a dozen sherds were found almost all near the stonework, of 2nd-3rd. century A.D. (2 rims calcite gritted Knapton-Norton type ware, wheel-turned jars in grey and orange, one with lattice). Bones of horse and ox, iron slag, and flint flakes were also found. *R. H. Hayes.*

### *Spofforth with Stockeld, W.R.*

- (1) SE.34615076. Lodge Farm. Beehive quern. Half of the upper stone found amongst field clearance stones by E. C. Waight, 23rd Oct. 1962; original provenance not known, now in the finder's possession. *E. C. Waight.*
- (2) SE.34535080. A recumbent boulder bearing four apparently artificial cup markings. Two have outer rings and are deeply incised. Discovered by E. C. Waight, 23rd Oct. 1962. *E. C. Waight.*

### *Stainburn, W.R.*

SE.254474. Bogridge Farm. Bronze Age axe hammer, found by farmer in field N. of Riffa Wood, now in the possession of C. Gaunt of Harrogate, identified 1962 by D. P. Dymond. Gritstone, 7 ins. by 3½ ins., hourglass perforation. *R.C.H.M.*

*Stirton with Thorlby, W.R.*

(1) SD.960546. Sharp Haw Crag. Fortified enclosure, on the crag edge overlooking Aire valley, oval in plan, largest diameter 220 ft., defended by a 7 ft. wide stone wall, gritstone rubble between boulder faces. The wall survives only as a double line of boulders from the outer and inner faces or elsewhere as a tumble of rubble from the core. On the E. side there is a repair in slighter walling narrowing the enclosure and blocking what may well be an original entrance. Site discovered by Gargrave Archaeological Association. *L. Atkinson.*

(2) North of last site, two circles of intermittent wall footings,  $31\frac{1}{2}$  and  $30\frac{1}{2}$  ft. diameter may be the remains of huts, possibly associated with the enclosure. The Gargrave Association excavated part of one hut with inconclusive results, no small finds and the only structural feature a hard black layer  $\frac{1}{2}$ -1 in. thick which may represent the original floor. *L. Atkinson.*

(3) SD.960547. Sharp Haw Crag. Round cairn. The remains of a large burial cairn underlie a small modern cairn; some part of the stone from the cairn has been tumbled over the crag edge where the spill can be seen, more has been robbed probably to build local walls. *L. Atkinson.*

(4) SD.959546. E. of Crag Wood. Group of 6 cairns, one 60 ft. diameter 6 ft. high, the remainder 15-25 ft. diameter, 1-3 ft. high, spread out along the shelf below the crags, 650 ft. above O.D., in land newly planted by the Forestry Commission. Discovered by the Gargrave Archaeological Association. *L. Atkinson.*

*Styrrup, W.R.*

SK.6090. Exact site unknown. Part of a large axe hammer. Reported by C. Wilson, 25 Jan. 1962. Fine-grained olivine gabbro, source unknown. *G. D. Lewis.*

*Suffield-cum-Everley, E.R.*

SE.988923. Inn Moor, Suffield Moor. Surface finds from a flint site include arrowheads of leaf-shape, barbed and tanged, single-barbed and tranche types, scrapers, awls and fabricators. Deposited in Scarborough Museum. *J. G. Rutter.*

*Swine, E.R.*

TA.131358. Giants Hill. Dated to 14th century by W. F. Varley.

*Swinton, W.R.*

SK.4599. In garden of 45 Cresswell Road, Swinton, Mexborough, by E. Oliver. Barbed and tanged, flint arrowhead of Middle Bronze Age type. Retained by finder. *G. D. Lewis.*

*Tadcaster West, W.R.*

SE.459422. Toulston Park. Roman road, running N.-S., excavated by the Wetherby Historical Society, Summer 1962. The E. ditch of the road was located and contained R.B. sherds, but the road itself had been destroyed. In part by a large post-Roman rock cut ditch. *R.C.H.M.*

*Upper Heaton, W.R.*

SE.180195. Mediaeval pottery kilns, 13th-14th century. A third season of excavation was undertaken, Autumn 1962, by the Tolson Memorial Museum, Huddersfield. The surrounds of the three kilns excavated in previous years were cleared and a large heap of débris, pottery wasters, daub and burnt stone was found on the northern side of the kilns. *T. G. Manby.*



*Warmsworth, W.R.*

SE.54520100. Found in the garden of 45 Tenter Lane, Warmsworth, Doncaster, by Mr. Heath, June 1962. AE 3 of Constantine I, minted in London A.D. 307-13.

Obv: CONSTANTINVS AVG

Rev: PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS

Ex: PLN

In the possession of the finder. *G. D. Lewis.*

*Westerdale, N.R.*

NZ.677074. Hunsbury type quern. Lower stone with moulded rim found by E. C. Waight, 10 Aug. 1962 on the edge of a quarry, and now in the finder's possession. *E. C. Waight.*

*Wickersley, W.R.*

SK.4892. Building site, exact location not known. Polished stone axe. Reported by J. Radley, 7 June 1962. Group VI, Langdale. *G. D. Lewis.*

*Woolley, W.R.*

SE.307137. Surface finds on Woolley Edge by E. E. Rayner, Barnsley of Mesolithic type flint flakes now in the possession of the finder. *G. D. Lewis.*

*Wortley, W.R.*

SK.304969. Surface finds at Wharnccliffe Rocks by E. E. Rayner, Barnsley, of Mesolithic type flint flakes, now in the possession of the finder. *G. D. Lewis.*

*Wykeham, N.R.*

SE.922935. Maw Rigg, near Langdale End. Flint microlithic point and scrapers found on surface. Deposited in Scarborough Museum. *J. G. Rutter.*

*York*

(1) SE.59985144. Bishophill. Roman/Viking. Excavated by L. P. Wenham, Summer 1962. Part of a circular clay-lined pit fed by a stone-lined culvert of Viking date. Two superimposed Roman floors of *opus signinum*, the one of late 2nd century date, and the other of 4th century date. Associated with the later floor was a deep hole, possibly of a cellar. This had been filled in in late Roman times with building and domestic rubbish including a gold necklace, jet ornaments, coins, pottery, tiles, and architectural fragments. Finds at present with the excavator. *L. P. Wenham.*

(2) SE.59995147. Florence Row. Roman/Viking. Excavated by L. P. Wenham, Summer 1962. More of the *opus signinum* floor and robbed wall of the apsidal Roman building found in 1961 in the adjoining vicarage garden of the Church of St. Mary Bishophill Junior was uncovered. On the floor of this were three post-Roman inhumations—on the analogy of those found in 1961 these were Viking dating to the middle of the 10th century. *L. P. Wenham.*

(3) SE.60215195. Coney St./Davygate. Roman. Excavated by L. P. Wenham, Summer 1962. More walls of the 4th century interval tower (SW3) of the Legionary Fortress uncovered together with a timber-lined drain of a date earlier than the 4th century. *L. P. Wenham.*

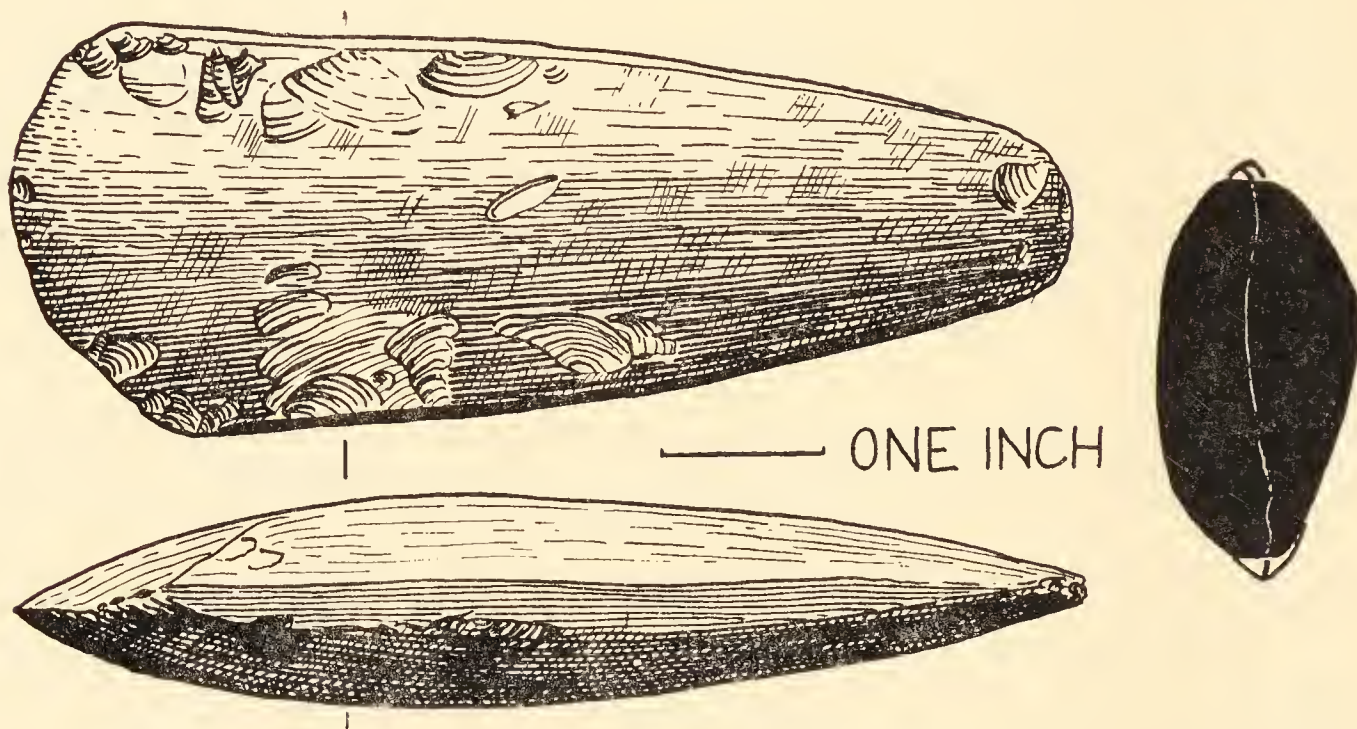
(4) SE.58405267. River Ouse. Landing Lane, Poppleton Road. Roman. During dredging operations what may well be a stone Roman drag anchor was recovered. In the Yorkshire Museum. *L. P. Wenham.*

(5) SE.600522. Museum Gardens. Excavated 1962, by G. F. Willmot. Above the fill of 4th century ditch of the Roman Fortress outside interval tower SW6 was found a Roman building with late 4th century pottery and coins, and a considerable amount of iron. *G. F. Willmot.*

## NOTES ON ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDS

### 1. *A polished flint axe-head from the Thornborough Circles, (N.R.)*

In September 1952 I undertook a small-scale excavation at the central circle of the Thornborough group of henge monuments and in 1958 Mrs. F. de M. Vatcher further examined the cursus which we had found running beneath this circle (*Y.A.J.* xxxviii (1955), 425 ff.; *ibid.*, xl (1960), 169 ff.). No dating evidence was obtained during either excavation. It was established, however, that the cursus had become silted up and overgrown when the circle was built upon part of it; and there was a concentration of barrows among the Thornborough Circles and those to the south near Ripon, whose grave-goods suggested that all these sites belonged to the period 1500-1300 B.C.



In view of the vagueness of this dating, it seems worthwhile to publish this note on a polished flint axe-head which almost certainly came from the central or southern Thornborough Circle. It was kindly sent to me by Mr. C. E. Hartley. The axe was bought at Ripon by Mr. B. W. J. Kent, F.S.A., in 1960. He had found it among the effects of a deceased gentleman and will, I understand, present it to the Harrogate Museum. Upon one face of the axe is an inscription in faded ink:

'Found . . n (?in, on) Danish Camp on Thornbro' Moor 1827.'

On the other face is the number 18. The axe is 16.4 cms. long and has a width at its blade of 6.5 cms. Its maximum thickness is 3.4 cms. The flint has a mottled honey colour and is patinated to creamy white. As indicated in the drawing, most of the flake scars have been removed by grinding. This has been executed both longitudinally and transversely and the resulting cross-section is oval, with pronounced flattening along the top and bottom. The butt has been blunted by battering. The cutting edge is not quite symmetrical and has a slight S-twist. It has been damaged at least once in antiquity but otherwise is still fresh and sharp. The body of the axe is in mint condition.

The reference on the axe to Thornborough *Moor* would suggest that it had been picked up in the central or the southern circle: the tree-covered northern circle would hardly qualify for this description.

A drawing of the axe was sent to T. G. Manby of the Tolson Memorial Museum, Huddersfield. His most valuable comments are incorporated in the paragraphs which follow.

This flint axe is the only specimen so far recorded from the Ure-Swale area, and they are generally uncommon in the northern part of the Vale of York. Flint axes become increasingly rare west of the York Vale, where they are replaced by blades of stone. It seems probable that the source of flint was the glacial drift of the Yorkshire coast.



Axes of flint and stone with flattened sides occur widely in Yorkshire and elsewhere in northern England. That their origins are extremely early in the Neolithic period is shown by the series of stone axes of exactly the Thornborough shape from Ehenside Tarn, Cumberland (Piggott, *Neolithic Cultures of the British Isles*, 1954, 295-9, fig. 47). Here, a radio-carbon date of  $3014 \pm 300$  B.C., which was considered in 1954 to be 'archaeologically unacceptable', is now seen to support an increasing volume of Carbon 14 evidence for the early Neolithic in the British Isles. The axe type had a long life. It is well matched by specimens from all levels at Windmill Hill, Wiltshire (*Windmill Hill and Avebury*, Clover Press, 1959, p. 7). Recent Carbon 14 dates obtained from this site place its beginnings within the first half of the third millennium B.C., and its latest occupation early in the second millennium. There is also a parallel group of flint axes from the late Neolithic burial beneath Hoare's Barrow 4 at Upton Lovel, Wiltshire (*Ancient Wiltshire*, I, 1812, pp. 75-6; *Devizes Museum Catalogue*, Pt. I, 1896, 9b and 10).

From Yorkshire itself axes associated with burials are extremely scarce. A small polished specimen was found with a good necked Beaker, bone pin and flint flakes in barrow C.63 at Garton Slack (Mortimer, *Forty Years Researches* . . . . ., 1905, p. 215, figs. 540, 541). Bateman found a short stone axe associated with a plano-convex knife and an inhumation in a barrow near Pickering, Yorkshire (*Ten Years Digging*, 1861, pp. 221-2: Sheffield Museum, *Catalogue of Bateman Antiquities*, 1899, J. 93-50). A series of flint axes was found in the Secondary Neolithic round barrow at Duggleby Howe (E.R.) (Mortimer, *ibid.*, p. 23 ff., fig. 56) but these are only edge-polished and not therefore comparable. Moreover, their cross-sections are diamond-shaped like the two similar flint axes from Liff's Low, Derbyshire (Piggott, *ibid.*, p. 356, fig. 62) and from the long barrow of Ayton East Field, Scarborough (Elgee, *Early Man in N.E. Yorkshire*, 1930, p. 41). Although fragments of polished flint and stone axes occur frequently in barrow mounds of the Bronze Age, there seems enough evidence to support a Neolithic date for the Thornborough axe. This date, however, could lie anywhere within the third and early second millennia B.C.

An isolated surface find obviously cannot be used as reliable dating evidence for the site where it was found, and this flint axe could as well be associated with the cursus as with the henge monument that overlies it. The likelihood is, however, that it owes its position to one or the other, and even this much evidence is welcome where both sites are otherwise virtually without any direct cultural associations.

NICHOLAS THOMAS

## 2. The Clothesholme Anthropoid Sword

In 1915 Sir Hercules Read exhibited before the Society of Antiquaries an iron anthropoid-hilted sword, recently found at Clothesholme, about one mile west of Ripon.<sup>1</sup> The sword was reported to have been found with a quantity of bones, whether human or animal is not recorded. The sword was later described and illustrated by T. Sheppard,<sup>2</sup> S. Piggott<sup>3</sup> and C. F. C. Hawkes.<sup>4</sup>

In 1957 this sword with other exhibits was transferred from the Thorpe Prebend House Museum to the Wakeman's House, Ripon. During 1959, through arrangements made by the Yorkshire Federation of Museums and Art Galleries, the Clothesholme sword received conservation treatment at the Tolson Memorial Museum, Huddersfield. As a result of the removal of rust and corrosion products several previously unrecorded features were revealed and a detailed study of the weapon, including X-ray examination, was undertaken.

The sword (fig. 1A), is of iron, and the surviving overall length is  $23\frac{3}{4}$  ins. (59.4 cms.). The blade is flat and featureless, parts of the cutting edges and the point have been broken off. The present length of the blade is 16 ins. (40.7 cms.) and it is  $2\frac{1}{4}$  ins. (5.7 cms.) at its widest point; the edges were probably originally straight, curving suddenly to a point. The blade, tang and pommel were forged from a single piece of iron and the rest of the hilt is made up of several pieces of iron (fig. 1B). The guard is made of two pieces of iron astride the tang and forged

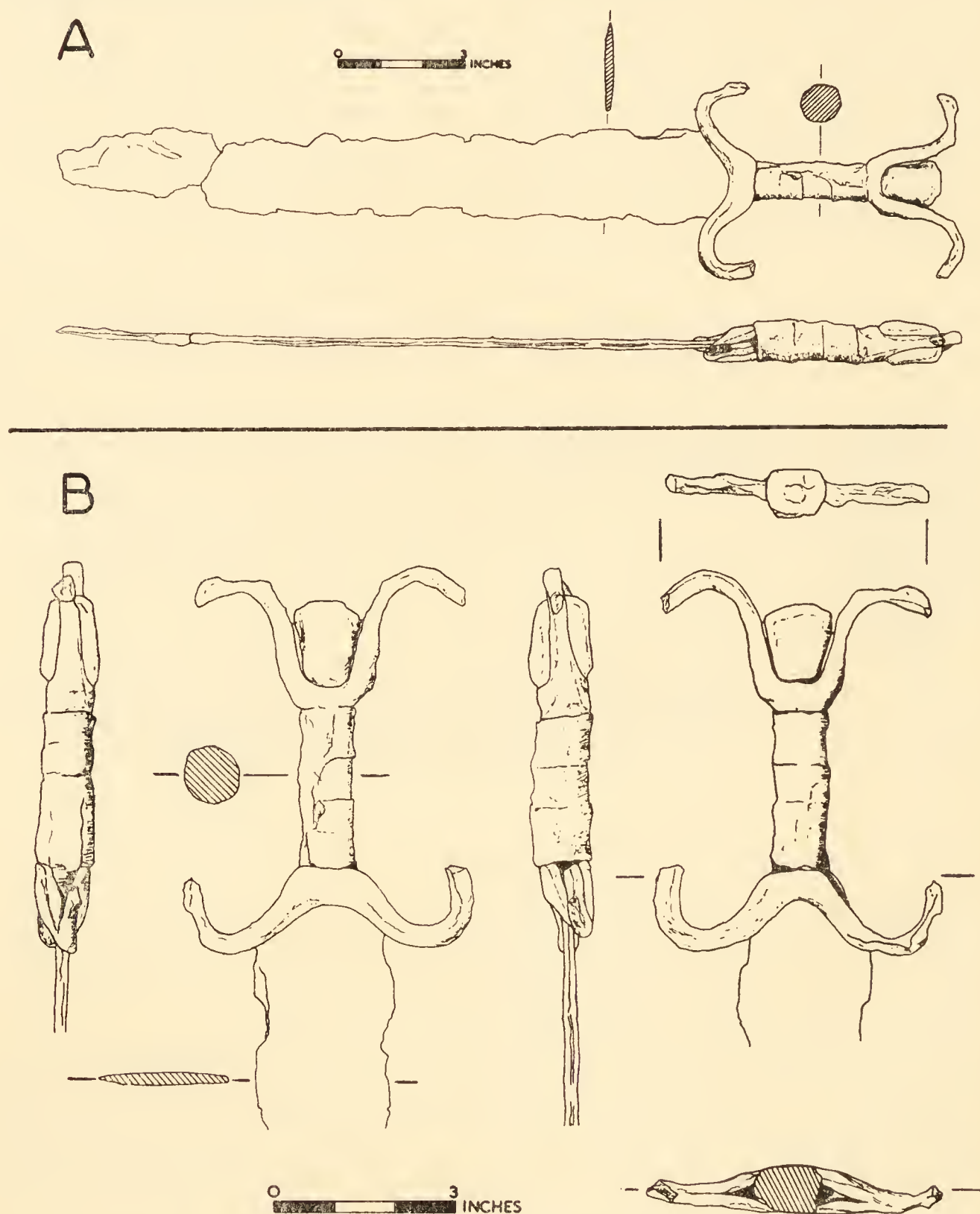
<sup>1</sup> *Pro. Soc. Ants.*, xxvii (1914-15), p. 214.

<sup>2</sup> *Y.A.J.*, xxxi (1934), pp. 132-6.

<sup>3</sup> *P.P.S.*, xvi (1950), p. 225, no. 40, Pl. xxvii.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, xxi (1955), p. 225.

together in the upward curving ends to a diamond-shaped section; the arms are of similar construction. The handgrip between the arms and guard is  $4\frac{5}{8}$  ins. long (11.7 cms.), cylindrical in section and consists of an iron strip wrapped round the tang. The pommel is deeply set between the arms and is devoid of any human facial features. The gaps in between the tang, the grip and the guard were found to have been filled up with lead.



A. The Clothierholme Sword. Scale  $\frac{1}{8}$ .

B. Details of the Hilt. Scale  $\frac{1}{4}$ .

The Clothierholme sword is one of three iron anthropoid hilted swords found in Yorkshire.<sup>1</sup> If the bones found with it were human it may have accompanied a burial like the North Grimston example.<sup>2</sup> Both the Clothierholme and the North Grimston swords have been assigned by Hawkes to his *Class F* of classification of

<sup>1</sup> *P.P.S.*, xxi (1955), pp. 225-7, no. 40, 44 & 49.

<sup>2</sup> Mortimer, *Forty Years Researches* . . . , pp. 354-7.



Anthropoid hilted swords and daggers.<sup>1</sup> He considers this to date to the period 150-100 B.C. and represent imports from Northern France. At North Grimston in the East Riding of Yorkshire, a bronze hilted, iron bladed Anthropoid sword accompanied an inhumation burial with another sword belonging to Group II or 'Hunsbury' Type of Piggott's classification.<sup>2</sup> The Group II swords were shown by Piggott to belong to the same cultural background and have the same distribution in Britain as the Anthropoid swords.<sup>3</sup> Both these types of swords belong chronologically to the Iron Age 3a phase of C. F. C. Hawkes's classification of the Early Iron Age of the British Isles.<sup>4</sup>

The Clotherholme sword was found on the eastern edge of the Pennine Chain, in what was in Roman times part of the tribal territory of the Brigantes. The other Iron Age swords found in the Brigantian area belong to Piggott's Group III ('Bugthorpe' type) and Group IV ('Brigantian' type)<sup>5</sup> which are derived from the Group II swords.<sup>6</sup> If the Group II swords and the Anthropoid-hilted swords were introduced by fresh warrior bands from Northern France, the Clotherholme sword may indicate the origin of the warrior element that became the ruling aristocracy of the Brigantian tribe.

T. G. MANBY

### 3. *Two Discoidal Flint Knives from Yorkshire*

The first flint knife was found whilst draining near Fylingdales (NGR, SE 136459). The material is mottled grey flint with cherty patches. A portion of cortex remains and shows that the raw material was boulder flint from the Bridlington area. The whole of each side of the tool shows extensive polishing by grinding and the edge is chisel-like. Except for the recent removal of a small flake the edge is perfect and there is an appearance of glaze on both faces.

The shape is oval with the long measurement of  $2\frac{8}{10}$  ins., the widest part is  $2\frac{3}{10}$  ins. with a maximum thickness of  $\frac{3}{8}$  ins. On one of the sides is a natural re-entrant which retains the original cortex. It is obvious that a feature of the original boulder has been retained to provide a working grip and fitted to the pattern of the tool.

The second tool was found in August 1962 on Green Cragg Slack, Burley Moor, an area which affords flints of every date from Mesolithic times onwards. Green Cragg Slack is bounded to the south by a small stream which runs along the foot of Woofa Bank. There are patches of peaty silt on the north side of this little runlet and the edge of the tool was noticed projecting about a quarter of an inch after disturbance by sheep.

The material is mottled grey, with cherty white patches and shades to honey colour to one edge. The shape is almost circular, the greatest length  $3\frac{6}{10}$  ins. by  $3\frac{4}{10}$  ins. and the thickness  $\frac{6}{10}$  ins. All projections show grinding and the edge is continuous except for a small portion not touched by grinding when the tool was made and a much more recent break of small size. A portion of one edge has an incurving grip  $\frac{2}{10}$  ins. in depth and  $\frac{8}{10}$  ins. across. This shows bold flaking and affords a handy grip.

The occurrence of such a grip on both tools, in one instance using a natural feature and in the other well worked, suggests that it was regarded as an essential part of the finished tool.

Evans<sup>7</sup> illustrates many flint tools of discoidal type but none with a made finger grip. He does point out, however, that 'Picts Knives', a similar tool of greenstone or comparable material, usually have one edge blunted for holding. The worked grip may be an improvement to the usual run of discoidal knives. The raw material of both tools appears to come from the Bridlington area and we may speculate if the new fashion originated in the same district.

E. T. COWLING

<sup>1</sup> *P.P.S.*, xxi (1955), pp. 211-12.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, xvi (1950), pp. 5-10.

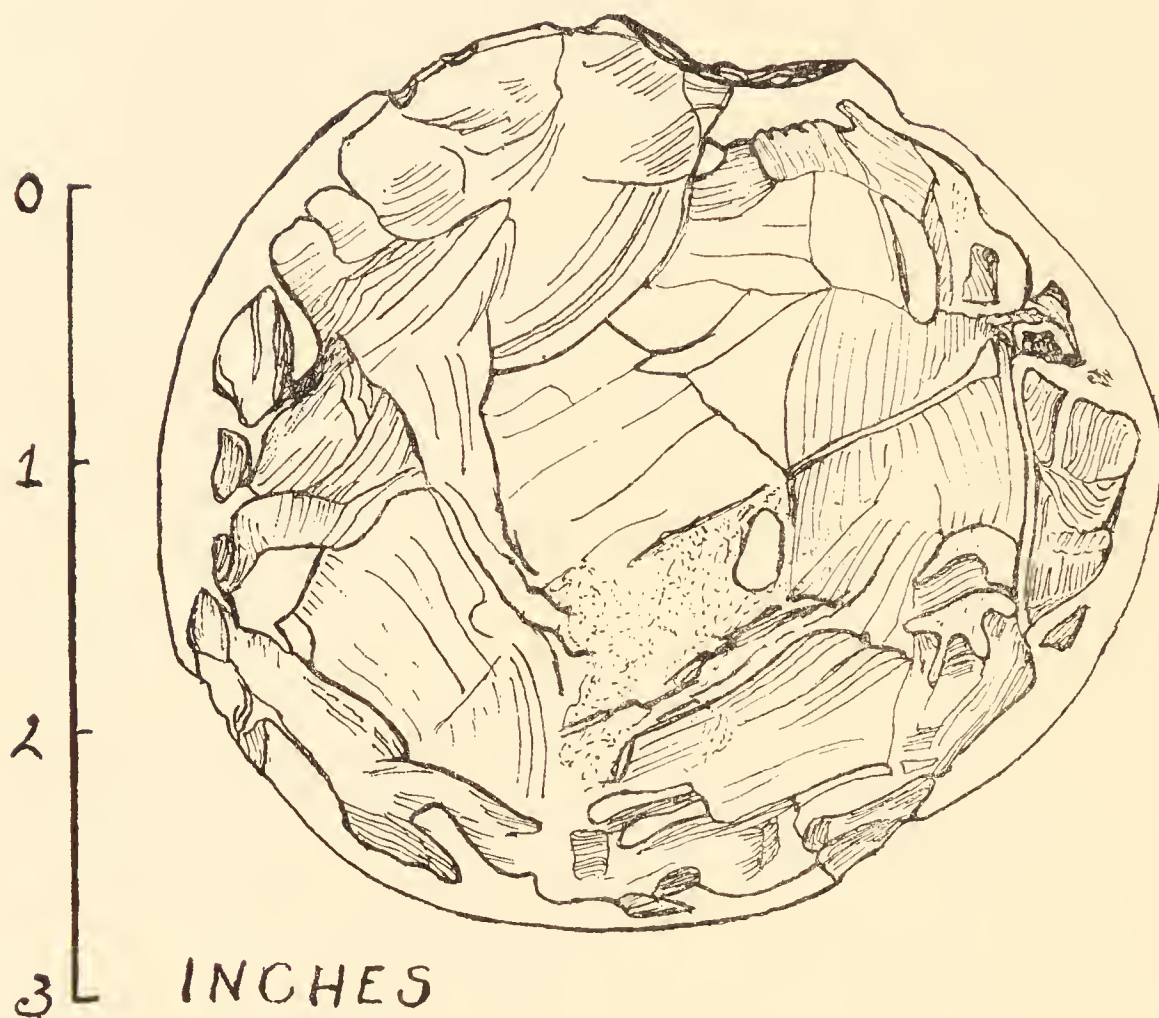
<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 5-12, 17-21.

<sup>4</sup> *Problems of the Iron Age in Southern Britain* (1961), pp. 8 & 14.

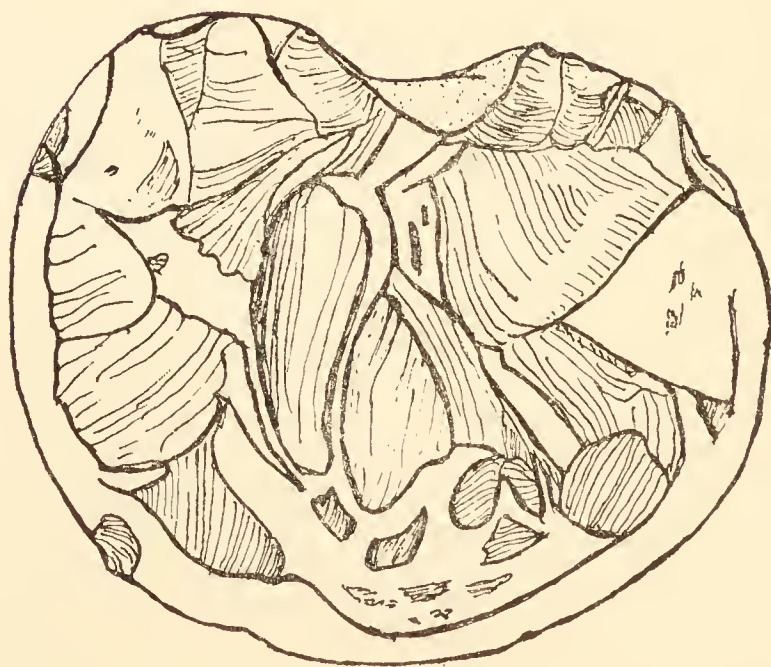
<sup>5</sup> *P.P.S.*, xvi (1950), pp. 12-14 & 17-21.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 24.

<sup>7</sup> Evans, *Stone Implements of Great Britain*, Longman, Green, Reader and Dyer, London 1872, pp. 292-310.



GREEN CRAG SLACK



FYLINGDALES

Two Disoidal Flint Knives from Yorkshire.



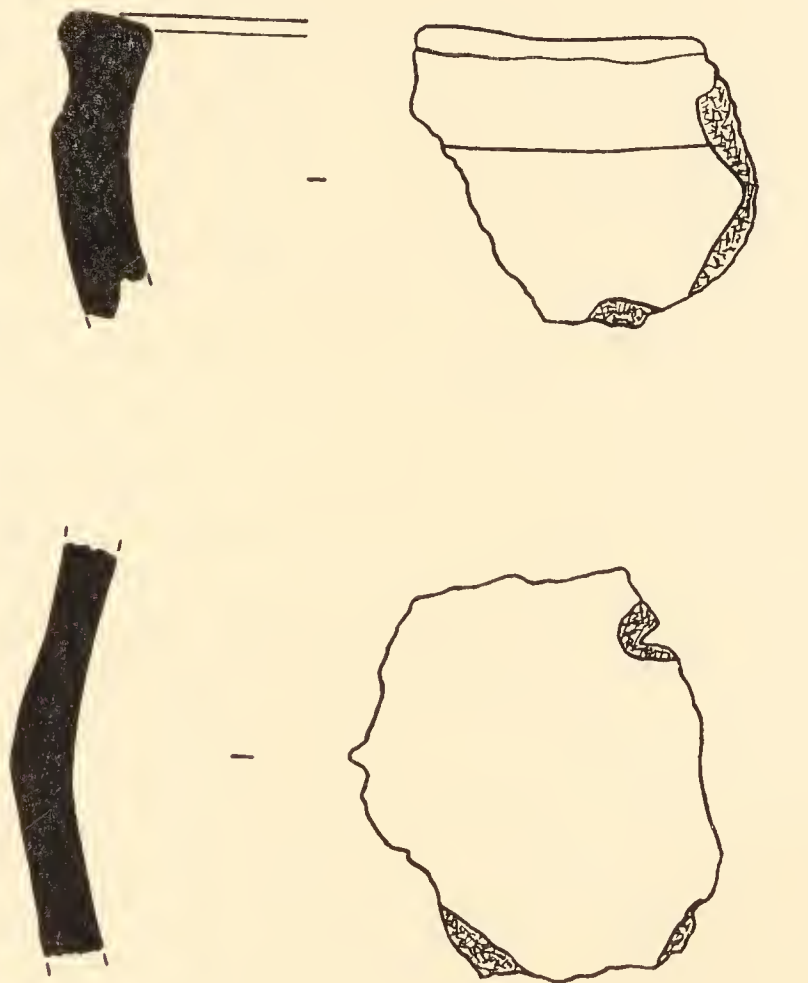
#### 4. *An Excavation at Yearsley, North Riding, 1961*

When the mound immediately east of Intake Lodge, Yearsley, North Riding, (SE.592737) was due to be bulldozed so that a field of rough pasture could be brought under cultivation, the Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments, Ministry of Works, decided to excavate. This mound was about 75 ft. by 90 ft. diameter and 6 ft. high, on ground sloping away to the south-east. It had every appearance of being a barrow.

The excavation, in October 1961, was supervised by the writer assisted by Mr. A. L. Pacitto. A trench on the east side revealed layers of sand which appeared to be natural, and a second trench, on the west side, uncovered a capping of stone which confirmed that this was not a barrow.

However, it seems that the writer was not the first person to mistake it for an artificial burial-mound. A disturbed area in the centre, some 15 ft. diameter, where there had been an old water-tank, produced a fragment of Bronze Age pottery, and a sherd from another Bronze Age vessel was found in a disturbance on the side of the mound. A small area near the centre was cleared in the hopes of finding an undisturbed burial, but shortage of funds did not permit more extensive stripping. Judging from the type of pottery (see below) and its situation on the mound, there can be little doubt that on two occasions Bronze Age people placed 'secondary' burials in the natural mound.

*The Geology of the Mound*, by D. B. Smith, Geological Survey, North Eastern Area.



1 H.L. 82

Bronze Age Pottery from Yearsley ( $\frac{1}{2}$ ).

The following geological section was visible:—

1. Sandstone, brown, cross-bedded, irregularly cemented, but mostly fairly hard. c. 2 ft. 6 ins.
2. Sand, yellow, fine-grained, with ferruginous cement along minor vertical displacement planes but otherwise largely incoherent. 9 ins. to 15 ins.

- |   |                   |
|---|-------------------|
| 3. Sandstone, brown, fine-grained, thinly bedded (irregularly), with extensive small-scale current bedding, and irregularly distributed ferruginous cement. | 6 ins. to 12 ins. |
| 4. Sand, silty, fine-grained, yellow-brown, largely incoherent.   | c. 15 ins.        |
| 5. Sandstone, as (3), but with abundant lamellibranch shells (well preserved) on some bedding planes.   | c. 12 ins.        |
| 6. Sand, silty, fine-grained, yellow-brown, largely incoherent.   | c. 8 ft. 0 ins.   |
| 7. Silt, clayey and sandy, blue-grey (mottled).   | 6 ins. +          |

The strata were to some extent impersistent due to deep weathering and the uppermost sandstone was markedly cambered. Its upper surface had been much disturbed by this process and displayed a large number of widened multidirectional joints. The strata as a whole appeared to have a gentle dip towards the south-east. They belong to the Lower Estuarine Series of the Jurassic Lower Oolites, and in this particular case the tumulus-like form results from the protection given to the soft sands by the residual outlying cap of harder sandstone. The form of the hillock has been to some extent modified by the accumulation of hill-wash on its lower slopes and by the cambering of the sandstone cap.

*The Bronze Age Pottery*, by I. H. Longworth.

Two vessels are represented:—

1. (Y.AB) A rim fragment from a simple undecorated Yorkshire Food Vase with slight internal rim bevel and well marked neck groove. The paste is quite hard but slightly porous, tempered with no obvious material, light brown on both surfaces, with grey core. The outer surface has been well smoothed. The sherd is slightly weathered.
2. (Y.AA) An undecorated fragment from the shoulder of a tripartite Collared vessel. The paste is very hard, tempered with crushed pot, light brown on both surfaces, with dark grey core. The surface has been only roughly smoothed and is excessively lumpy. All the fractures are sharp and the sherd shows no signs of weathering.

Little can be said of the two sherds save that the fragment of Collared vessel is likely to belong to the Secondary Series in the Collared Urn tradition and therefore unlikely to date before 1400 B.C. Both fragments are likely to have come from disturbed burial contexts and suggest that the hillock had been used as a place of burial on at least two occasions by people of distinct pottery traditions, the Food Vase probably representing the earlier.

I. M. STEAD

### 5. *Roman road from Bawtry to Doncaster. 1 in. O.S. Map 103, 'Doncaster'*

The Roman Road from the Fortlet at Bawtry (658927)<sup>1</sup> to the Fort of Danvm,<sup>2</sup> presumed to be near Doncaster Parish Church (575036), runs for most of its length at an altitude of 50 ft. O.D. The subsoil is sandy and covers glacial gravels. Just south of Doncaster and around Bawtry the road has to cross lower marshy ground. This road is Iter V of the Antonine Itinerary and is part of the section from Lindvm to Danvm recorded as thirty-five Roman miles in length.<sup>2</sup>

The first mention of this Road appears to come from Stukeley,<sup>3</sup> who passed through Doncaster on his journey into the North of England. He saw the Roman Road running south from Doncaster and passing over a 'fine heath'. This is presumably the 'agger' marked on the first Ordnance Survey Maps of 1839. Margary<sup>4</sup> suggested that the road entered Doncaster from a point further north-east, he has published a route from Doncaster to Bawtry and has suggested that there is also a 'spur' road passing along the east side of Sandal Beat Wood. Annable<sup>5</sup> when publishing some of the Cantley pottery kilns mentioned other routes.

Climbing on to the gravel terrace north of Bawtry, the Roman Road follows the line of the Great North Road to Hurst Plantation 637985. The road runs N.N.E. and changes alignment a few degrees westward at its highest point (100 ft. O.D.) at 644965. At Hurst Plantation the Great North Road turns to the N.W., whilst the old Roman Road continues straight along the western boundary of the wood, through Brookes Wood and descends into the valley of the River Torne. At the point where the alignment crosses the river 633998, driven wooden piles may be seen in the river bed. As they are connected with the alignment they are probably the remains of the foundations of the Roman Road Bridge.



The road climbs up to the railway bridge on Warning Tongue Lane. A hundred yards south of the bridge and continuing S.S.E. for a further two hundred yards is the 'agger' of the road. It has a height of three feet and is twenty-five feet broad. Several probe traverses were made across this earthwork, revealing an irregular hard packed layer at an average depth of three feet below the surface; the width of the layer varied from six to twelve feet.

A hundred yards south of the Railway Bridge, a section was cut across this 'agger' in Jan. 1960 (see fig. 1). The turf was first cleared and a careful probe survey made. This revealed the hard surface about seven feet in width. The trench was excavated down to this layer (fig. 1, no. 4), this was compact pinkish soil and contained pebbles especially on the top. The trench was continued down to natural gravel (fig. 1, no. 5).

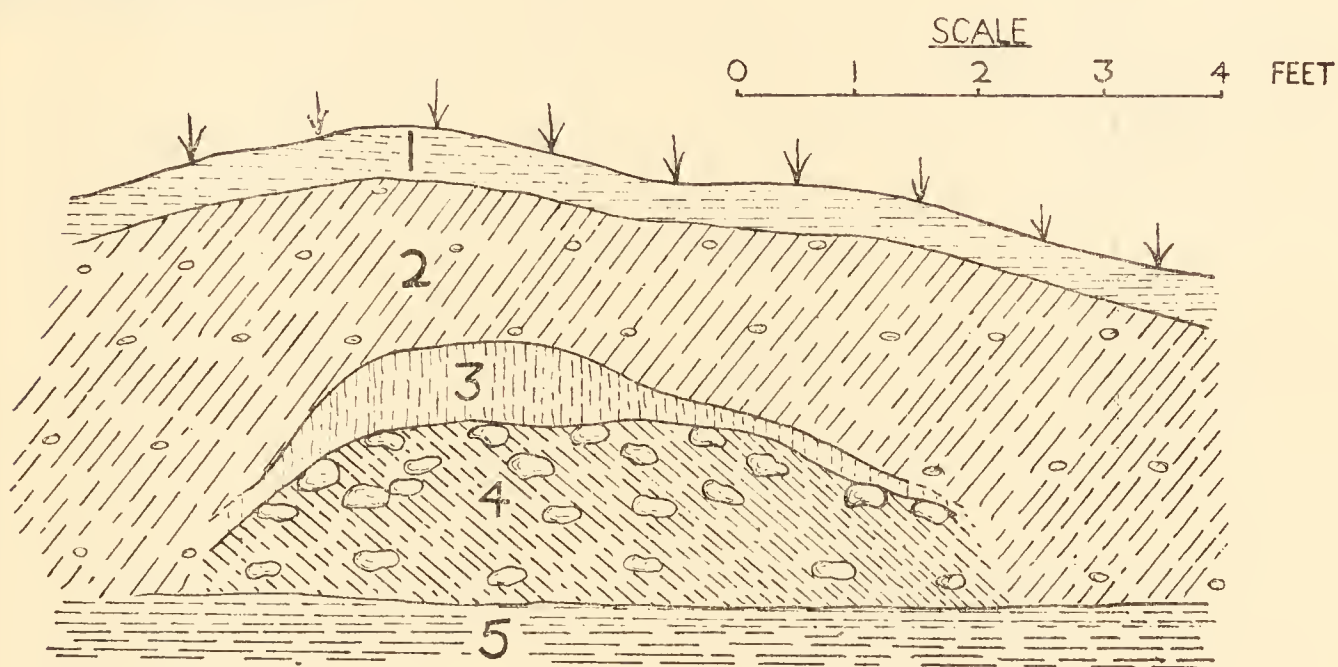


FIG. 1.  
Section of Road at Warning Tongue Lane (looking north).

Near the Warning Tongue Lane Railway Bridge (630003) the road to Doncaster changes its course slightly westwards. Margary<sup>4</sup> noticed that the alignment from Bawtry is continued along the northern part of Warning Tongue Lane, the east side of Sandal Beat Wood, and would cross the River Don at (602068) near a railway bridge, thus making a 'spur' road. In Sandal Beat Wood at (617033) a slight 'agger' is visible; this was examined in April 1960 at a point in the wood where there had been a recent fire during the dry spring in 1960. The 'agger' here was found to be due to an old dry stone wall. The bedrock was hard, due probably to its recent baking; and no other features were found. Hence the existence of a Roman Road here is non-proven.

At the point where the alignment crosses the Don (602068), a series of piles was noted in the river bed during the summer of 1959. Then the river level was extremely low due to works upstream on the A.1 Road Bridge. These piles could be another system of Roman Bridge Piles, as those on the River Torne (633998) maybe, but could be equally of any other date.

The course of the Roman Road to Doncaster immediately to the north of the Railway Bridge (630003) is obscure. Margary<sup>4</sup> suggests a course which goes to Doncaster in a gentle curve to come into the town along Bennetthorpe, which is further north-east than the alignment marked on the 6 ins. O.S. Map of Doncaster. This alignment passes by the west boundary wall of Hamilton Lodge (589025); indeed the wall appears to have been built on the 'agger'. There is a small patch of waste ground to the west of Hamilton Lodge; here a probe survey was made along the alignment. This showed that the west boundary wall of the Lodge was built on the top of a hard hump about twenty feet wide.

A trench was dug across this hump (fig. 2) in April 1960 and was cleared down to the hard layer. In parts a pebble surface was disclosed but tree roots had loosened some of this. The pebbles lay on top of the layer 4 in fig. 2, which was the hard layer picked up by the probe.

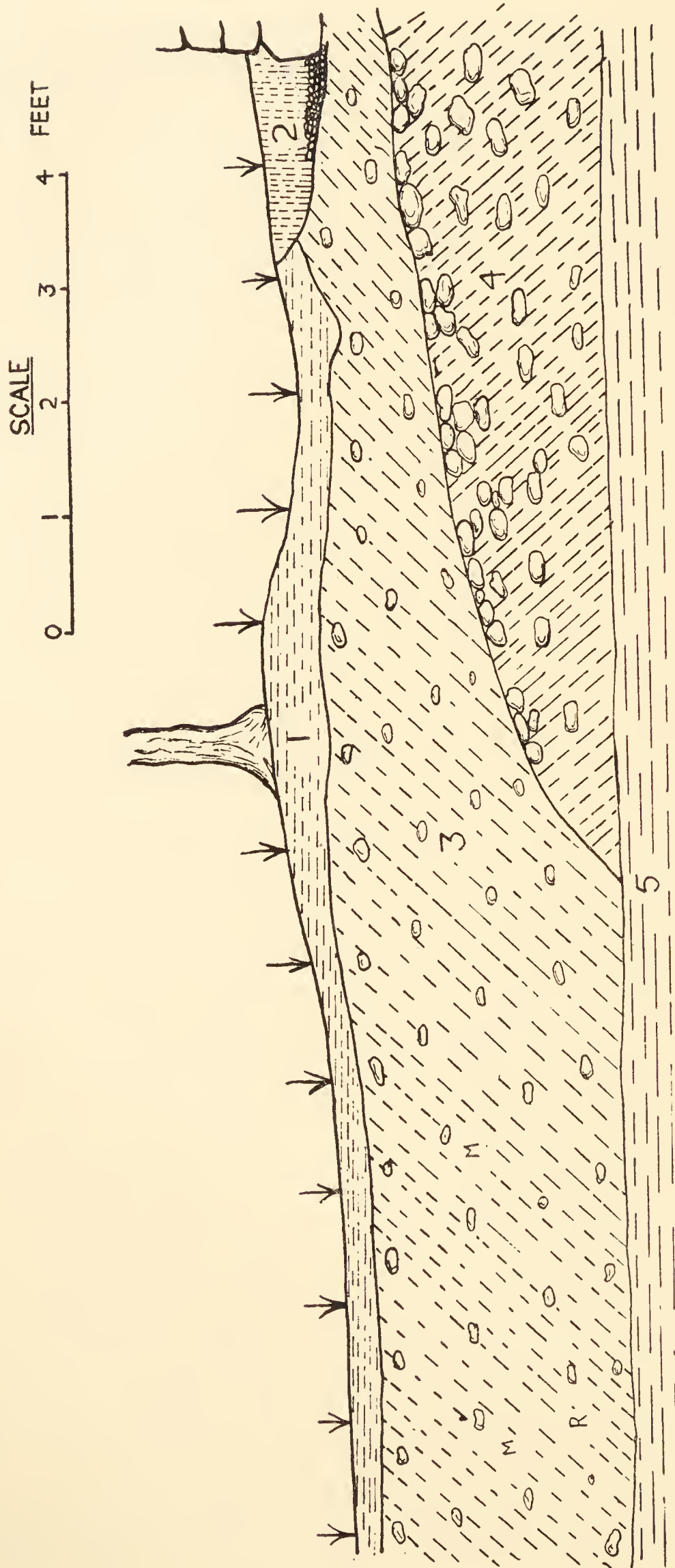


FIG. 2.  
Section of Road at Hamilton Lodge (looking north).



Three potsherds were found in this trench. Two mediaeval fragments (one with light fabric and brown grit, the other with an orange fabric and a blue-green glaze). The third was in well fired light grey Romano-British ware, typical of the products from the kilns at Cantley. The position of these sherds is shown on fig. 2 by the letters M and R respectively.

From Hamilton Lodge the road runs N.W. into Doncaster, crossing Firbeck and Welbeck Roads. In this area there are still a number of traces of the alignment. In 27 Firbeck Road the back lawn is usually parched over the line and the wall between the back gardens of 25 and 27 Firbeck Road 'hogs' over the position of the 'agger'. No. 18 Welbeck Road has a very stony vegetable patch and the partition wall between the gardens of 14 and 16 Welbeck Road 'hogs' up where the alignment crosses it. The road now joins 'Roman Road', goes up South Parade, by Hall Cross (582030), and so into the centre of Doncaster.

The road may continue south-east from Hamilton Lodge (589025); there are slight but inconclusive traces in two houses south of Carr House Road. However, on the airfield the remains of the road must have been destroyed when the airfield was built. There are no apparent traces of the road south of the airfield, but the alignment from Hall Cross via Hamilton Lodge passes within fifty yards of the Railway Bridge (GR.630003) at Warning Tongue Lane.

### *Conclusions*

The main problem facing the Roman Road constructor was to avoid marshy ground to the south-west of Doncaster. The road was built on a gravel ridge extending N.N.W. from Bawtry and the first obstacle was the Torne valley, but here there is only a stretch 350 yards in length which is below 25 ft. O.D. From the Rail Bridge at Warning Tongue Lane the road could have been built in a straight line for Doncaster, the alignment having to cross a five hundred yard stretch just below 25 ft. O.D. on the Doncaster Airport. The local people say that even before the construction of the airfield, the ground here was dry and a foot-path had existed there as long as anyone could remember. Thus there seems no practical reason for taking the road eastwards through Cantley, as Margary<sup>4</sup> suggests, except to provide access to the Roman pottery at Cantley. Since the road under discussion was a military one, the direct route would be important and it is possible that a system of tracks linked this road with the potteries.

Another interesting feature of this road is its mode of construction. The subsoil on the gravel terraces is sandy and contains no peat, and stays dry even in the depths of winter. This has already overcome the greatest problem of construction, drainage, which is of major importance on heavy clay soils. The method of construction of the road being discussed, would be to clear a path through the scrub and make an earth road, filling in any wheel ruts with stones. Hence the small, hard packed layers that characterize the sections cut at Warning Tongue Lane (fig. 1, layer 4) and Hamilton Lodge (fig. 2, layer 4). With this mode of construction it is not surprising that all trace of the road seems to have been lost between Warning Tongue Lane and Hamilton Lodge. It would be easy to plough away such a road.

In conclusion the author would like to propose the course of the Roman Road from Bawtry to Doncaster following these two alignments.

1. From Bawtry N.N.W., crossing the Torne, up to the Warning Tongue Railway Bridge (630003).

2. From (630003) N.W. past Hamilton Lodge to Hall Cross (582030).

The existence of a Spur road by Sandal Beat Wood has not been substantiated by this work.

### *Acknowledgements*

1. For permission to excavate, I am grateful to the Cementation Co. and the Doncaster Corporation. The staff of the Doncaster Museum have given valuable help and advice in suggesting this field of research. I am also grateful to Mr. R. Sayles, Mr. R. White, Mr. R. Collingwood, Mr. W. Ingram, and Miss B. Collinge who have helped with the actual digging.

2. Mr. W. Ingram kindly supplied the information about the piles in the River Don at 602068.



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- 1 Bartlett, J., *Transactions of Thornton Society*, 1958, p. 24-35.
- 2 Böcking, *Notitia Dignitatum*, p. 267, p. 475, 478.
- 3 Stukeley, *Iter Boreale*, p. 72. 'Danvm' (from the *Itinerarium Curiosum*).
- 4 I. D. Margary, *Roman Roads in Britain*, vol. II, p. 142-3.
- 5 F. K. Annable, *Doncaster Museum Publications*, xxiv, p. 10.

D. A. WHITE

6. *Easedike, nr. Tadcaster*

At SE.47454544, 1½ miles N.W. of Tadcaster and 250 yds. N. of Easedike Farm, the removal of 3-4 ft. of soil to level the western verge of the Tadcaster-Wighill road revealed traces of stonework (March 1962).

The remains consisted of two stone-lined channels at right angles to one another, probably originally forming an equal-armed cross in plan. The channels were made of roughly-squared blocks of limestone with thick mortar joints. Many of the stones were reddened by fire, particularly the large flags which formed the capstones of the channels.

One channel parallel to the modern road and 17 yds. from its western edge was at least 16 yds. long but neither end was visible. The inside measurements of the channel were 1 ft. 2 ins. wide by 10 ins. high.

The second channel at right angles to the last and to the road was first revealed 8 yds. from the western edge of the road and uncovered for 20 ft. Its internal measurements were 1 ft. 2 ins. wide by 8½ ins. high.

The intersection of the two channels was not revealed.

On the site there was formerly a circular hollow.

It seems highly probable that the channels and hollow formed part of a lime-kiln, the former flue-holes for draught and the latter the floor of the kiln. The site is at least half a mile from the nearest limestone quarry over the River Wharfe but a convenient source of supply was at hand in the remains of a deserted village. The kiln is situated on the N.E. edge of the village remains on the steep slope down to the river. The village site has obviously been dug over for stone. The date is post-mediaeval, probably 18th or 19th century.

D. P. DYMOND

7. *The Size of the Farmhouse as an Indication of Wealth*

Manorial records have always been a source of information to the economic historian, but generally their value has been limited by the greater attention that they necessarily give to the affairs of the lord and his court than to the peasants. Yet it was the peasants who comprised the bulk of the population of the countryside. Recently it has been realised that the inventories which many peasants left behind them with their wills can fill the gap which has up till now often prevented historians from giving a comprehensive account of all aspects of the countryside.

The inventory itself was a list of all the goods and chattels valued by friends or relatives of the deceased very shortly after death. It included all the personal goods and furniture room by room, as well as the farm stock, and particulars were usually given of the debts outstanding by him and to him. But it gave no indication of his possessions in real estate (although occasionally the value of the unexpired portion of a lease was included).

Farm capital was often given in considerable detail under the main headings of horses, cattle, sheep, pigs and poultry, crops (growing and in barn or stack) and implements and dairy equipment. The detail of the personal capital was usually much greater than the farm equipment, although its total value was not often as great. It included the deceased's money and personal apparel, and such household goods as chairs, tables, linen, cooking and other kitchen utensils and sometimes some salt beef or a side of bacon and cheeses.

Debts owing by the deceased included his funeral expenses and often wages to a servant. The inventories of the wealthier classes included the bonds which made many of them substantial creditors.

Peasants' inventories have frequently formed the basis of recent research work in local history. W. G. Hoskins<sup>1</sup> has used them in several of his Leicestershire

<sup>1</sup> Hoskins, W. G., *The Midland Peasant*, Macmillan 1957.



TABLE 1  
SIZE OF HOUSE RELATED TO AMOUNT OF CAPITAL IN 17TH CENTURY

No. of Rooms*	No. of Records	Farm Capital	Personal Capital	Trade Capital (other than farm)	Gross Capital	Adjustment for Debts	Net Capital
1	18	£ 49	£ 21	£ —	£ 70	£ —4	£ 66
2	78	56	15	—	71	—9	62
3	157	60	24	2	86	—11	75
4	131	75	32	2	109	+24	133
5	88	88	40	1	129	+17	146
6	44	112	56	2	171	+21	192
7	25	122	94	2	218	+53	271
8	15	108	99	17	224	+42	266
9	4	223	305	—	528	+5	533
10	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
11	4	160	155	—	315	+276	591
Total or Average	564	£76. 14s. 0d.	£37. 9s. 0d.	£2. 1s. 0d.	£116. 4s. 0d.	+£9. 6s. 0d.	£125. 10s. 0d.

\* excluding kitchen and outbuildings.

studies, and Mrs. Thirsk based her pictures of sixteenth and seventeenth century Lincolnshire farming on them. I have scrutinised nearly a thousand Yorkshire inventories, most of which were until recently housed in the Probate Office in York, but are now in the Borthwick Institute, in order to study the degree of regional farming in seventeenth century Yorkshire.<sup>1</sup> Although my main interest was in the agricultural data contained in them I also extracted particulars of the number of rooms in each peasant's house in order to see if there was a relationship between them and the value of the deceased's estate. The rooms were usually described as the forehouse, parlour, chamber, kitchen, buttery, brewhouse, kilnhouse, with variations on these names, such as ffyrehouse, house, housebody for forehouse. There were altogether 564 inventories usable for this purpose, and as they all refer to a date within a year or two of 1688, the sample is numerically satisfactory.

For the purpose of the present investigation only the rooms for living in or sleeping in were included—the forehouse, parlours and chambers. The rooms mainly used for working in—kitchen, buttery, and so on, were disregarded because it was considered that they were less likely to be directly connected with wealth than the living accommodation. Moreover, with some rooms, such as the dairy and, in the industrial West Riding, the shop, it was difficult to be sure in which category they would be most appropriately classed. Some families lived and slept in only one room, but it was more usual to have in addition one or more parlours, and often a chamber over each. The beds, however, were generally to be found in the parlours downstairs, and the chamber was frequently little more than a loft above the parlour where a few tools, some fleeces of wool, or sacks of corn were stored alongside household equipment.

Table 1 shows that in some houses there were as many as 11 rooms, but these were the exception and a house with 3 or 4 rooms was much more usual. There was quite a close connection between the number of rooms and the amount of both farm and personal capital, which indicates that the size of a man's house was a useful indication of his personal wealth in those days. The most numerous groups were those from 2 to 6 rooms inclusive. Within this range the farm capital doubled, and the personal capital almost quadrupled. The executors of the occupants of the smaller houses usually had to pay in debts more than they received, but the bonds which were frequently held by the occupiers of the larger houses made the balance between debts owed by and debts owing to an additional source of capital to the estate. The average estate was £125. 10s. 0d.

Only inventories which had farm stock were examined. On about half of them the occupation of the deceased was given. Most were yeomen or husbandmen. (It was not unusual to find a man described as a yeoman in his inventory and a husbandman in his will, or vice versa.) Quite a number of tradesmen had enough farm stock to justify inclusion. Half of them were West Riding clothiers. Some of the inventories in the East Riding, especially near Beverley, were of 'grassmen'. Nearly 5 per cent of the total number were of women who owned enough farm property to justify inclusion, and most of the remainder were of the gentry whose houses by their size usually showed the social class of their owners.

It cannot, of course, be assumed that the value of a house is measurable by the number of its rooms, but some such relationship is likely. To the extent that this is so, this brief study suggests that there was considerable justification for assessing taxation on the value of house property at a time when no satisfactory alternative was available.

W. HARWOOD LONG

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<sup>1</sup> Long, W. Harwood, 'Regional Farming in Seventeenth Century Yorkshire', *Agricultural History Review* VIII. 2. 1960.



## TWO MEDIEVAL SITES NEAR SEDBERGH, West Riding

By P. V. ADDYMAN, W. G. SIMPSON and P. W. H. SPRING.

The archaeological sites at Underbank and Hall Garth, near Sedbergh, which form the subject of this report, were examined by members of the Archaeological Section of the Sedbergh School Sedgwick Society in the summers of 1955-58. The work was carried on under the direction of successive secretaries of the section (the present writers). The Underbank site was examined by kind permission of Mr. Fishwick, the owner of the site, and of Mr. Stavely, who farms the land. The Hallgarth site is owned by Sedbergh School, and permission to excavate was readily granted by the Headmaster.<sup>1</sup>

### 1. UNDERBANK LATE MEDIEVAL SETTLEMENT

The site is about three-quarters of a mile east of Sedbergh (fig. 1) near Underbank Farm, to the north of the Sedbergh—Kirkby Stephen road (SD.668925). Irregularities occur in fields on both sides of Ashbeck Gill to the North of a point where the footpath from Underbank Farm to Stone Hall crosses the stream; the settlement possibly extends to the area of Gill House Farm. Although those in the Underbank area were still known locally as 'Little Sedbergh' the irregularities were generally regarded as former stream courses. It was noticed, however, that the mounds were sometimes rectangular in plan. In places straight lines of stones poked through the turf. Subsequently five or six buildings were located, and less certain traces were found of several others. East of Ashbeck Gill a possible sunken road runs approximately north—south. This may, of course, be a former stream-bed, for the stream has changed its course greatly even since the 1862 O.S. 6 ins. map was made.

Attempts to locate documentation for the settlement have been unsuccessful. It has proved impossible to identify the early name (if there ever was one), and references may therefore have been missed. The Sedbergh Parish Registers,<sup>2</sup> which go back to 1594, indicate that families were living at Stone Hall in 1606 and later; at Eshbeck or Ashbeck Gill in 1608 and later; and at Underbank in 1619 and later. These farms, which all survive today, may be the successors of the abandoned settlement. The porch of Stone Hall until recently bore a datestone of 1693. It is perhaps significant that, while the main series

<sup>1</sup> To these, to numerous volunteers from Sedbergh School, particularly Messrs. Graley, Martindale, Moulding and Taylor, to Mr. J. G. Hurst and Professor M. W. Beresford who visited the excavations, to Mrs. Le Patourel who advised on the pottery, and to others who helped in various ways, we are most grateful.

<sup>2</sup> *Sedbergh Parish Registers* Jackson (Sedbergh) 1898.



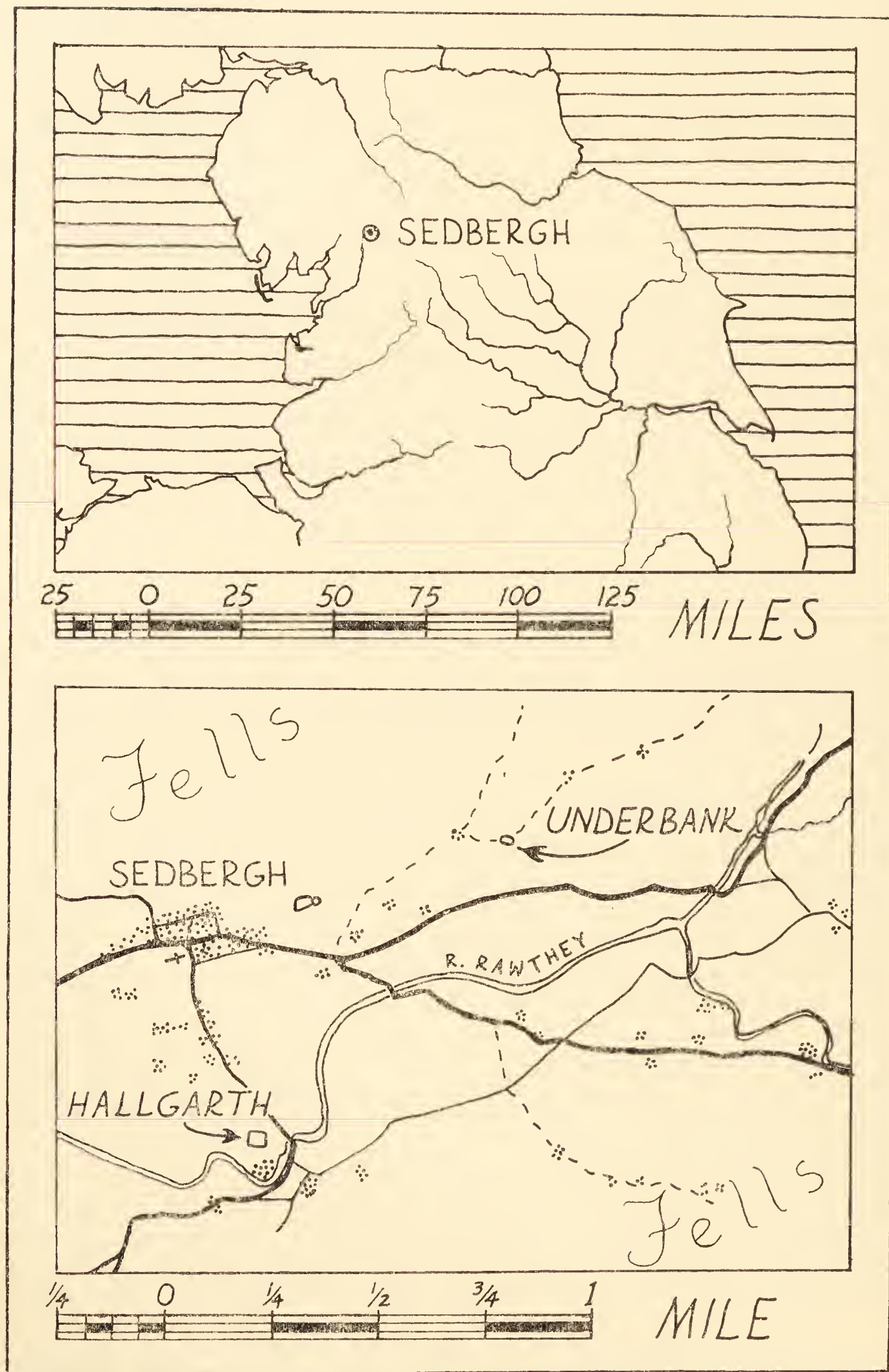


FIG. 1.  
Maps showing the location of Underbank and Hallgarth.

of building platforms and walls is near Stone Hall, outlying groups occur nearer the other farms, Gill House and Underbank.

The latter group, being the most clearly marked on the ground, was chosen for excavation to establish the nature of the site. It lay in a hollow at the foot of a knoll (fig. 2), and was bounded by a modern track to the north; to the south a modern wall skirted the site. A long low mound to the west covered the footings of a former boundary wall in that direction. The ground within this area had been partly recessed into the hillside to provide a level building space. Traces of two or three minor buildings could be seen, and one major long rectangular building.

#### *The excavation*

A trial trench cut in 1955 across the main building revealed its character and late medieval date. An area excavation on a 15 ft. grid with 12 ft. 6 ins. squares was undertaken in 1956. The grid, however, proved wasteful of the limited resources, and in 1957 and 1958 large trenches were placed across the walls.<sup>1</sup> The stratigraphy was simple, and constant over most of the site (fig. 4). Below the turf was a layer (*layer 2*) of tumbled stones and clayey earth which gave way within the building to *layer 3*, compact clay with some pebbles and in places pockets and scatters of charcoal; this was the floor. Beneath there was over 1 ft. of gravelly clay, *layer 4*, containing in places a 6 ins. layer of clean sand, *layer 5*, and resting on *layer 6*, a level and even layer of clean clay. This sealed *layer 7*, tightly packed boulders and stones. *Layer 7* was interpreted as the natural, a rough boulder spread, which had been levelled off and sealed by *layer 6* prior to building. The site was then made up with *layers 4* and *5*, the walls built and the floors laid. The top of *layer 4* had evidently been the occupation ground surface outside the buildings, but soil had accumulated over this, especially at the north-east end of the building, before the destruction layer *2* covered the site. The finds came mostly from the ground-surface outside the building, though some sherds were found within, and two came from *layer 4*.

The north-west wall (pl. i) was exposed completely, with adjacent parts of the north-east and south-west walls, and most of the south-east wall. In addition about one quarter of the interior was uncovered, though not enough to be sure of the internal arrangements. A composite cross section was recorded in both directions.

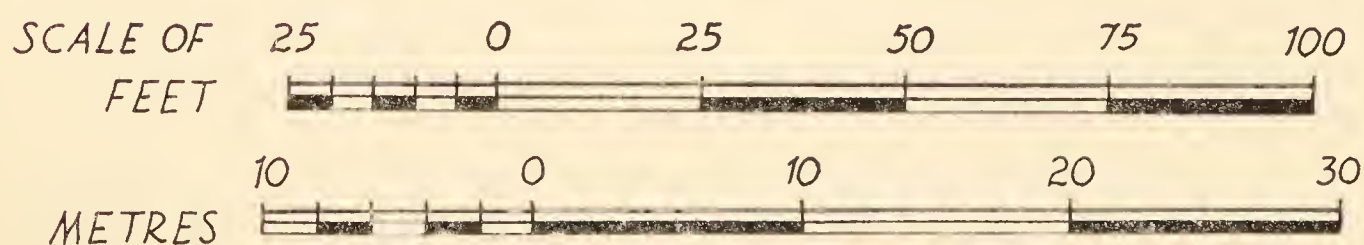
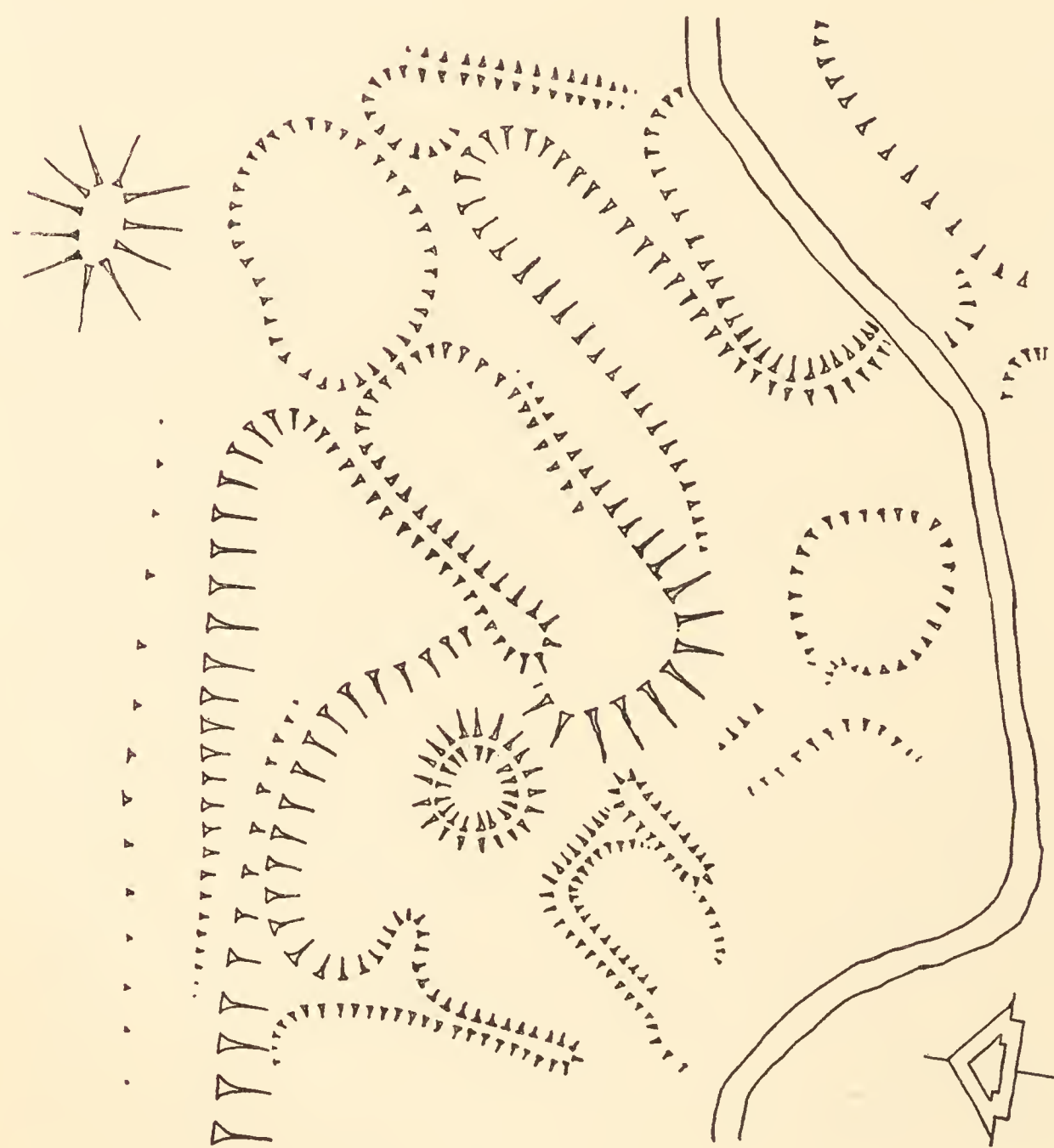
In plan the structure was rectangular (fig. 3). It appeared to have been subdivided internally into three bays, of which the central one was the largest, being almost square. The bays varied considerably in size however, and the wall thicknesses ranged from 2 ft. 6 ins. to 4 ft. 9 ins. Although the building had been recessed into the hillside, it was still on a considerable slope (fig. 4). The floor of each bay was, however, level, and separated from its neighbour by a step. The step between the centre and north-east was particularly

<sup>1</sup> Records and finds of the Underbank and Hallgarth excavations are deposited in the Yorkshire Museum, York, except for a selection of pottery in the Brian Harrison Room, Sedbergh School.



# UNDERBANK

## LATE MEDIEVAL SETTLEMENT



P.Y.A. 1962.

FIG. 2.

Plan of surface irregularities around the Underbank settlement before excavation.





PLATE I.

Underbank: north-west wall of the main buildings.



PLATE II.

North-west wall showing junction of centre and north-east bay.





well constructed, of carefully chosen boulders and flat stones. No evidence was found of party-walls associated with the steps, making the apparent subdivisions real, but total excavation of the interior might have revealed some.

The walls were dry-stone built throughout. Undressed glacial or water-worn stones such as abound in the nearby streams, and are still used in field walls, had been used. Some had been marked with a cross, presumably by the builder to facilitate collection. Otherwise, however, the walls varied in character almost as much as in thickness. The end walls were at once the slightest, narrowest and most carefully built, with carefully and tightly laid smallish facing stones, and a closely packed core of small stones. The north-west and south-east walls of the north-east bay seemed also to be a pair, and were the heaviest in the building. The core was of large, well positioned boulders, and the facing of elongated stones pointing inwards. The north-west and south-east walls of the Centre Bay were much narrower than those of the north-east bay which, though apparently bonded thereto, they joined abruptly (pl. II). Their facing and loose core was of medium-sized stones. In the north-west bay, larger and sometimes very large stones had been used; but the construction was basically similar to that of the centre bay.

The arrangements at the south corner were not at all clear. The area had been confused by robbing to such an extent that it was difficult to distinguish tumbled stone from walls. There appeared to be a slightly built wall running off to the south-east, perhaps a yard wall. Where this met the building, at the corner, the building appeared to have been strengthened by a short stretch of walling built against the south-east wall. A gap occurred in the main wall near this point. A possible explanation is that the structure is a chimney base, projecting externally, of which several are known in local seventeenth century houses. That at Docker Hall, Arkholme, contained a raised wall oven recently destroyed, which would explain the lack of burning near the present structure. Alternatively it might be a base for steps to an entry above ground level, as is found on some local barns and early farmhouses. This is an attractive theory, since no other trace of a doorway was found.

To the south-west of the building well-laid cobbling was found; it petered out 15 ft. from the building, and may only have been a path round the west end. Elsewhere the surface was of rammed clay and pebbles only.

A trench cut 50 ft. west of the main building located the corner of a further small building, and revealed the southern end of the boundary wall on the west of the site. A stone-lined drain was also found heading down the slope in the direction of a spring, now adapted as a cattle trough, some 50 yds. away. In addition a single trench was put across one of the building platforms near Stone Hall. Stonework of an exactly similar character was found, and several sherds of pottery to all intents and purposes identical to the finds from the Underbank site.



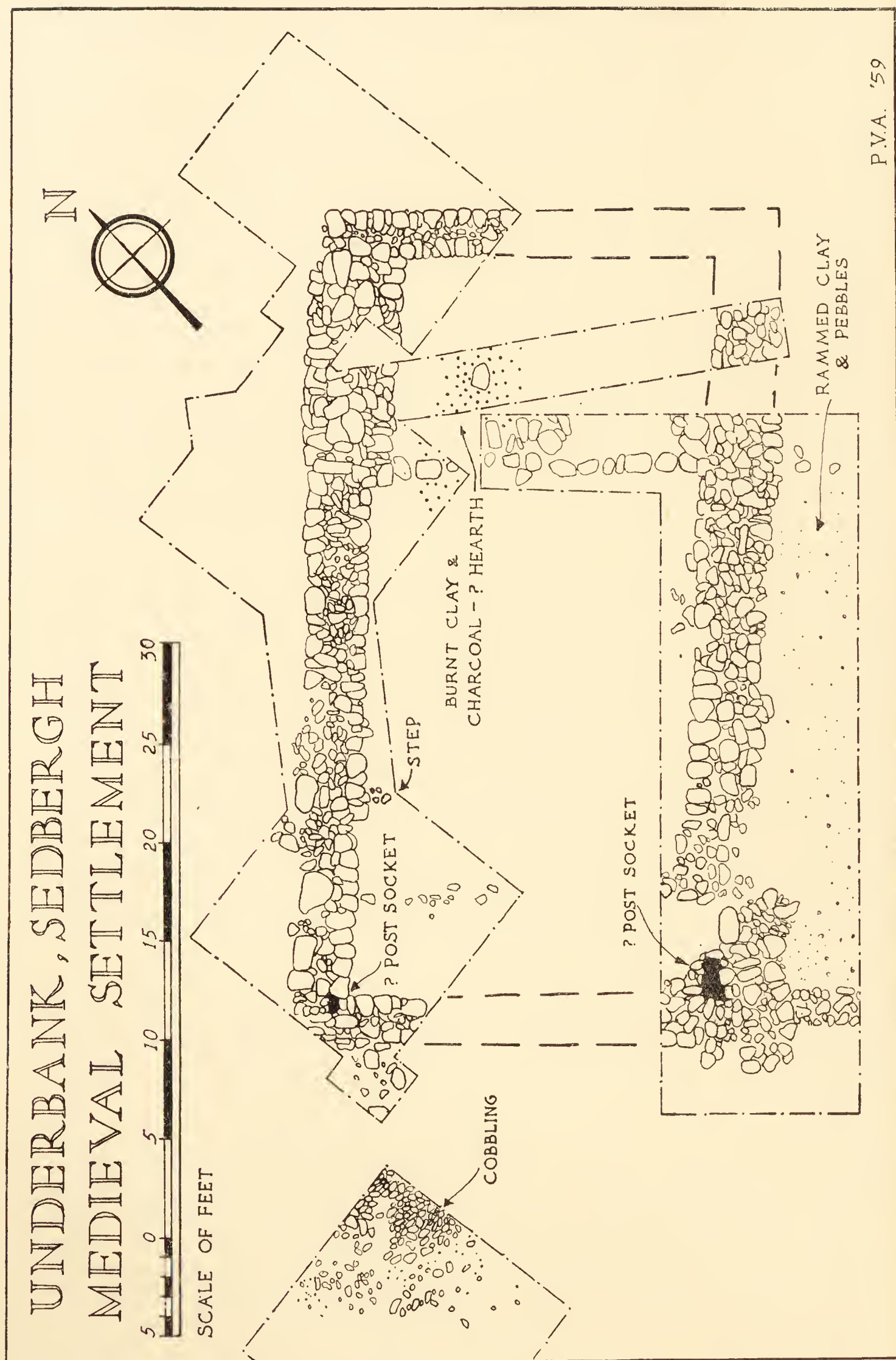


Fig. 3. Plan of excavations.

The area of the main building at the Underbank site has, since the excavation, been levelled up with rubble, but the remainder of the site is undisturbed.

### *Interpretation*

The present-day settlement pattern in the Sedbergh area probably retains much of the late medieval and early modern form into which the Underbank group of structures must be fitted. Sedbergh is a small market town near the mouths of Dentedale, Garsdale and the Rawthey valley, from which radiate roads and tracks on both sides of each main valley where possible, and up the minor tributaries. Strung along the roads and tracks are farms and farmsteads, some a quarter, some half a mile apart. Many are of demonstrable antiquity. Frequently datestones of the 16th and 17th centuries are built into the farmhouse, and the farm itself often bears a name traceable at least as far back in documents. It is probable that many came into existence at this time, though in some cases an etymology with a Norse origin has been suggested for the farm name.<sup>1</sup> Occasionally three or four farms and cottages cluster together to form hamlets, usually on stream-sides. It is possible that the Underbank settlement is part of such a hamlet with the Stone Hall buildings at its centre. Alternatively each of the Underbank, Stone Hall and Gill House groups of buildings could have been a separate farm unit, each with its farmhouse, barns, outbuildings and garden enclosures, much as their successors are today. Underbank and Stone Hall are on an important track leading to Cautley about four miles away, until recently much used by those going to Sedbergh market on foot. The Underbank group could lastly be an isolated group of farm-buildings—a barn and some sheds—though such as do occur locally appear to be of 18th or 19th century origin. The answer to these questions lies in the total excavation of the Underbank group of buildings, a project which it is hoped the Sedbergh School Archaeological Section may one day undertake.

Some indication will, however, be given if the nature of the excavated building can be established. The plan fits closely Raistrick's generalized description of a dales cottage of the 16th and 17th centuries,<sup>2</sup> in which it is stated that 'over the whole of the Pennines there is very little variation from this plan and arrangement in the smaller houses and cottages of this period.' The central bay at Underbank would presumably be the living place, and the two smaller bays would be parlour and dairy/kitchen. Though there is no clear evidence of party walls at Underbank the subdivision is made real by the changes in floor level. While it is possible that the structure is a barn, the abundance of occupation material and the spreads of charcoal make this unlikely.

The remarkable changes in character of the walls, which also emphasize the tripartite plan, may reflect different building phases or, more likely, differing functions of the various walls. There is little evidence, however, on which to base a reconstruction of the superstructure. A tradition of cruck-framed building has been demon-

<sup>1</sup> As Branthwaite and many other -thwaite names, Dowbiggin, Lunds, etc.

<sup>2</sup> *The Yorkshire Dalesman*, vol. iii (1941-2), 127-36.



UNDERBANK - SECTIONS

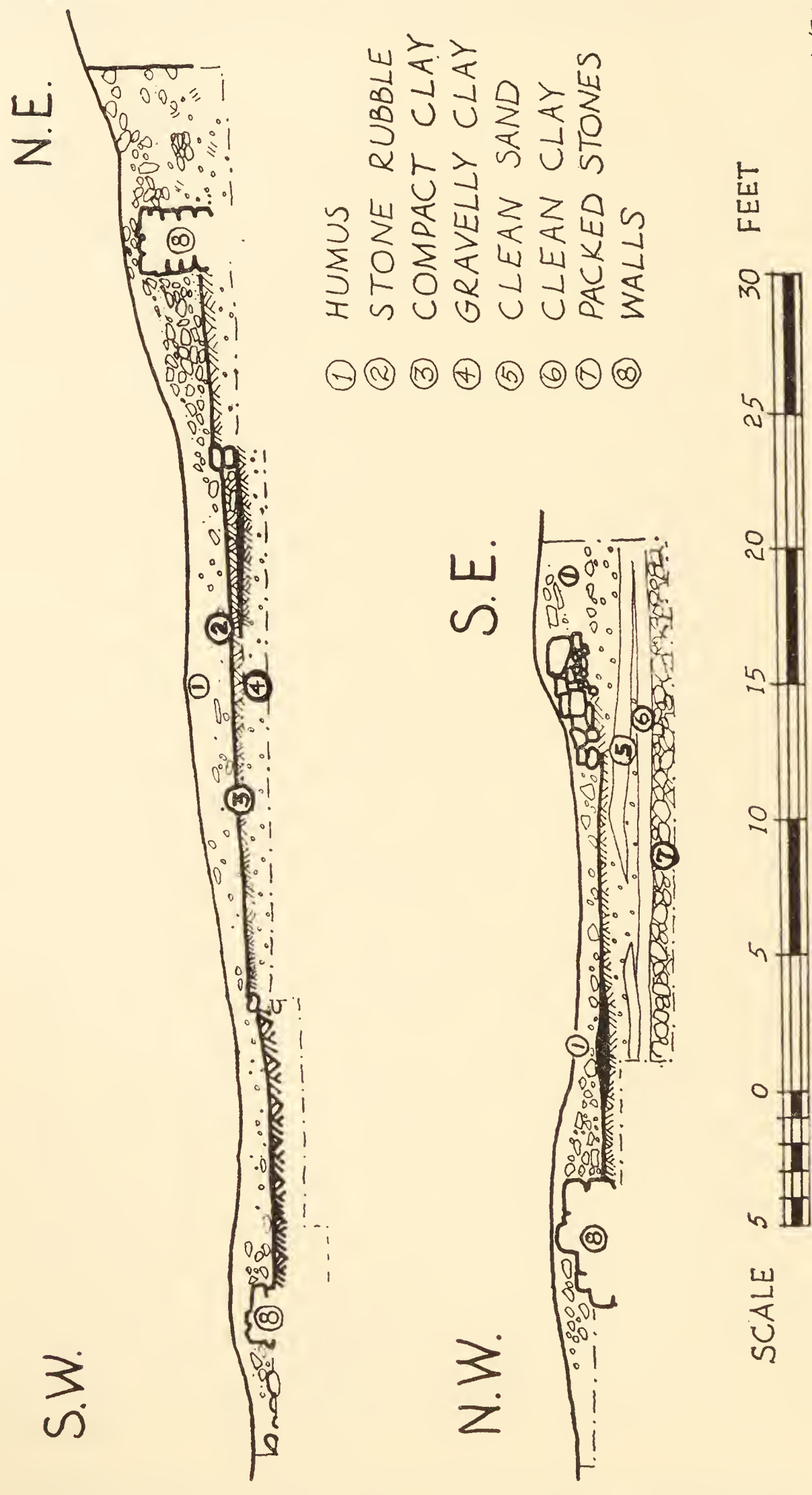


FIG. 4. Underbank : sections of the main building.

strated by Walton<sup>1</sup> for adjacent areas. The post-hole-like voids at the corners of the building may therefore have been the sockets of crucks; the apparent bays may be true cruck bays; and the walls may have been brought up to eaves height in dry stone. Barley<sup>2</sup> notes the persistence of one-storey cruck building in north-west Lancashire in the late 16th century and such a superstructure would therefore not be out of place. The roofing material, however, consisted of flags about 18 ins. by 10 ins. by  $\frac{3}{4}$  in. thick. Raistrick has observed<sup>3</sup> that in nearly all cases where the change from a thatched roof to a slated one can clearly be seen, the crucks were replaced by roof trusses, commonly a simple three member truss with two short diagonal braces. Such an arrangement is therefore more likely here. The walls would be dry-stone built throughout (no traces of mortar were found) and the building probably of two storeys.

Buildings such as the Underbank structure are not known either from building accounts or extant examples before the late 16th century in the Dales. The pottery is not inconsistent with such a dating, but could be late 15th century. If it is subsequently shown to be early, the building will have interest as the forerunner of a widespread type. If it is late, it and its surroundings will at least provide a fossilised example of a type of house frequently surviving, but never without later alterations.

#### *The Finds*

Only pottery, metalwork and stone objects were found. The total absence of bones may perhaps be explained by the soil conditions, though no acidity tests were made.

#### *Pottery (fig. 5)*

Most of the pottery was in light grey fine textured ware, slightly lighter at the surfaces, with no visible signs of tempering, and characteristically very soft and powdery, of the consistency of chalk. The glazes were usually yellowish or yellow-green, though occasionally dark olive or dark brownish-red. The red and green glazes sometimes occurred together in a simple pattern (fig. 5, 2). The glazes were in general of poor quality; few retained any lustre; most had partly flaked off, and continued to do so, for which the ware rather than any inherent faults in the glaze was perhaps to blame. One sherd in this ware (fig. 5, 7) had been fired in oxidising conditions and was red, but this was the exception.

Most of the sherds in soft grey ware came from jars or jugs.<sup>4</sup> A large jar (fig. 5, 1) with two or possibly three handles and spigot hole is of the type frequently found in 15th and 16th contexts in the north-east. Two rims (fig. 5, 5 and 6) have an applied finger-tipped strip at the neck, and may come from similar jars. Though the parallels are not close between these vessels and those from Kirkstall Abbey, Yorks.,<sup>5</sup> or Cambokeels, Weardale,<sup>6</sup> all clearly exemplify a strong late medieval tradition in the north. Of the jug rims, four were slightly inturned and one everted, though all quite simple. Handles of oval and round section, and a strap handle, were found, all undecorated. Bases were all flat, or nearly so, with expanding sides (fig. 5, 10-13) or nearly vertical sides (fig. 5, 15 and 16). The latter were usually trimmed with vertical knife strokes and often had stacking ring scars on

<sup>1</sup> *Y.A.J.*, cxlv (1948), 62-66.

<sup>2</sup> M. W. Barley, *The English Farmhouse and Cottage* (1961), 118.

<sup>3</sup> *The Yorkshire Dalesman cit.*, 187.

<sup>4</sup> The terminology suggested by M. G. Jarrett and B. J. N. Edwards is here followed. *Arch. Ael.*, 4th ser., xxxix (1961), 240.

<sup>5</sup> *P. Thoresby Soc.*, xliii (1954), *passim*.

<sup>6</sup> *Arch. Ael.*, 4th ser., xxv (1947), 192.



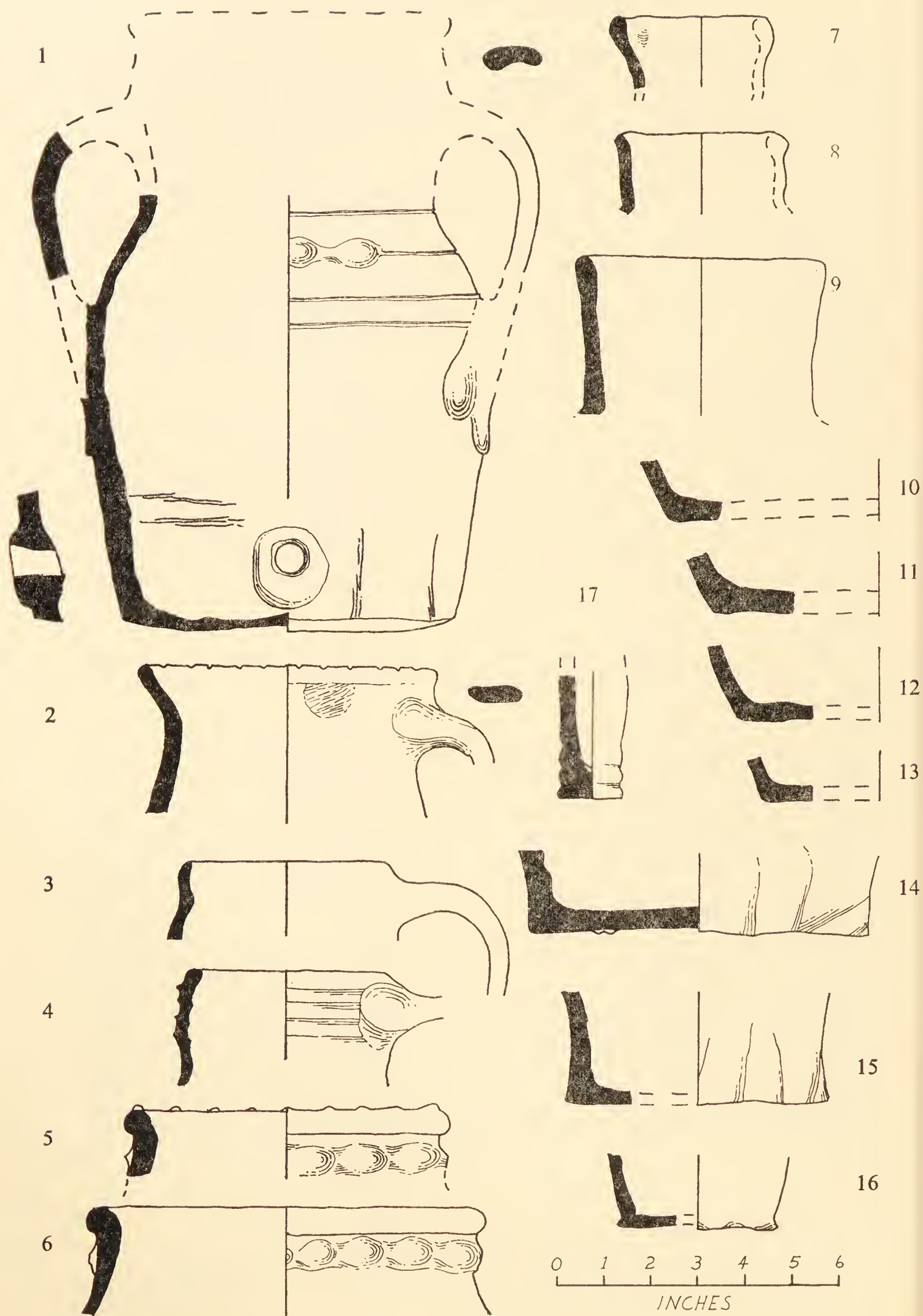


FIG. 5. Pottery from Underbank ( $\frac{1}{4}$ ).

the base. Ornament was infrequent; apart from the glazed patterns already mentioned it was confined either to applied finger-tipped strips or small gobbets of galena pushed into the rim and fired to make lumps of glaze. The latter technique is known from several northern sites including Brougham Castle, Westmorland,<sup>1</sup> where the pots are in a similar ware.

Other wares were rare. Five sherds of Cistercian ware were found, all body sherds of large vessels with uneven glaze, which Mrs. H. E. J. Le Patourel has kindly examined, but finds difficult to date. The base of a small jug in hard, well-fired, even textured though slightly gritty red ware was found. It was distinct from the other pottery from the site, but it is not unlike 15th century jugs from Kirkstall<sup>2</sup> and York. A small sherd of stoneware with a greenish-grey glaze within and a stamped foliage pattern, a surface find, may be a copy of types current in the mid-16th century.

The dating of the assemblage is somewhat problematical. It seems to be a unified group, there being no apparent difference between wares found in the levelling-up prior to building and those found in the floors and destruction levels. The complex building history, however, suggests that the finds cover a substantial period, though perhaps not necessarily more than half a century. Unfortunately there is no internal dating for the site. General analogies have been indicated above with sites of 15th and 16th century date in other parts of northern England. There is evidence, however, that even in south-east England<sup>3</sup> traditions of late medieval pottery lingered long, and this may especially be true in an area relatively so remote as Sedbergh.

All sherds described are in soft grey ware unless otherwise stated.

1. Jar with two, possibly three, handles attached at the lower end with two thumb mouldings. Spigot hole near base, where the sides are knife-trimmed and thick, though the base itself is thin. Decoration of four incised lines round shoulder, and applied horizontal strips with three finger mouldings. Dark red-brown glaze. Though broadly comparable with a 14th/15th century (?) example from Finchale Priory,<sup>4</sup> 15th century examples from Cambokeels,<sup>5</sup> and 15th-16th century examples from Kirkstall Abbey,<sup>6</sup> it may be later than any of these. Found on contemporary ground surface outside building.

2. Jug with simple everted rim, handle of oval section, and external yellow-green glaze, except in roughened areas below the rim, where the glaze is red. Small regular indentations along the top of the rim appear to have held gobbets of galena as in No. 5. Found at base of layer 2.

3. Jug with simple slightly inturned rim and handle of oval section; light green glaze. Found in wall at W. corner.

4. Jug with slightly inturned rim, strap-handle, and pronounced rilling on the neck; imperfect yellow-green glaze. Found on cobbled area.

5. Jar, rim only, rounded and slightly beaded, with an applied finger-moulded cordon immediately below. The raised lumps of glaze along the rim-top are made by the technique of impressing gobbets of galena, as inferred in No. 2. Found at the base of layer 2.

6. Jar, rim only, similar to No. 5 but larger and without the lumps of glaze on the rim-top. Found in filling behind north-east wall.

7. Jug with slightly thickened and inturned rim, pulled out and moulded at lip; the ware is red though in other respects similar to the usual grey ware; a handle of oval section found nearby is of similar ware and may belong to this jug. Find-spot as for 6.

8. Jug, rim only, in harder ware than the normal; the rim is slightly thickened, and pulled down at the lip; unglazed. Found in layer 2.

<sup>1</sup> Unpublished, in the care of the custodian.

<sup>2</sup> *P. Thoresby Soc.*, xliii (1954), 82 and fig. 24, no. 7.

<sup>3</sup> *Surrey Arch. Colls.*, lviii (1961), 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Arch. Ael.*, 4th ser., xxix (1951), 249, no. 49.

<sup>5</sup> *Arch. Ael.*, 4th ser., xxv (1947), 192 and fig. 2, no. 7; and xxvii, 1949, 200 and fig. 7, nos. 3 and 4.

<sup>6</sup> *P. Thoresby Soc.*, xliii (1954), 66, fig. 18, no. 5; and 82, fig. 24, no. 6.



9. Jug or jar with tall vertical neck; yellow-green glaze within and without.
10. Base, jug or jar with expanding profile; external green glaze. Findspot as for 6.
11. Base, jug or jar with expanding profile; unglazed.
12. Base, jug or jar with expanding profile; light green external glaze.
13. Base, jug or jar with expanding profile; unglazed.
14. Base, jug or jar, with vertical profile and heavy vertical trimming; yellow-green glaze. Found on the cobbling.
15. Base, jug or jar with expanding profile and three stacking rings on base; yellow glaze; found in the drain.
16. Base of small jug in hard, well-fired red ware of even but slightly gritty texture. Slight finger pressing at the basal angle has produced a wavy edge; unglazed; found *in* contemporary ground surface outside the building. It is perhaps to be compared with a type of small jug fairly widespread in the north in the 15th century, as at Kirkstall<sup>1</sup> and York. It may be earlier than the main series from Underbank.
17. Cylindrical pottery object with one end closed; incomplete. It may be a candlestick, the leg of a vessel, or a handle; glazed within and without.
18. Stoneware, small sherd (fig. 6, 6) with greenish interior glaze, decorated with stamped pattern of stem and leaf, possibly an English variant of Cologne stoneware patterns of the mid-16th century;<sup>2</sup> a surface find.
19. (not illustrated) Two sherds with very heavy horizontal ribbing, almost grooving, and dull olive glaze.
20. (not illustrated) Two sherds of hard fine ware with pink inner surface, grey core, and pitted black or dark brown glaze, probably of manganese type.
21. (not illustrated) Base of jug; yellow glaze with pendant arcs of red glaze.

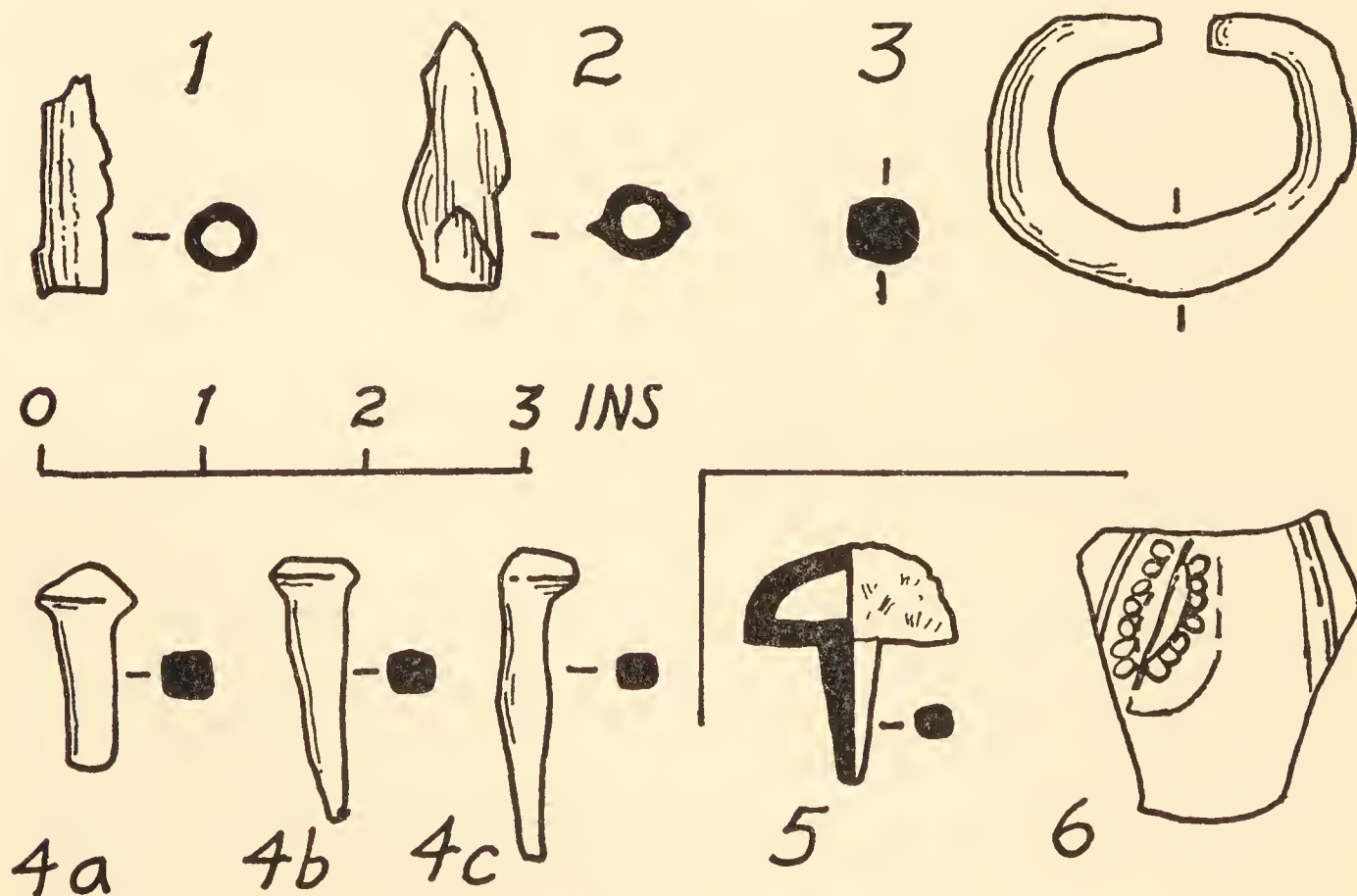


FIG. 6.  
Underbank: Small finds of iron (1-5) and pottery (6).  
(Nos. 1-4 :  $\frac{1}{2}$ , Nos. 5 and 6 :  $\frac{1}{1}$ ).

<sup>1</sup> *Loc. cit.* p. 37, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Arch. Ael.*, 4th ser., xxxix (1961), 266 and nos. 143, 144.

*Ironwork* (fig. 6)

Many fragments of iron were found but most were too corroded for identification, and are not discussed here.

1. and 2. Hollow points, possibly arrowheads of the London Museum *Medieval Catalogue*<sup>1</sup> Type 5. This type is a bullet-shaped cross-bow arrowhead, and it is more likely that the Underbank examples are hunting arrowheads with the barbs broken off.

3. Ring, oval, with slight thickening on one side and gap on the other; presumably a coupling link.

4. Three nails, representative of the sizes found on the site.

5. Stud with pointed shank; much corroded, but presumably with domed hollow head.

*Bronze*

Several fragments of bronze sheet were found, but none had any features. One small piece of bronze with sharpened oblique edge might have been a knife or razor, but too little remained for certainty.

*Stone*

1. Stone marble, diam. 2.5 cms.

2. Stone slate, 18 ins. by 10 ins. by  $\frac{3}{4}$  in. thick. Probably local gritstone from the upper Rawthey valley, where such stone slates were until recently produced. Raistrick<sup>2</sup> records the exploitation of the Mallerstang Edge millstone grit in the seventeenth century.

## 2. HALLGARTH EARTHWORK AND MEDIEVAL WELL

Hallgarth, a field about half a mile south of Sedbergh (fig. 1) on the west of the Millthrop road (SD.660914), formerly contained a rectangular earthwork platform; this is shown on the 1862 edition of the Ordnance Survey 6 ins. map as about 200 ft. by 180 ft., lying partly in the present Hallgarth, and partly under the house *Rawthey Bank*. The platform was removed during the construction of a town playing field in 1890. An account of the operation, by Rev. W. Thompson,<sup>3</sup> written shortly after, relates that

‘The rectangle having been vigorously assailed with pickaxe and spade, the discovery of foundations and corner stones soon showed that a building of considerable dimensions had once existed. The clay in the hollow in front of the elevation suggested a moat, while the discovery of an oval-shaped well several feet long, and broad and deep, lined with masonry, and still full of water, showed how the fluid could have been obtained to fill it. A few fragments of plain red earthenware were turned up, and a bunch of screws of elaborate antique workmanship was found embedded in the clay. Several coins, chiefly copper, showed that the former occupants had put money in their purses, but had failed to keep it there. Among these I was shown a shilling of Henry VII, a farthing of William and Mary 1694, and another of George III<sup>4</sup>. . . . That there has been a dwelling here of some kind there cannot be any reasonable doubt. I am inclined to think that a manor house, with its moat, best satisfies the conditions of the problem; and the name of the field—Hall-garth—seems distinctly to point in this direction.’

<sup>1</sup> London Museum *Medieval Catalogue*, 68, and plate xv, 19-21. Also cf. *Med. Arch.*, iii (1959), 269 and fig. 94, 12-14.

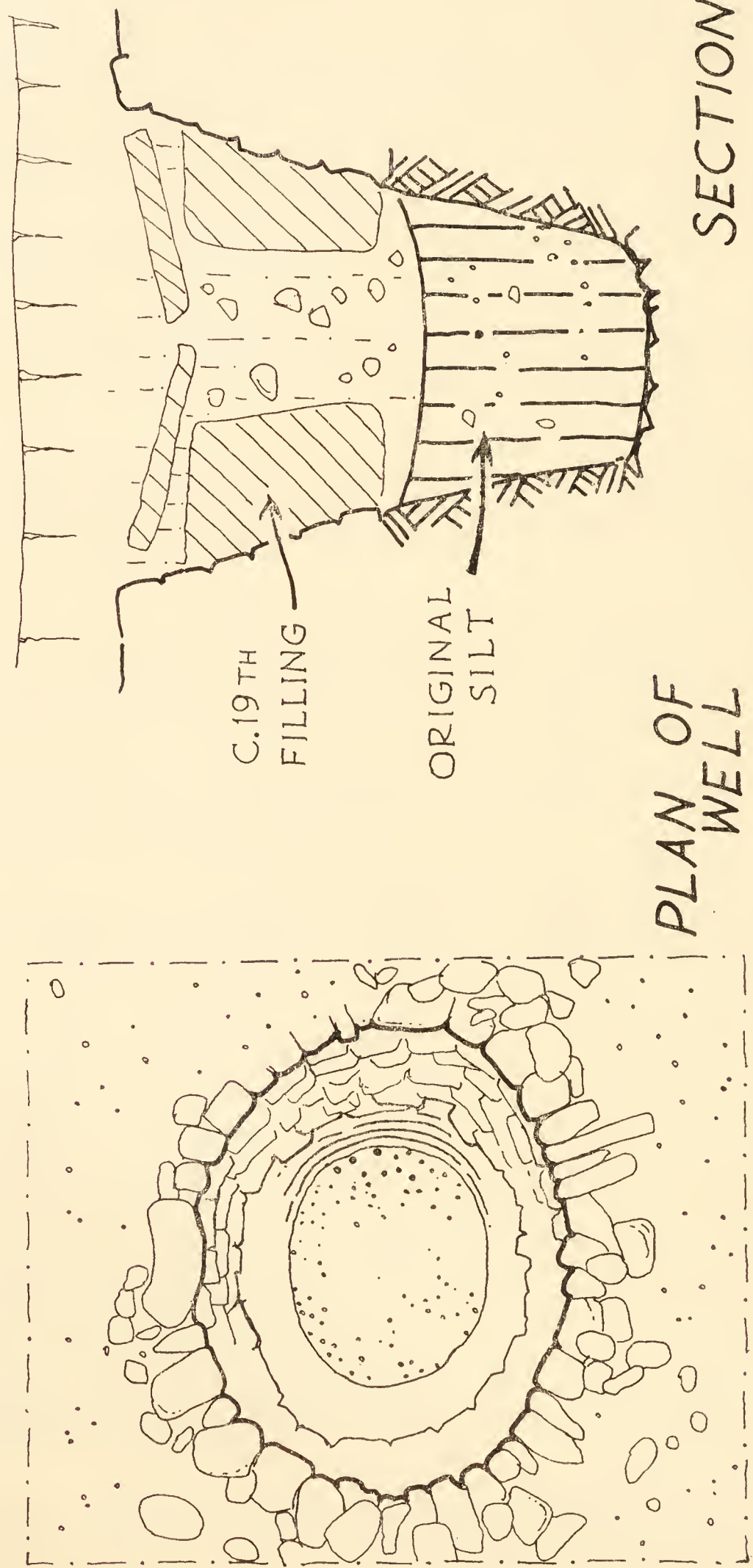
<sup>2</sup> *The Yorkshire Dalesman cit.*, 136.

<sup>3</sup> Rev. W. Thompson *Sedbergh, Garsdale and Dent*, Leeds (1892), 26-27.

<sup>4</sup> The whereabouts of these finds, if they were preserved, is not known.



# HALLGARTH, SEDBERGH



P.V.A. '60.

FIG. 7. Hallgarth: plan and section of the well.

Hallgarth was acquired by Sedbergh School in 1956 and further levelling subsequently took place to provide additional football pitches. The present finds were made during a close watch kept on this work. The well discovered in 1890 was relocated; it had not been fully cleared at that time and was re-excavated to provide plan and section. Pottery was found on top of the undisturbed filling. Elsewhere medieval sherds were found on the surface, but it is clear that the earlier levelling had removed all traces of the buildings formerly found. Several enormous boulders, turned up during the scraping, were probably natural. No other indication of occupation, and nothing of the platform, is preserved today.

### *The well*

The well, revealed during bulldozing and subsequently excavated, was oval, about 7 ft. 6 ins. by 6 ft. at the mouth diminishing to about 4 ft. at the bottom (fig. 7). It was lined with well executed dry-stone walling to a depth of 4 ft., and below this was cut through the natural boulder clay; the total depth was 9 ft. The bottom was of boulders, possibly natural, in heavy clay. The bottom three feet were filled with clayey silt and small stones, containing no finds. On top of this several sherds of late medieval pottery were found. The well had apparently been open to this level in 1890, or emptied to it, and it is not clear whether these sherds were thrown back at that time or represent an original deposit. Above them the well had been blocked, partly by dry-stone walling and partly by stones and earth containing 19th century pottery. The top had been sealed with a large slab.

The well is almost certainly that found in 1890. From the pottery found in it, it is probable that it was in use in Tudor times, and must be connected with the earlier buildings. Its position would seem, however, to be just outside the platform of the 1862 map, a fact which perhaps explains Thompson's odd suggestion that it was the water-source for the moat. It was particularly surprising that no traces of the moat were found; the bottom, had it been there, would certainly have been revealed in the scraping, and it must be assumed that it was of no great depth. By the same token, however, a substantial depth of soil must have been removed, and the well was probably several feet deeper than when rediscovered in 1957.

### *Interpretation*

The name Hallgarth suggests that the moated earthwork previously standing in the field was the site of the hall of the lords or sub-tenants of the Sedbergh manor. The right of summary jurisdiction confirmed to William Mowbray in 1251 makes it likely that a main seat was being maintained at Sedbergh at this time, though this may have been at Castleshaw Tower, the motte and bailey castle to the north-east of the town. It is more likely, however, that a new site had been chosen by this time, Hallgarth. The 13th-14th century pottery found on the site suggests anyway that it was occupied soon after, and until the early Tudor period at least. Hallgarth may have been replaced in the 16th century by Ingmire Hall, to the west of Sedbergh, or by Thorns Hall, both of which were in occupation in the 17th century.



There is no mention of a building on Hallgarth in the seventeenth century and later land deeds, and the coins of William and Mary, and George III found in 1890, are presumably strays.

#### *Pottery*

Three sherds were found in the well and three elsewhere; those from the well may be late 15th century, while the others might be up to a century or two earlier. None merit illustration.

1. Base of jug, grey ware with pinkish-buff outer surface and light grey inner surface; hard and fairly harsh feel. The light green external glaze has a gritty surface. The vessel has a sagging base, and close diagonal pinching on the basal angle. 13th-14th century. A surface find.

2. and 3. Small body sherds of glazed vessels, possibly jugs, of 13th-14th century appearance. Surface finds.

4. Base of jug in hard orange ware with grey core. The base is flat, having been removed from the wheel by wire, and about 11 cms. diameter. The sides expand slightly. Patches of thin magenta glaze on the sides, and spots of yellow glaze, magenta at the edges, on the base and interior. Probably 15th century. From the well.

5. Base of jug or jar in hard ware with dark grey inner surface and light brown outer surface with clear or slightly yellow external glaze of which there are some spots inside. The pot has also been removed from the wheel by wire. Basal diameter 20 cms. Probably 15th century. From the well.

6. Base of large vessel in medium hard red ware with small micaceous inclusions and no glaze; the sides, which have been knife-trimmed, expand rapidly. Diameter more than 25 cms. Probably 15th century. This sherd is the only one from Hallgarth to resemble, even remotely, the Underbank series described above. From the well.

# A NINETEENTH CENTURY YORKSHIRE ESTATE : RIBSTON AND THE DENT FAMILY

By J. T. WARD.

'The Landowner', complained Ralph Sneyd of Keele Hall, in 1859, 'is universally treated by Reformers, either openly or by inference, as a public enemy—a standing abuse—a remnant of feudal oppression, whose political existence is an insult and a wrong to "the People" and should be trampled out, cashiered and swamped'.<sup>1</sup> This lament referred to numerous Radical attacks on allegedly inactive squires, who grasped their rents but performed no active or useful function. The charge, as sharpened by the Anti-Corn Law League, has had a long currency, and only recently have its assumptions about a whole class been challenged. It has, for instance, been shown that several landowners were energetic industrial entrepreneurs, mineowners and town planners. But many other landed families possessed purely agricultural properties, with no urban or mineral potentialities. The present paper is an attempt to examine how one such family, the Dents of Ribston Hall, reacted to the restless industrialism of the nineteenth century West Riding.<sup>2</sup>

## I

The Ribston estate is a flat, pleasant property to the North of Wetherby. In mediaeval times it belonged to the Templars, who built a preceptory in the village. After the Reformation the land fell to Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, who sold it to Henry Goodricke, the brother of the Bishop of Ely and Lord Chancellor. On Goodricke's death in 1556 he was succeeded by his son Richard, who was succeeded by his own son, another Richard, in 1581. On the second Richard's death in 1601, Ribston passed to his son, Sir Henry Goodricke, Knight, who owned it for forty years. The family loyally supported the King in the Civil War, and Sir Henry's son John—created a baronet in 1641—saw his estate sequestered by the Commonwealth; he paid £1,343. 10. 0. in composition. Sir John escaped from imprisonment in the Tower, and lived in France until the Restoration, when he was elected as a Member for Yorkshire.

<sup>1</sup> D. Spring: 'Ralph Sneyd: Tory Country Gentleman' (*Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, xxxviii, 2: Mar., 1956).

<sup>2</sup> This paper is primarily based on the Ribston Hall MSS. and the diaries of Joseph and J. D. Dent, quoted by kind permission of Major Geoffrey Dent, M.C., to whom I am indebted for generous hospitality, advice and help.



The first baronet died in 1670 and was succeeded by his eldest son, Sir Henry, who was Charles II's envoy extraordinary to the Court of Spain, Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance and, later, a Privy Councillor to William III. In 1674 he built the long, attractive brick house on the ancient site at Ribston.<sup>1</sup> For a century and a half longer the family lived there, maintaining the old chapel of S. Andrew attached to the house and adding features of each generation to the mansion and outbuildings. The park was artistically planned; Georgian Goodrickes richly decorated the saloon; John Carr, the celebrated Yorkshire architect of Harewood and Farnley, probably designed the stables. Sir Henry was followed in 1705 by his half-brother John, who was succeeded soon afterwards by his son, Sir Henry. In 1738 the fourth baronet's son, Sir John, succeeded. He was envoy extraordinary to the Court of Sweden, a Privy Councillor of George III and M.P. for Pontefract from 1774 to 1780 and for Ripon from 1787 until his death two years later. As husband of Mary Benson, the natural daughter of Robert, 1st Lord Bingley, he was life-holder of the Bingley estates, in addition to Ribston. Sir John was followed by his grandson, Sir Henry, who reverted to the quiet life of a country squire, and was succeeded in 1802 by his son, Sir Henry James, the 7th baronet.<sup>2</sup>

The Goodrickes' long reign at Ribston came to an end in 1833. Sir Harry, a 36-year-old bachelor, lost the family estates in Yorkshire and Ireland in a game of chance to Francis Lyttleton Holyoake, of Studley Castle in Warwickshire, shortly before his death. The dowager Lady Goodricke honoured the debt, and Ribston passed to Holyoake, who took the additional name of Goodricke, 'out of respect to the memory of Sir Harry Goodricke, bart., who bequeathed to him the Goodricke estate'. In 1835 he was created a baronet.<sup>3</sup> Sir Harry's cousin Thomas, the 8th and last Goodricke baronet, inherited an empty title. But Holyoake-Goodricke did not long retain the Ribston land, preferring to live on his mother's Studley estate and his own Warwickshire properties; he was High Sheriff in 1834 and M.P. for South Staffordshire. In 1835 he sold Ribston to one Joseph Dent.

## II

Joseph Dent was the 44-year old son of Robert Tricket, of Hillfoot near Sheffield, and his wife Catharine, daughter of John Dent, of Alkborough and Winterton in Lincolnshire. He succeeded to the Dent family's lands on the death of his maternal uncle, the bachelor Jonathan Dent, and assumed the name of Dent by Royal Licence in 1834. His uncle had left him not only considerable property in Lincolnshire and the East Riding but also a large fortune, which enabled him to purchase Ribston during the following year. He had already seen

<sup>1</sup> The most recent description is in N. Pevsner: *The Buildings of England: Yorkshire, the West Riding* (Penguin Books, 1959), 399-400.

<sup>2</sup> W. Courthorpe: *Debrett's Baronetage of England* (1837), 60-1; H. Speight: *Chronicles and Stories of Bingley and District* (1904), 144; E. E. Dodd: *Bingley* (Bingley, 1958), 86.

<sup>3</sup> John Burke: *A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Peerage and Baronetage of the British Empire* (1845), 437; Courthorpe, *op. cit.*, 450.

the estate in 1819, when he rode over the Earl of Thanet's Skipton Castle estate and the lands of the Earl of Harewood and the Duke of Devonshire around Wetherby.<sup>1</sup> Lord Harewood's great West Riding property actually included some 300 acres in Little Ribston.<sup>2</sup> And to the south lay the large estates of the Lane-Fox family of Bramham Park, who had inherited the Bensons' Bingley lands.

The Ribston Park estate as bought by Joseph Dent in 1835 consisted of 4,175 acres, with a gross annual value of £5,747. 15. 3. There were 291 acres in Little Ribston, 36 in North Deighton, 1,677 in Ribston-cum-Walshford, 1,113 in Hunsingore, 1,003 in Cattal and some 53 of roads, drains and the River Nidd.<sup>3</sup> In the following year Dent's own surveyor, Brady Nicholson of Wootton, made a more detailed valuation of the property. The estate was divided into about 1,390 acres of grassland, 2,550 acres of arable and 180 acres of woods and plantations, and was leased to small tenants. Nicholson gave a total annual value of £5,867. 1. 4.<sup>4</sup> From this time, the management, extension and improvement of his land occupied most of Joseph Dent's life.

In addition to Ribston, Dent retained the property of his mother's family at Winterton and Dorrington in Lincolnshire and Tibthorpe in the East Riding, and he added further land to these estates. To his 410 acres at Alkborough he added 147 acres (worth £290 per annum) at Alkborough and Winterton. In 1836 he bought 979 acres, with a rental of £1,355, at Lissett in the East Riding. When Nicholson surveyed the estates in 1843, 977 acres at Lissett had an annual value of £1,523, and 312 other Yorkshire acres produced £652. At Dorrington Dent had bought 1,065 acres, worth £1,330; and he also purchased 551 acres, worth £697, at Gembling in the East Riding. In all, about 3,054 new acres had a gross annual value of £4,494. 7. 6, and a fee simple of £123,901. 14. 8.<sup>5</sup> By the mid-century Dent was a substantial landowner, with a total acreage of 8,207 (2,246 of grass and 5,961 of arable). Taking an average of wheat prices at 48s. per quarter, George Ingram of Barton on Humber estimated the gross annual value at £12,426. 10. 6. in 1850. There were, in addition, over 140 acres of woods and plantations.<sup>6</sup> Dent then owned land at Great and Little Ribston, Walshford, Hunsingore, Cattal and North Deighton in the West Riding, Lissett, Gembling and Tibthorpe in the East Riding, and Dorrington, Anwick, Alkborough, Winterton, Bonby, Haxey, Ravensflat, East Stockwith and Sturton in Lincolnshire.

A handsome income was drawn from the various properties, as Dent both modernized and extended the estate. Half-yearly rents received rose from £4,817 in December 1837 to £5,882 three years

<sup>1</sup> Joseph Dent's diary, 13 Sept., 1819.

<sup>2</sup> Harewood Estate Accounts, by courtesy of the Earl of Harewood and Mr. N. A. Ussher.

<sup>3</sup> 'Survey and Valuation of the Ribston Hall Estate, 1835'.

<sup>4</sup> 'Valuation of the Ribston Park Estate . . . . . by B. Nicholson, Dec., 1836'.

<sup>5</sup> 'Survey of an Estate . . . . . at Alkborough . . . . . 1843, (by) W. Rawson'; 'Reference to an Estate at Lissett . . . . . 1836'; 'A Valuation of Estates . . . . . by Brady Nicholson . . . . . 5th Dec., 1843'.

<sup>6</sup> 'Valuation for Rental of Estates . . . . . by George Ingram . . . . . 1850'.



later; in 1842 the year's rents amounted to £11,543. Further sums were added from the sale of wood and produce, although the total receipts fluctuated considerably from year to year: in 1839 Dent received £13,019, in 1844 £11,487 and in 1845 £13,022 (of which £11,435 came from rents). In all, Dent received £336,690 from his uncle's estate between August 1834 and May 1846. From this sum, large amounts were spent on land purchases and on maintenance and improvements. In the two years after buying Ribston, Dent expended £15,740 on repairs and reorganization.<sup>1</sup>

Joseph Dent was indeed a typically enthusiastic mid-Victorian agricultural improver. Expenses consumed a variable portion of his income: £6,817 from £14,943 in 1838, £9,184 from £14,089 in 1840, £10,424 from £12,578 in 1843, £9,133 from £12,441 in 1846, £7,548 from £12,822 in 1850 and £10,956 from £13,476 in 1853. The larger part of this money was spent on the estates. In 1847, for instance, when Dent's total income amounted to £13,982, of which rents provided £11,277, produce sales £679 and dividends £2,025, expenses totalled £8,734—£5,158 on the estate and £3,576 on the family. Household and family expenditure remained fairly constant at something over £3,000 per annum, but the amount spent on the estate varied from £4,107 in 1850 to £7,913 three years later, as the mid-century agricultural depression lifted; during the same period the income from farm rents fell by over £2,000, but again advanced in the prosperous years after 1853.<sup>2</sup>

During the era of high farming, Dent continued to improve his estate, both in its agriculture and its amenities. Like many Victorian agriculturalists, he built a new drainage system on the Ribston estate; and it is still in use today. His own yards at Ribston and Lissett produced the estate's bricks and tiles. And he also rebuilt farms, houses and churches on his property. Thus the owners, tenants and labourers of Ribston and the other estates shared in the prosperity of agriculture's Golden Age.

### III

Ribston was far removed from the centres of industry, and Joseph Dent did not participate in the rich prospects opening for South Yorkshire squires with urban and mineral estates. But during the 'forties he joined many of his landowning neighbours in investing substantial sums in the railways.<sup>3</sup> Dent started cautiously by investing £500 in 1843 and only £37. 10. in 1844, but as the great Railway Boom developed his interest grew; in 1845 he subscribed £7,311.<sup>4</sup> During the Parliamentary session of 1846 he signed subscription contracts for £2,500 in the Axholme, Gainsborough, Goole and York and North Midland line, £2,500 in the East and West Yorkshire Junction Railway and £2,840 in the Eastern Counties' Lincoln and Milford line—all ventures which would serve districts

<sup>1</sup> Joseph Dent's cash book, 1836-1845, and estate accounts.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, and Rental Volume, 1838-1853.

<sup>3</sup> See my article, 'West Riding Landowners and the Railways' (*Journal of Transport History*, iv, 4: Dec., 1960).

<sup>4</sup> Joseph Dent's accounts.

near his own estates.<sup>1</sup> His actual investment in 1846 was £2,445 and in 1847 £6,396; in all, he bought £33,378 of railway stock between 1843 and 1852. The companies in which he invested included the Newcastle, Darlington and Brandling Junction, the Eastern Counties, the Newcastle and Berwick, the Leeds and Thirsk and the York and Newcastle Railways and the Hartlepool Ship Company.<sup>2</sup>

Dent's investments provided a fluctuating income: £2,025 in 1847, £1,086 in 1849 and £3,189 in 1853. But energetic Yorkshire squires were not only interested in railways as sources of income, from land sales or dividends; they also helped to promote lines running near their own properties, which would speed agricultural sales and improve amenities. Dent joined Sir William Ingilby, 2nd baronet of Ripley Castle, and Frederick and Edwin Greenwood of Swarcliffe Hall, along with several Yorkshire businessmen, in promoting an East and West Yorkshire Junction Railway, with a head office in Knaresborough. The Railway was incorporated by Act of Parliament in July 1846, to construct a line of 15 miles, linking the York, Newcastle and Berwick line near York with the Leeds and Thirsk company's line at Knaresborough. Dent served on the provisional committee of the company and was a director during its early years. The line was opened to traffic on 30 October 1848, and was operated by the York, Newcastle and Berwick, as the Leeds and Thirsk refused to amalgamate.<sup>3</sup> Thus began the Dent family's connection with railway directing.

Despite his ventures into business, Dent played the full rôle of the country gentleman. He was a magistrate in Lincolnshire and in the North and West Ridings, and served as High Sheriff of Yorkshire in 1847. 'My successor as High Sheriff has taken the Oaths of Office', he recorded with evident relief, in February 1848:<sup>4</sup>

so that I have to thank God I have been blessed with health and strength to go through my duties, I hope to the satisfaction of the County. I have had three Assizes, a general Election and one Execution.

Dent was a pious man, given to much thought on religious subjects; and he was a sound Evangelical, who was horrified by the 'Papal aggression' of Wiseman's letter from Rome on the establishment of a Roman Catholic hierarchy, in 1850. 'This day has been kept with renewed Ceremony', he noted in his diary for 2 November,

owing (*sic*) to the Measures taken by the Pope to overrun England with his Bulls and Priests. Great Consternation and Indignation has been Occasioned and much Censure falls on our Tractarian Clergy.

In 1868 the old squire built the church of S. John at Hunsingore. He also added new windows to the ancient Templar chapel at Ribston, and built schools at Ribston and Hunsingore.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Parliamentary Papers* (1846), xxxviii: Return to Order of the House of Commons, 2 April, 1846.

<sup>2</sup> Joseph Dent's accounts.

<sup>3</sup> Prospectus of the East and West Yorkshire Railway; *Bradshaw's General Railway Directory* . . . . (1850 ed.), 57; Joseph Dent's diary, *passim*.

<sup>4</sup> Joseph Dent's diary, 15 Feb., 1848.

<sup>5</sup> See William Grainge: *The History and Topography of Harrogate . . . . and the Forest of Knaresborough* (1882), 289-90; Pevsner, *op. cit.*, 400, 276.



In 1825 Joseph Dent had married Martha, daughter of Joseph Birley, who died in 1854. They had four sons and one daughter. The sons, John Dent, Joseph Jonathan, William and Henry Francis, followed each other to Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge.<sup>1</sup> J. J. Dent, born in 1829, became Vicar of Hunsingore on the family estate. His younger brothers, born in 1832 and 1839, worked in different careers: William became a civil engineer and Henry Francis joined the Army. After serving with the 17th Foot, 3rd Hussars and 7th Dragoon Guards, Major H. F. Dent settled at Bedale Grange. He was a celebrated Master of the Bedale Hunt in the late nineteenth century, and became a Lieutenant-Colonel in the Remount Department in Canada during the Boer War.<sup>2</sup> Joseph Dent's daughter, Ellen Isabel, married Sir Lovelace Tomlinson Stamer, an Irish baronet who was Rector of Stoke-upon-Trent and became Bishop of Shrewsbury.

Joseph Dent's eldest son and heir, John Dent Dent, was born at Wilby in June 1826. He was admitted as a pensioner at Trinity in July 1843 and matriculated in the Michaelmas Term of 1844. On 19 April 1844 he was admitted to Lincoln's Inn. Four years later he proceeded to the B.A. degree, as 16th Senior Optime. In 1851 he became a Master, and in November of that year he was called to the Bar.<sup>3</sup> Soon afterwards, he added a new interest to the family's activities, by entering politics.

#### IV

J. D. Dent was a gay young man, who regularly hunted with the York and Ainsty, Bramham Moor, Bedale and Badsworth Hunts. He attended Yorkshire society balls and toured country house parties, staying with that bluff Tory squire George Lane-Fox at Bramham, Lord Lascelles at Harewood House, Sir Charles Slingsby—who was tragically drowned in 1869, while hunting with the York and Ainsty—at Scriven Park, the Ingilbys at Ripley Castle and Sir Tatton Sykes at Sledmere.<sup>4</sup> But life was not entirely devoted to sport and dancing. In 1846 J. D. Dent became a cornet in the Yorkshire Hussars, being promoted to captain in 1850 and major in 1870. And at the age of 26 he became a Member of Parliament.

The Knaresborough election of 1852 was one of the complicated affairs enjoyed by mid-century politicians. There were four candidates for the two seats—Dent and Joshua Proctor Brown Westhead, a prominent railway director, for the Liberals, and Basil Thomas Woodd, a barrister and local landowner, and Thomas Collins, the barrister son of the Vicar of Knaresborough, for the Conservatives. Westhead and Collins had been Members for the division since 1847 and 1851 respectively. Now Westhead, Dent and Woodd all received

<sup>1</sup> H. E. C. Stapylton (ed.): *The Eton School Lists from 1791 to 1850* (1864), 185, 196, 202; H. A. Venn: *Alumni Cantabrigiensis*, Pt. II, II (Cambridge, 1944), 280.

<sup>2</sup> *Burke's Landed Gentry* (1898 ed.), I, 396-7; *Who's Who* (1910 ed.), 512; G. T. Burrows: *Gentleman Charles* (1951), 146.

<sup>3</sup> Venn, *op. cit.*, 280; *The Records of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn* (1896), II, 214; J. D. Dent's diary, 14 Nov., 1851.

<sup>4</sup> J. D. Dent's diary, *passim*.

113 votes, and Collins was only six votes behind. Westhead and Dent were declared elected, but in November Woodd petitioned against the result, declaring that the polling clerk had voted for the Liberals after the close of the poll, that some Liberal voters were ineligible and that the Liberals had employed bribery, intimidation and treating to get votes. Westhead and Dent retaliated with similar charges against their opponents, adding that some of Woodd's voters were imbeciles and that Woodd had paid Collins to transfer some of his own supporters to him. Collins petitioned in Woodd's support, but withdrew his charges in March 1853. Some Liberal voters made a final petition in the following month, but the matter was eventually settled by the parties dividing the representation between them. Woodd and Dent compromised by striking one vote from Westhead's list. A Committee of the House of Commons accepted this arrangement, and Dent was declared elected, along with Woodd.<sup>1</sup>

Dent wisely moved from his Knaresborough constituency, which turned solidly Tory in the General Election of 1857. In 1855 he had married Mary Hebden, the daughter of John Woodall of S. Nicholas House, Scarborough. Woodall was a prosperous banker and property owner, whose 1,388 acres in the North Riding were reported to be worth £5,305 per annum in 1873. No doubt his father-in-law's influence aided Dent's political career; in December 1857 he was elected at a Scarborough by-election, following Lord Mulgrave's appointment as Governor of Nova Scotia. Dent defeated the Conservative George John Cayley by 373 votes to 280. But Scarborough's political history was as complicated as Knaresborough's. One seat was usually held by Sir John vanden Bempde Johnstone of Hackness Hall, the town's Liberal 'patron', who owned over 7,200 North Riding acres. At the General Election of 1859 Dent lost to the baronet and another Liberal, the Hon. W. H. F. Denison, whose father had almost 12,000 acres in the North Riding and over 52,000 acres in Yorkshire as a whole. Denison received 562 votes, Johnstone 540, Dent 428 and Cayley only 66. In the following year, however, Denison succeeded as the 2nd Lord Londesborough, and Dent was returned at a January by-election, defeating the Liberal Colonel James Caulfield by 472 votes to 340. Johnstone and Dent held their seats in 1865 by 932 and 674 votes to Caulfield's 441, and in 1868 by 1,826 and 1,678 to 742, after the broadening of the franchise. But at the 1874 General Election the Conservative Sir Charles Legard of Ganton headed the poll, with 1,280 votes, followed by Sir Harcourt Johnstone (who had succeeded to his father's seat and as 3rd baronet in 1869 and was to become 1st Lord Derwent in 1881), with 1,130. Dent was 304 votes behind Johnstone and 27 ahead of the Radical Professor James Thorold Rogers.<sup>2</sup> Thus ended Dent's last term in Parliament.

<sup>1</sup> W. W. Bean: *The Parliamentary Representation of the Six Northern Counties* . . . . . (Hull, 1890), 897-99.

<sup>2</sup> *Parliamentary Papers*, (1874), lxxii, Pt. 2: Owners of Land. England and Wales . . . . . Return for 1872-3: North Riding section, 40; Bean, *op. cit.*, 1053, 1057; see H. J. Hanham: *Elections and Party Management* (1959), 411.



At Westminster J. D. Dent had been an individualistic Liberal. He opposed the Church rates with the dissenters and the Ballot with the conservatives of both parties; and he favoured increased educational provisions. For ten years he served as chairman of Commons committees on railway Bills, and in 1867 introduced the Report of the Royal Commission on agricultural gangs.<sup>1</sup> He remained a Liberal until Gladstone's Home Rule policy of 1886 drove him, with many other Whiggish squires, into the Liberal Unionist camp. Like his father, he took an active interest in the affairs of the Ribston and Winterton estates and of the West Riding. He became a Deputy Lieutenant in 1853 and was an active justice. And he also followed his father's energetic interest in agricultural affairs. On the proposal of his close friend Harry Stephen Thompson of Kirby Hall—a leading promoter of the Yorkshire Agricultural Society in 1837 and Liberal candidate for Knaresborough in 1859, who became M.P. for Whitby in the same year—Dent joined the Royal Agricultural Society in 1851. Ten years later he became a member of the Society's Council. He served on many agricultural committees and became a trustee of the Society in 1875 and president in 1881-1882.<sup>2</sup>

H. S. Thompson, the squire of some 5,600 West and North Riding acres and for 35 years a member of the Royal Agricultural Society's Council, shared another interest with Dent. He was a director and later chairman of the York and North Midland Railway, which worked the East and West Yorkshire line from 1849. In 1854 the York and North Midland became through amalgamation the North Eastern Railway, under the chairmanship of James Pulleine of Crake Hall. Thompson was deputy chairman, and succeeded Pulleine in 1855. The Dents invested large sums in this progressive company, which was ruled by Thompson until his retirement, as a baronet, in 1874. Five years later, on 18 July 1879, J. D. Dent joined the board and, after a few months as deputy chairman, was made chairman of the company on 13 August 1880; he held the position until his death fourteen years later. Meanwhile, Thompson's son, later the 1st Lord Knaresborough, had taken his father's place as a director; he became chairman in 1912.<sup>3</sup>

Joseph Dent died on 20 February 1875, at the age of 84. He left some £66,500 in railway stock, principally in the North Eastern, Great Northern, London and North Western and Furness Railways, and over £41,000 in cash, including money received from insurance companies on life policies.<sup>4</sup> The estates were in a prosperous condition. In 1873 the 'New Domesday' survey of British landownership recorded that Dent had 2,473 acres in Lincolnshire, 1,745 acres in the East

<sup>1</sup> R. P. Dod: *The Parliamentary Companion* (1861 ed.), 179; *Parliamentary Papers*, (1867-8), xvii.

<sup>2</sup> Sir M. W. Ridley: 'Biographical Notice of the late Mr. John Dent Dent . . . .' (*Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England*, 3rd ser., vi, 1: 1895); Bean, *op. cit.*, 1106-7.

<sup>3</sup> York & North Midland Railway and North Eastern Railway reports; W. W. Tomlinson: *The North Eastern Railway. Its Rise and Development* (Newcastle, 1914), 768-71.

<sup>4</sup> Ribston Hall MSS.

Riding and 4,323 acres in the West Riding; the estimated gross rentals were £3,608. 5., £2,481. 15. and £8,481. 12., respectively.<sup>1</sup> Six years later J. D. Dent gave amended figures: 6,324 acres in the East and West Ridings were then worth £10,962 per annum, and the Lincolnshire rental of £3,608 was produced by 2,130 acres. A total acreage of 8,454 was worth £14,570.<sup>2</sup> And the squire who became a trustee of the Royal Agricultural Society in the year of his succession to the property did not neglect to follow his father's example in improving the land and modernizing buildings. He also inherited his interest in local affairs, becoming a member of the new West Riding County Council in the late 'eighties—and ultimately its chairman—while continuing to preside over the North Eastern Railway. The estate at Ribston continued to be much the same in size as in his father's time. In 1876 Dent had 981 acres at Cattal, 1,118 at Hunsingore, 1,889 at Great Ribston-cum-Walshford, 469 at Little Ribston and 94 at North Deighton; 4,552 acres produced £10,105 at the end of agriculture's prosperous years.<sup>3</sup>

J. D. Dent had four sons and three daughters. His heir, John William, born in 1857, followed him to Eton and Trinity, and later served in the 4th Dragoon Guards, in which he became a major. Francis, born in 1860, became a barrister, and the second daughter, Margaret Eleanor, married Captain Charles Staniforth Greenwood of the 10th Hussars, squire of Swarcliffe.<sup>4</sup> J. D. Dent died three days before Christmas in 1894, and was succeeded by his eldest son, who devoted himself to the affairs of the estate and of the County Council.<sup>5</sup>

## V

The prosperity of the Dent family's estates rose and declined generally in line with other agricultural enterprises. The mixed farms around Ribston were not disastrously affected by changes in wheat prices, but were reduced in value by the mid-century depression. However, rents rose in the third quarter of the century, to fall again in the great agricultural depression of the last decades of Victoria's reign. Bullock-breeding became an important part of Ribston's agriculture, and in later years some tenants began to keep dairy herds. Few new outlets could be discovered for the energies of the little rural communities. But the Dents were far from being the stupid, indolent squires of Radical slanders. As progressive landowners, County officials, politicians and railway directors, they played an active rôle in the life of the nineteenth century West Riding.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Parliamentary Papers*, (1874), lxxii, Pt. 1: Lincolnshire section, 29; Pt. 2: East Riding section, 8, West Riding section, 28.

<sup>2</sup> John Bateman: *The Great Landowners of Great Britain and Ireland* (1879 ed.) 123; (1883 ed.), 127.

<sup>3</sup> 'Valuation of the Ribston Estate . . . . 1876. By Robert Wyse'.

<sup>4</sup> *Burke's Landed Gentry* (1898 ed.), I, 396-7; (1952 ed.), 651.

<sup>5</sup> *The Times, Standard*, 24 Dec., 1894; F. Boase: *Modern Biography*, v. (Truro, 1912), 78.

<sup>6</sup> I am indebted to Professor D. F. Macdonald for helpful advice on this paper.



## ARMS AND MEN FOR DEFENCE, 1586

By JOHN ADDY and MICHAEL CHADWICK.

In 1960 there was published the instructions from the Earl of Huntington to the Justices of the Peace for the West Riding as to the measures to be taken for defence.<sup>1</sup> Painstaking work in transcribing a much mutilated manuscript enabled the results of those instructions to be published.

The source of Huntington's instructions was discovered to be an order from the Privy Council to the Lord President of the Council in the North.<sup>2</sup> This order called for the raising of 6,000 footmen and 4,000 horsemen in the whole county of Yorkshire. These were to be raised by each of the three ridings in the proportion of 12: 10: 8, that is the West, North and East Ridings respectively. This proportion reveals that the West Riding was by far the most populous of the three while the East was the lowest. Therefore the West Riding had to furnish 2,400 footmen, the North, 2,000 and the East 1,600 with horsemen to support them of 1,300, 1,033 and 1,012 from each riding respectively.

All these footmen had to be supported by armour and weapons so that, 'within the hole countye to have in everye hondered footmen, 40 harquebushies, 20 archers, 25 pykes and 10 billies'.<sup>3</sup> Hence the final plan appeared as follows:—

Armour	West Riding	North Riding	East Riding
Harquebushies	960	800	640
Bowes	440	400	320
Pikemen with corselettes	600	500	400
Bills with almanetts or jacks	357	300	240

In turn the Lord President allocated the total for each riding amongst the different wapentakes according to size. So the large wapentakes of Claro, Staincliffe and Ewcross were allocated 400 men each, with Stafford, Tickhill, Agbrigg, Morley, Ainsty and York to raise 150 men each and finally Skyrack and Barkeston Ash had 200 men allocated as their proportion with the wapentake of Staincross and Osgoldcross having 100 men each to raise. In the case of the two last, Sir Cotton Gargrave amended the proportion to 72 for Staincross and 128 for Osgoldcross. The Lord President had already nominated in his letter those who were to be responsible for the organization and muster of the men and arms,<sup>4</sup> but the Privy Council nominated the

<sup>1</sup> *Y.A.J.* xl (1960), 227-231.

<sup>2</sup> Archiepiscopal MSS. 698 f.109. Lambeth Palace Library.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Y.A.J.* xl (1960), 227.

‘Captaynes of the Footmen’. These were to be:—

Staincross & Osgoldcross  
Stafforth & Tickhill  
Agbrigg & Morley  
Claro  
Staincliffe & Ewcross  
Skyrack

Sir Richard Wortley  
Robert Swift & Thomas Reresby  
James Newell & Ralph Beiston  
Richard Goodwyche & John Mallorye  
William Wentworth & Thomas Fairfax  
James Ryder

An exception was made in the case of the appointment to the wapentake of Ainsty in that, ‘it is referred to my Lord President so to appoynt there Captayne wythin the Cyttie and Annestye of York.’<sup>1</sup>

Now unfortunately the ms.<sup>2</sup> has been so mutilated that only the details concerning the wapentakes of Staincross, Osgoldcross, Agbrigg and Morley have survived and it is these that are now analysed.

Staincross divided up its share of 72 weapons into calivers (12), pikes (36), bills (12), and bows (12). Thirty-five townships made returns of their weapons which were inspected at ‘Staincross on Satterday 24th day of October 1586 by John Woodruffe by Command of the Lord Lieutenant’.<sup>3</sup> Only ten of the thirty-five townships could furnish guns and of these the two largest and wealthiest, Cawthorne and Dodworth<sup>4</sup> supplied two guns each leaving the remaining eighteen to be supplied by a group of closely related townships of Tankersley, Kexborough, Wortley, Barnsley, Hoyland Swaine, Oxspring, Silkstone and Stainborough.

On the other hand the archers were drawn from a wider area and especially from those townships that bordered on the moorland of Thurlstone, Hunshelf, and Wortley which provided one archer each. The remainder were drawn from townships in the wooded districts of Hemsworth, Cumberworth Half,<sup>5</sup> Brearley, Ardsley, Carlton, Haver-croft, Wentworth and Dodworth.

Almost every township was in a position to provide one or more pikemen with corselets. Monk Bretton, South Hiendley and Ingbirchworth could only provide one pikeman each as their total complement. Worsborough and Barnsley, being more populous, were in a position to furnish four men each and the neighbouring village of Barugh sent three men.<sup>6</sup> The heads of leading families compounded for personal service by a promise to send their sons completely furnished for service. Amongst those who undertook to do this were Edmund Rich of Thurlstone, John Priest of Langsett, John Ellison of Thurgoland, Thomas Keresforth of Barnsley and Charles Walker of Cawthorne.

Billmen, like the archers, were drawn from widely separated townships. The billmen appear to have been the chief contribution to the muster of the small townships of Notton, West Bretton, High Hoyland, Cudworth and Darton,<sup>7</sup> from which the maximum contribution

<sup>1</sup> Archiepiscopal MSS. 698 f.109 Lambeth Palace.

<sup>2</sup> Bretton Hall Archives DD70/139.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Dodworth was the home of the High Constable of Staincross.

<sup>5</sup> This township was separate from either Upper or Lower Cumberworth although adjacent to both and formed part of the huge parish of High Hoyland

<sup>6</sup> At Worsborough, the Elmhirst family was important at this date.

<sup>7</sup> The billman from Darton was Thomas Addy, an ancestor of the first of the joint authors of this article.



appears to have been in the region of two and more frequently one.

The muster at Osgoldcross was taken on 31st October 1586 at Pontefract. In contrast with Staincross there is evidence here of greater wealth and an increased density of population. There is an absence of the small hamlet, like Notton or High Hoyland, and the existence of a preference to pay money for the hire of a professional soldier than to serve oneself. Calivers were common in the townships within the peculiar of Snaith as well as the district around Campsall, but compounding for guns from the townships of Adlingfleet, Heck, Borsall, Campsall, Burghwallis and Featherstone so the target of 21 calivers was easily attained.

Unlike the wapentake of Staincross, archers being in plentiful supply attained a total of 22. Only at Featherstone did William Heptonstall compound to hire an archer. Both pikemen and billmen were the most common and the wapentake mustered 64, but like the calivers, compounding was widespread. Every township in the area bounded by Snaith and Goole, in addition to those in the Campsall district, compounded for their pike and billmen; the total number of parishes compounding amounted to 17. This wapentake was in a better position for the supply of men than Staincross for in the latter wapentake the average was from one to two, with four exceptions; that of Osgoldcross ranged from three to five. Another factor is the absence of compounding in Staincross while in Osgoldcross there was a strong tendency to compound rather than give personal service.

The wapentakes of Agbrigg and Morley were mustered on the 15th October and returned as a list of 'Soldiers putt in a Readiness within the wapentake of Agbrigge and Morley and certified by Martin Burleyhead, Robert Bradford and Avery Copley esquires to the ryght honourable the Earl of Huntington Lord Levetenant in the north parte.'<sup>1</sup> These two present an entirely different picture to the other two, for the clothing townships of the West Riding were included in this muster. In the first place the weight of the population was to be found here with its centre at Wakefield, which for military purposes was divided into the three wards of Northgate, Westgate and Kirkgate. Closely following Wakefield were the clothing towns of Huddersfield, Halifax and Bradford with their adjacent townships. Here there was an entire absence of compounding and evidence of the existence of the latest heavier type of gun.<sup>2</sup>

The names of several families in the clothing districts that are well known today are to be found in the returns. The Armitages, Brooks and Hirsts of Huddersfield, the Watmoughs and Waterhouses of Halifax, the Foxcrofts of Batley and the Kayes of Almondbury to name but a few.

<sup>1</sup> Bretton Hall Archives DD70/139.

<sup>2</sup> Caliver was a light hand gun. Arquebus was a portable firearm of the 15th to 17th century for use by infantry or sportsmen having a match or wheel lock. The early varieties needed a stand for firing but later the weapon was lightened and designed to be fired from the chest or shoulder. It was preceded by the hand gun and superseded by the musket.

A feature of this wapentake is to be noted in the large number of guns available from the townships. Wakefield was able to furnish no less than thirteen, Bradford and Almondbury had four each with the remainder offering from one to two according to size and wealth. The same pattern is to be observed in the supply of pikemen with corseletts for here the clothing villages predominate. Sowerby (13), Mirfield (9), Holmfirth (7), Methley (7), Ovenden (8), Haworth (8), Huddersfield (6), with the remainder mustering from one to five according to size. The archers came from twenty-three townships out of a total of eighty-seven, while billmen were mustered from every township. It is quite clear that these clothing districts were keen to rally for defence whereas Osgoldcross was content for the most part to pay for the hire of troops to defend the county. Of course puritan thought was penetrating the clothing valleys by this time and to the population a threat from Spain meant also the restoration of the Roman Church with possibly persecution, and an end to their sturdy independence.

The list of names of the county gentlemen who were to provide horses makes an interesting list. The greater number of gentry were found in the wapentakes of Agbrigg and Morley for here no less than twenty-five horses were raised. Staincliffe, Ewcross and Claro managed to muster twenty-one together with Bareston Ash. Only eighteen horses were mustered from Osgoldcross and Staincross with Skyrack raising a mere seven. No return for Stafforth and Tickhill is available, for these pages are missing from the manuscript.

The Catholic families of Vavasour, Ingleby, Plumpton, Goldsborough, Stapleton and Chomley all offered horses, for though the bull of 1570 had made treason part of the duty of a loyal catholic yet they were unwilling to see England become a Spanish colony, although Philip II was the leading Catholic monarch in Europe. When, two years after the muster, the Armada came, the loyalty of these Catholic families was tested and found to be beyond reproach.

#### GENTLEMEN TO SUPPLY HORSES

##### STAINCLIFFE & EWCROSS

Edmund Elcrosse  
Laurance Lister  
Thomas Talbot  
Henry Tempest  
William Hawksworth  
John Handon  
John Lambert  
Reynold Heber  
Henry Banck  
Christopher Norton  
Christopher Mallom  
Richard Chomley  
Stephen Pudsay  
Thomas Lister  
Heirs of Colehurst  
Anthony Watson  
William Caterall  
Thomas Procter  
John Procter  
Robert Tempest  
John Greaves

##### CLARO

Sir Wm. Mallory  
Sir Thomas Fairfax  
Sir Richard Maliverer  
William Middleton  
William Ingleby  
William Plumpton  
Francis Slingsby  
Richard Goodrich  
Richard Aldborough  
Peter York  
Francis Palmes  
William Vavasour  
Gamaliel Drax  
Richard Goldsborough  
George Clanly  
Richard Ranks  
Christopher Bland

##### AGBRIGG & MORLEY

Sir Robert Saville  
John Kay of Woodsome  
John Lacy of Brierly  
Walter Calverley  
Anthony Copley  
Thomas Pilkington  
John Saville of Stanley  
John Fryson  
Richard Lacy  
Christopher Hopton  
John Ramsden  
Gregory Waterhouse  
John Armitage (Kirklees)  
George Saville (Wakefield)  
Thomas Norcliffe  
Gilbert Saltenstall  
Rafe Beeston  
John Dyson  
Brian Thornhill



## BARKESTON ASH

Sir Richard Stapleton  
John Vavasour  
Brian Stapleton  
William Hungait  
William Almond  
George Twisleton  
Mrs. Cressie  
Henry Hopper  
Roger Beckwith  
John Beverley  
Robert Walker  
Richard Beilby

## OSGOLDCROSS &amp; STAINCROSS

Sir Cotton Gargrave  
Peter Stanley  
Thomas Wentworth (Elmsall)  
Paul Hammerton  
Francis Halderby  
Charles Rickard  
William Fletcher  
John Skerne  
Richard Wortley  
Gervase Hewitt  
George Woodruff  
Francis Bosville  
Thomas Barnby  
Francis Burdett  
William Rockeley  
Matthew Wentworth

## SKYRACK

William Gascoigne  
William Ardington  
Thomas Fowling  
Francis Ryther  
William Dineley  
Robert Rushworth  
William Thompson

# HENRY I AND THE FOUNDATION OF NOSTELL PRIORY

By W. E. WIGHTMAN

In the thirteenth century and later, the canons of Nostell seem to have regarded Hugh de Laval as their founder. Hugh held the honour of Pontefract from soon after the banishment of Robert I de Lacy round about 1114 until shortly before 1129.<sup>1</sup> It was during this period that the priory was refounded as a house of Augustinian canons, and the building stood on land which formed part of the honour. Moreover, in the cartulary of the priory the section headed 'Cartae Advocatorum' began with Hugh's grants, which consisted of the churches of Rothwell, Ackworth, Featherstone, South Kirkby, Huddersfield, and Batley.<sup>2</sup> These were the first reasonably substantial grants the canons had received from the holder of the Pontefract honour, or indeed from any tenant-in-chief.

The Lacy family must also have some of the credit for the foundation. The earliest gift of land to the priory was that of the wood round St. Oswald's church, and it dates from the time of Robert I (c. 1093-c. 1114), or possibly even from the time of Ilbert I, the first holder of the honour of Pontefract. The second grant was made jointly by Robert I and Ralph Grammaticus, and consisted of two bovates in Hardwick.<sup>3</sup> Both of these grants were made to the hermits who occupied the site before the time of Hugh de Laval, and were confirmed to the canons by Henry I. Neither Hugh de Laval nor the Lacys, however, were responsible for the emergence of the priory in its final form.

The ultimate credit for this must go to Henry I himself. The traditional tale is that Ralph Adlave, his chaplain, fell ill at Pontefract on his way north with the king. He stayed at Nostell, and when Henry returned south, induced him to take an interest in the fortunes of the priory.<sup>4</sup> Henry I provided the backing which enabled his chaplain to turn the hermitage into one of the most important houses of Augustinian canons in the north of England, and the Nostell Chronicle gives him the full credit for this. He granted the church of Bamborough, and also the sum of twelve pence per day from the exchequer at York—

<sup>1</sup> In 1129-30 William Maltravers paid to the king one thousand marks, together with a *donum* of £100, for a fifteen year tenure of the honour of Pontefract and for the marriage of Hugh's widow. *Pipe Roll*, 31 Hen. I, 34.

<sup>2</sup> Cartulary of Nostell Priory, B.M.Cotton MS. Vespasian E xix, fos.14, 150: W. Farrer (ed.), *Early Yorkshire Charters*, iii, nos. 1428, 1488.

<sup>3</sup> Cart. Nostell fo. 150: *E.Y.C.* iii, 1428.

<sup>4</sup> *De Gestis et Actis Priorum*, Nostell Priory MS. C1/A/1, fo. 84v. I am indebted to Lord St. Oswald for permitting access to the archives at Nostell.



a not inconsiderable sum for the twelfth century.<sup>1</sup> This royal example was followed by other tenants-in-chief in Yorkshire. Archbishop Thurstan gave the parish church of Tickhill;<sup>2</sup> Earl William of Warenne gave his part of the church at Woodkirk, while Anschetil de Bulemer and Picot de Percy also contributed. Hugh de Laval gave churches, and he in his turn was followed by the barons of his honour, Adam de Raineville, Roger le Peitevin, Swain fitz Ailric, William de Archis, Ralph de l'Isle, and others.<sup>3</sup>

The date of this refoundation has given trouble to historians. In 1758, J. Burton printed an account of it in his *Monasticon Eboracense*.<sup>4</sup> This was taken from the Nostell Act Book, which he was the last historian to study until very modern times. His version was substantially correct, except that he dated the royal charter of confirmation to 10 January 1121. The real date is probably 1122 (New Style), or even later. According to the chronicler, Adlave's stay at Pontefract only began in 1121, at which time Henry I was on his way to Scotland. The king's grants to the new priory were not made until his return south to Pontefract, and were formally confirmed even later—'. . . Et postea in perliamento eodem anno iiij ides Januarii'.<sup>5</sup> This is a clear indication that the year was what would now be described as 1122, and it is made clearer by the subsequent remark that it took place in the twenty-second year of the reign, which ended in August 1122. The names of the witnesses to the charter also support the later date. They include Queen Adeliza, Miles of Gloucester, and Walter fitz Pain, who were missing from the list printed by Dugdale in the *Monasticon*.<sup>6</sup> 10 January 1121 is just too early for Adeliza to have witnessed as queen. It is even possible that the real date of the charter is later than 1122, since the chronology of the chronicle cannot be trusted as early as this, to within a year or so. At the end of the section on Galfridus, the fourth prior, the chronicle has a note saying that it is not known how long each of the first four priors ruled. All

<sup>1</sup> Cart. Nostell fo. 150: *E.Y.C.* iii, 1428. This is an instance of something very like a money fief, though examples of this kind in England are by no means as rare as is sometimes thought.

<sup>2</sup> It is sometimes asserted that the church concerned was the castle chapel at Tickhill, though it is difficult to see what authority Thurstan could have had inside the castle itself. The phrase in the charter (*E.Y.C.* iii, 1428) is '*ecclesiam de castello*' and not '*in castello*', as it would have been if it had been inside the castle, and it is therefore the parish church of Tickhill (see Ilbert II de Lacy's confirmation charter to the castle chapel of St. Clement's at Pontefract, c. 1136, where the chapel is very definitely '*in castello*': *E.Y.C.* iii, 1492). Indeed, by the time of Henry II's confirmation it had become just the '*ecclesia de Tykehul*' (Nostell Priory MS. C1/A/2, no. 4). In any case this original grant of the parish church is interesting as proof that the castle, village and church of Tickhill had come into existence as early as the first quarter of the twelfth century. None of them had existed at the time of Domesday. The village and church had then been at Dadesley, a mile to the north of the present village at Tickhill.

<sup>3</sup> *E.Y.C.* iii, 1428.

<sup>4</sup> *Mon. Ebor.*, 300.

<sup>5</sup> '*In perliamento*' seems to be a clumsy fifteenth-century effort at describing a formal confirmation before the court.

<sup>6</sup> *Mon. Angl.* (ed. Caley Ellis and Bandinell, 1849), vi, 92: the additional names come from the copies of the charters preserved at Nostell, MS. C1/A/2, no. 1, in this case a copy of an *inspeximus* of 5 February 1511.



that the fifteenth-century compiler knew was that between them they ruled for fifty-four years, that Anketil, the fifth prior, held his office for twenty-one years, and that he died on 3 April 1196. W. Farrer's suggestion of 1122 as the date of the refoundation, and January 1123 as the date of the confirmation, is quite possibly correct, even though it was made without access to the Act Book.<sup>1</sup>

Once the chronology has been determined, it is possible to enquire into the motives which may have led to Henry I's initiative in the founding of Nostell, for it is difficult to believe that this king made a generous grant from the exchequer merely because he liked the place which Adlave had found, or that so many barons were so generous without considerable royal prodding. The reason may perhaps be found in the circumstances of the initial grant of the honour of Pontefract to Hugh de Laval. This cannot have been earlier than October 1109, when Robert I de Lacy was still in possession,<sup>2</sup> nor later than 1118, the latest possible date for the Lindsey survey, which shows that by this time Hugh had obtained those of Robert's estates in Lincolnshire which were not permanently alienated from the honour in the hands of the Paynel family.<sup>3</sup> The most likely date for his arrival is 1114-18. This coincides with the period of Henry I's greatest difficulties with Louis VI of France, when he was endeavouring to retain his hold on the duchy of Normandy. Each side was doing its best to gain the support of the barons round the borders of the duchy. To the south of it, Count Fulk of Anjou and Maine was a consistent supporter of the French king.<sup>4</sup> In this area also lay the estates of the lords of Laval. Some time before 1119 Guy IV succeeded to these as a minor, and his guardian was his uncle Hugh.<sup>5</sup> The grant of a major honour in England to this Hugh looks suspiciously like an attempt by Henry I to secure the support of a baronial family of the second rank against his and their neighbours. If so, it was a typically subtle piece of work. Hugh for the time being had control of the Laval estates, and could thus be useful to Henry. At the same time he was not the heir to them, and so there seemed to be less danger of the amalgamation of the estates in France with any granted to Hugh in England.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *E.Y.C.* iii, 1428n. Burton made a second slip in dating Adlave's death to the fourth of the Ides of May 1128. The chronicle says honestly '*quamdiu supervixit nescitur*', and leaves it at that. Nevertheless it is quite clear that Adlave was not the same man as his successor Adelwald, as has sometimes been suggested. Adelwald must, however, have become prior some time before his elevation to the see of Carlisle in 1133, since the chronicle attributes this promotion to his just and religious life as prior of Nostell.

<sup>2</sup> *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, 1066-1154 (ed. C. Johnson and H. A. Cronne, 1956) ii, 918.

<sup>3</sup> *The Lincolnshire Domesday and the Lindsey Survey* (ed. C. W. Foster and T. Longley), Lincoln Record Society, xix, 238-259.

<sup>4</sup> A. L. Poole, *From Domesday Book to Magna Carta*, 1087-1216, (1951), 123-4. I am most grateful to Professor R. W. Southern for drawing my attention to the full implications of the situation in France.

<sup>5</sup> B. de Broussillon, *La maison de Laval*, 1020-1605 (1895) i, 52, 56, 59.

<sup>6</sup> If there were indeed conscious calculations of this type on Henry I's part, they were upset by the fact that Hugh had no children, and that his claims to Pontefract thus descended to the main branch of the family.



The major reason for the banishment of Robert I de Lacy, however, seems to have been not what he did, but what he was. His estates in Yorkshire in particular were so large and so compact that he was a considerable potential menace to royal authority in the north. The regrant of the estates *in toto* to Hugh de Laval, made initially for reasons which were perfectly valid at the time, merely recreated this problem as soon as the immediate emergency had ended in 1120, and the holder of the Pontefract honour, though no longer a Lacy, was just as powerful as the Lacys had been. The creation of a wealthy and powerful religious house of royal foundation, a mere four miles from the centre of the honour at Pontefract, would provide some kind of a counterbalance. Moreover, if the holder of the honour and his honorial barons could be induced to assist in the foundation, any lands they granted would weaken their own power. In the event most of them dodged this issue by granting churches, which benefited the new priory without weakening themselves correspondingly.

In actual fact the original royal fears were groundless, at least until the end of the first line of the Lacy family in 1193. The Lacys returned at the beginning of Stephen's reign, and regained possession of their honour. The Laval family were allowed to retain roughly a quarter of it, accounting separately to the exchequer for their scutages. The canons of Nostell under Prior Savard succeeded in withstanding the attempts made by Henry I de Lacy at the end of Stephen's reign and the beginning of that of Henry II to resume grants of land from his estates which had been made by Hugh de Laval, and after 1159 relations between the two sides seem to have been amicable.<sup>1</sup> The Lacys remained loyal, and played a leading part in the struggles in Normandy both in 1173-4 and under John: it was Guy VI of Laval who sided with Philip Augustus and finally lost the English estates of his family in 1202.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *E.Y.C.* iii, 1497. De Gestis et Actis Priorum, Nostell MS. C1/A/1, fo. 85: 'Huic (i.e. Prior Adelwald) successit Savardus Prior, cuius tempore mote sunt lites inter eum et Henricus Lacy . . . super dimidia carucata terre super vivarium de feodo dicti Henrici, ubi edificavit ecclesiam suam . . . Postea tamen, motus conscientia, cum ultra mare ad Civitatem Sanctam Jerusalem tendere decrevisset, omnes suae temeritatis lites et contentiones, in perpetuos usus regularium canonicorum memoratorum concessa et confirmata dicta dimidia carucata terrae, pro se et heredibus suis in perpetuum remisit et relaxavit.'

<sup>2</sup> Broussillon i, 132: T. D. Hardy (ed.), *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium*, i, 21, 26; *Rotuli de Liberati*, 44, 49.

# A MESOLITHIC SITE ON BLUBBERHOUSES MOOR, WHARFEDALE, WEST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE

By J. DAVIES.

This paper describes a small Mesolithic workshop with rather unusual features on Blubberhouses Moor, Wharfedale (W.R.). The site—NGR: SE142564—is about  $1\frac{1}{3}$  miles north-east of the summit (Black Fell) at about 1050 ft. O.D. on a hillside sloping gently southwards to Sun Bank Gill, locally known as Ling House Hill. The natural erosion of the peat cover here has been augmented, as on many other places on the moor, by burning caused by artillery practice in the last war, but regeneration, mainly by *Calluna vulgaris* and *Polytrichum* sp. is now taking place.

In October 1959, a core and two rejuvenation flakes were observed on the surface. Scraping with a trowel brought to light more artifacts and eventually the whole floor was excavated. Though small, not more than 36 sq. ft. in area, this produced a large number of artifacts, mostly in chert, with an exceptionally high proportion of scrapers.

No solid rock is here exposed but the site is in the Lower Follifoot Grits, near the top of the local Millstone Grit succession (Jones 1943). The soil profile is a podsol, developed in stony sand, derived from the disintegration of the underlying grits. The peat has completely gone but there is a thin cover of modern humus and transient blown sand, incorporating fragments of burnt material from the firing of the moor and, at its base, small patches of an impalpable ferruginous powder, which appears to be peat-ash, derived from the same source. Below this only two distinct horizons can be differentiated, a chocolate-coloured iron-leached zone ( $A_2$ ) and an orange-coloured iron-enriched zone ( $B_2$ ). Between these there are in places black wisps which may represent incipient humus illuviation (Zone  $B_1$ ). Iron-pan occurs only as contorted intermittent streaks, sometimes encircling stones and even some of the artifacts themselves.

Excavation was not easy on account of the very large number of stones of all sizes. Fortunately the abnormally dry weather that year made sieving possible, using a small mesh sieve ( $\frac{1}{8}$  in.), so that it can confidently be stated that practically everything except the tiniest fragments has been recovered. At no time since would this have been practicable because of the high clay content of the mineral soil which, even in ordinary dry weather, retains sufficient moisture to clog the sieve.

All the artifacts were found in the  $A_2$  zone, the  $B_2$  zone being completely barren. This is in agreement with the observations of Law



and Horsfall (1882)—and of many others since; excavating on March Hill, near Marsden, they found that flints were abundant at all levels in the layer of dark grey sand below the peat and peaty clay but completely absent from the underlying red ochreous sand. As has been already mentioned, one or two artifacts on the present site had iron-pan adhering to them and this too I have often come across, as, for example, on Great Whernside, Wharfedale (Davies 1960). This fact has some bearing on the problem of the dating of the Mesolithic occupation of the Pennine moors, which clearly must antedate the iron-pan formation. Unfortunately, however, it is not possible in our present state of knowledge to date precisely the commencement of this process, though this probably preceded (and may have initiated) the development of the blanket bog peat which covers such large areas of the moors.

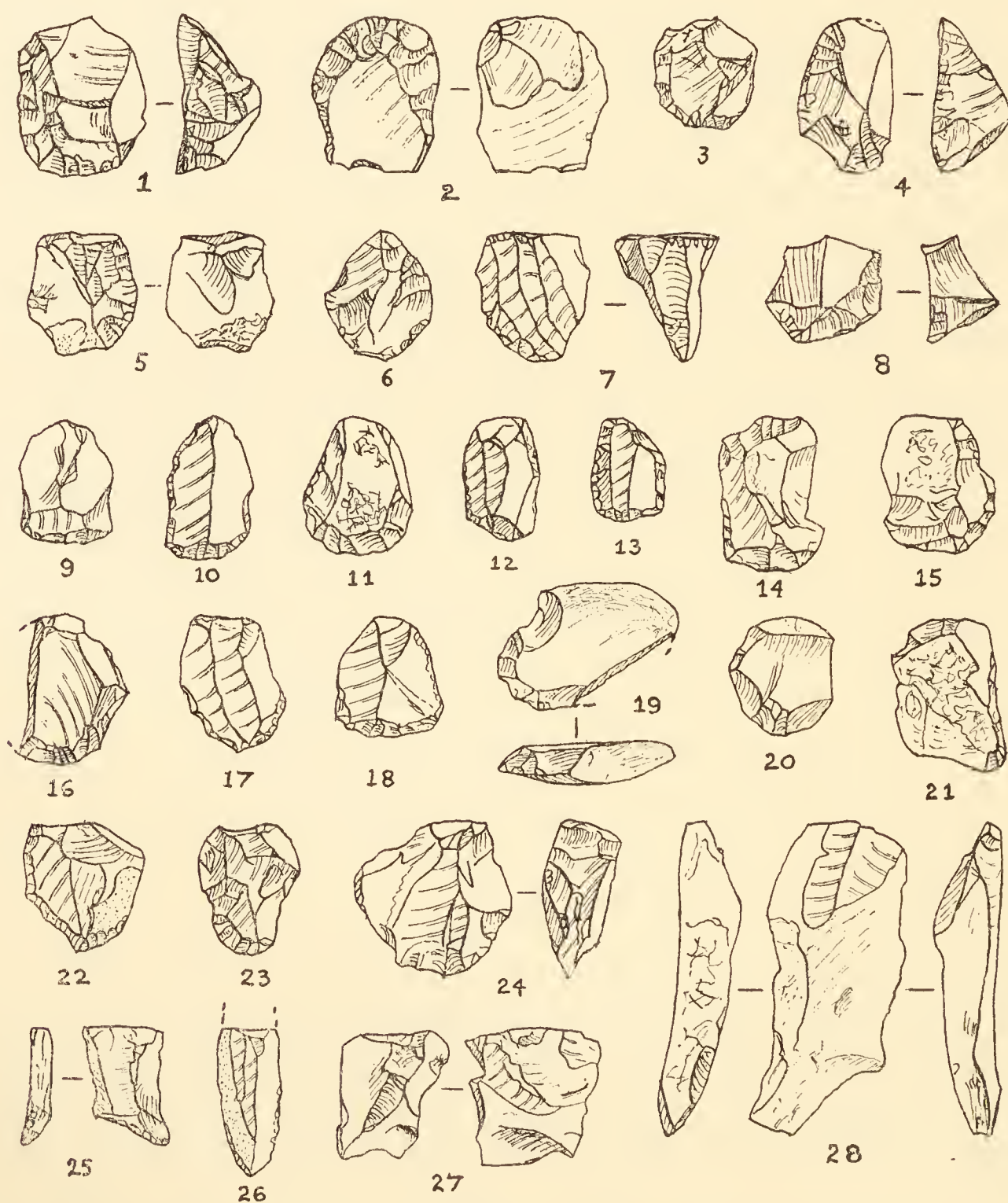


FIG. 1.  
A Mesolithic site on Blubberhouses Moor: the flints. ( $\frac{1}{2}$ ).

## ORGANIC REMAINS

Before going on to describe the lithic remains it should be stated that a few fragments of charred organic matter were obtained from the same zone. Because of the acidic nature of podsol soils and their porous texture, favouring abundant aeration, organic matter is rapidly decomposed and is only preserved, at any rate in the A zones, if it happens to have been carbonised by burning. The fragments consist of a number of broken carbonised hazel-nut shells, weighing just over six gms., and streaks of charcoal which were identified at the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, as Oak (*Quercus sp.*) and probably Birch (*Betula sp.*). Dimbleby's remarks about similar hazel-nut remains at Oakhanger, Hants. (Rankine & Dimbleby 1960) are apposite, 'Since hazel-nuts easily char without breaking, becoming quite bullet-like, it appears that the nuts were broken before charring—a not unreasonable conclusion.'

## FLINT AND CHERT INDUSTRY

Turning now to the artifacts, every single piece has been counted and an analysis follows:—

*Waste and by-products*

Cores, not subsequently utilised,	chert	3
Core rejuvenation flakes,	chert	15
'Blades', mostly fragmentary,	flint 1	} 11
	chert 10	
Microblades, mostly fragmentary,	flint 1	} 27
	chert 26	
Microburins, including mis-hits,	chert	8
Flakes and chippings,	flint 24	} 1182
	chert 1158	
Total		<hr/> 1246 <hr/>

*Finished forms*

Microliths,	flint 2	} 5
	chert 3	
Borers,	chert	2
Core gravers,	chert	4
Flake graver,	chert	1
Blade segments,	chert	3
Scrapers,	flint 1	} 108
	chert 107	
Total		<hr/> 123 <hr/>

The unutilized cores call for little comment. They are all small and rather amorphous, suggesting perhaps somewhat intractable material. The core rejuvenation flakes are likewise small, with no special characteristics, though one has been converted into a scraper (and has been included among the finished implements). Only two of the 'blades' are complete and these might be more accurately described as pointed ridged flakes rather than true blades, resembling miniature Bann flakes. The shape of the rest suggest that they might have been more parallel-sided, the best being undoubtedly the one of flint (fig. 1, 26), which has been well utilised on both edges. The microblades (fig. 2, 5-8), which are also mostly fragmentary are well proportioned, though of



very small dimensions and were probably intended for the manufacture of microliths. Of the microburins (fig. 2. 11, 12), four have been made on butt-ends, one, on a tip-end and three are mis-hits. Two of these microburins are fantastically small, measuring only 4 mm. × 7 mm. (0.15 ins. × 0.3 ins.), and 6 mm. × 6 mm. (0.25 ins. × 0.25 ins.), their weights being 0.072 gms. or 1/400 oz. and 0.042 gms. or 1/800 oz. respectively. Both the flaking round the notch and the facet of detachment are clearly visible (though many modern eyes would require a magnifying glass) and one can only marvel at the dexterity required to manipulate such diminutive artifacts. It is difficult too to imagine what use could have been made of the corresponding microliths, in the manufacture of which, these are, of course, the basal rejects.

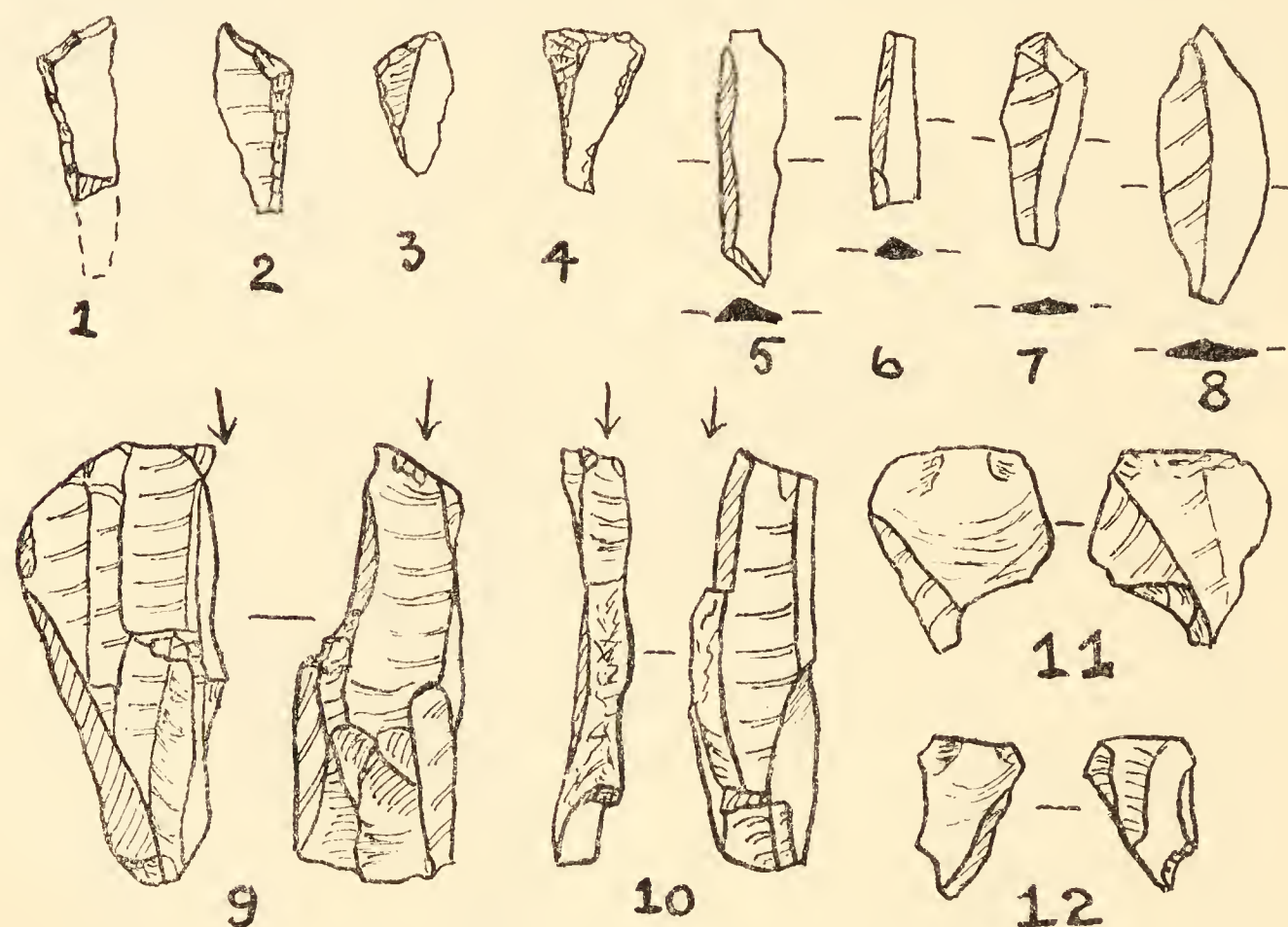


FIG. 2.  
A Mesolithic site on Blubberhouses Moor: the flints. (1/1).

With the exception of two, all the flakes and chippings are small, the majority being even smaller than the normal débitage on these Pennine sites. The tiny chippings which would normally be discounted, have been included in the count because they have a definite bearing on the nature of the site, which will be discussed later. An arbitrary separation was made according to size, as follows:—

Greatest dimension below 1 cm.			flint 11	}	621
			chert 610		
" "	1 — 2 cms.		flint 12	}	478
			chert 466		
" "	2 — 3 cms.		flint 1	}	72
			chert 71		
" "	over 3 cms.		chert		11
Total					1182

Of the two large pieces, one (fig. 1, 28) is probably a rough-out for a scraper and the other, measuring 6.5 cms.  $\times$  4.0 cms., looks as if it has been struck off a pebble to provide a working platform; it has a rather hackly fracture which is probably the reason why it was not utilised. Two other pieces—broken—look like roughed-out scrapers.

#### FINISHED IMPLEMENTS

Turning now to the finished implements, the microliths are not very distinctive. They are, as usual in the Pennine industries, of small size. The two flint ones consist of a narrow point blunted down one edge and a scalene triangle (fig. 2, 4) which is atypical in the thickness of the two blunted edges and in its being a right-angle triangle. The other three, of chert (fig. 2, 1, 2, 3), are of the common scalene triangle or sub-triangular form. Of the two borers, one appears to be an accommodation tool made on a chunky flake, but the other is a well-made tool, made by obliquely blunting a thick, squat blade, the longer end of which is conveniently curved outwards. The flake graver (fig. 2, 10) and the four core graters (fig. 1, 27, fig. 2, 9) are very typical and one (fig. 1, 27) has also been made into a concave scraper. The three chert blade segments have been included among the implements, as they have been described as such from many Mesolithic sites, particularly in the south of England, but in the absence of secondary trimming it is very difficult to decide between deliberate manufacture and fortuitous breakage. Rankine (1954) adduces as evidence of the former a uniform patina between the surfaces and the fractured edges and frequent signs of usage on the blade edge, but both features are equally consistent with accidental contemporary fracture of utilised blades.

Undoubtedly the most striking feature of the whole assemblage is the large number of scrapers, which vary very considerably in type and workmanship, from beautiful, symmetrical end scrapers to irregular flakes with the minimum of retouch. Only one (fig. 1, 2) is of flint, a well-made discoidal scraper, the bulbar end of which underlies the scraper edge (the bulb itself being flaked away). They have been divided into the following categories:—

##### *End Scrapers*

Transverse (fig. 1, 9, 13, 14, 18)	13
Oblique (fig. 1, 10, 12, 17, 19)	12
Convex (fig. 1, 11, 15)	9
Concave	2
	—
Total	36
	—

Most of these are rather neat and finely worked. Fig. 1, 13 is flaked at both ends, obliquely and transversely, and 14 and 17 are engrailed.

##### *Discoidal Scrapers*

11

These are mostly regular in shape but only part of the periphery is flaked. Some (fig. 1, 1, 3, 5) are hemispherical and very steeply flaked, but the rest (fig. 1, 2, 6, 16, 20) are relatively flat.

##### *Side Scrapers*

7

Of these one (fig. 1, 22) is engrailed, one concave, with very fine retouch and one is inversely retouched.



<i>Nosed</i> (fig. 1, 21, 23)	4
<i>Carinated</i> (fig. 1, 4)	2

These last two forms are strongly reminiscent of Upper Palaeolithic forms.

<i>Core Scrapers</i> (fig. 1, 7, 8, 27)	4
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No. 8 is on a core trimming flake, No. 27 is also a graver and No. 7 may be a graver as well.

<i>Unclassifiable and fragmentary</i>	44
---------------------------------------	----

These consist of irregular flakes with a scraper edge or fragments with sufficient trimming or morphological indications to justify their inclusion.

Several conclusions may now be drawn.

(1) The industry is homogeneous and is of Mesolithic age, as shown by the microliths, microburins, graters, etc. There is no admixture of later cultures as is sometimes said to occur on Pennine sites (e.g. Hallam 1958), though no such mixed assemblage has actually been recorded from a *sealed* site. In his reappraisal of the British microlithic industries 'lacking adzes or axes and comprising microliths made by the 'micro-burin' process, convex scrapers and a limited number of burins,' Clark (1956) showed that their affinities are more with the Sauveterrian than the Tardenoisian, to which they had always previously been referred. Though Maglemosian elements in the form of tranchet axes (Davies & Rankine 1960) and a tranchet axe sharpening flake (Spencer 1953) also occur in the Pennines, these are nevertheless exceptional and there is no doubt that their general configuration is towards the 'Sauveterrian' to which the present site probably belongs (with the necessary reservations implied in the use of the term).

(2) The number of scrapers found, 108 out of a total of 123 implements (87.7%), is very considerably higher than usual in Pennine Mesolithic sites. Thus Buckley (1924) records from two concentrated sites of comparable size near Marsden, Badger Slacks No. 2 and Warcock Hill S., 9 scrapers out of 35 tools (25.7%) and 17 out of 24 (40.5%) respectively. From a much bigger area on Warcock Hill N., 34 scrapers out of 76 tools (44.6%) were found. Hallam (1960) records from Cook's Study, near Holmfirth 14 scrapers, 41 microliths and 4 graters (23.7% scrapers), both from excavations and adjoining erosion patches. On many other sites within my own experience scrapers are either non-existent or occur very sparsely, microliths being correspondingly abundant. The conclusion is inescapable that the *raison d'être* of this small site was for the manufacture of scrapers. This is borne out not only by the comparatively large number of these tools, but also by the extremely small number of microliths and other finished forms, by the vast quantity of chippings down to a very small size and by the fact that many of the scrapers are broken, no doubt in manufacture due to faulty material.

(3) It is difficult to say what particular significance may be read into the preponderance of chert over flint on this site. It is common for one or other to predominate on individual sites, though considerable evidence suggests that at all prehistoric periods in the Pennines flint was the preferred material, even though chert was far easier to obtain.

Thus Raistrick (1960) estimates that from a collection of over 6,000 artifacts from Upper Wharfedale, only about 5% are of chert, though this is of local origin and flint would have to be brought from a distance—and this seems to be the general pattern. Excess of chert over flint at a particular site may therefore be due to temporary unavailability of supplies or other local economic difficulties but it might reflect nothing more than individual preference.

Many varieties of chert occur on the present site, blue, black, grey, brown and banded with a texture varying from smooth with a conchoidal fracture to rough and even scoriaceous. The bulk of it is of good quality and it was probably brought here as pebbles from Upper Wharfedale or adjoining areas, where it occurs in enormous quantities in the Yoredale beds. It is true that some chert occurs in the drift on the lower flanks of the moor, or very sparingly on the higher parts of the moor, but such material is usually unworkable, either because it is fossiliferous or permeated with incipient cracks, in either case giving an erratic fracture.

The small amount of flint on the site would, of course, all have to be imported. Two varieties have been used, one of a rather attractive shade of brown, such as occurs in the drift on the Yorkshire Coast and the other a grey flint with a white patina like that from the Middle and Upper Chalk in the Wolds. East Yorkshire is thus a probable source of the flint but it could have come from elsewhere. A small amount does occur in the drift in Lancashire and Cheshire (though absent from the Yorkshire side of the Pennines) and this might be a possible source. Further research on this subject is desirable.

#### DATING

The question of dating of these Pennine sites raises many problems. With the exception of the exiguous industry stratified in peaty detritus at Stump Cross, near Grassington (Walker 1957), they all occur in mineral soil with little hope of finding associated dateable material. It is true that the overlying basal layers of the peat provide a *terminus ante quem*, but not only is there an incalculable interval between the Mesolithic occupation and the beginning of the peat formation, but there is also some inconsistency in the dating of the latter. Pollen analysis of the basal peat at various sites by earlier investigators indicate that it is of Atlantic date (Zone VIIa) and the industries have been ascribed to the Boreal (Zone VI). These sites include Warcock Hill, March Hill and Lominot, near Marsden (Erdtman 1928, etc.), Oxenhope Moor, on the Aire-Calder watershed (Deans 1933), Barden Fell, Wharfedale (Raistrick 1933), and the Worsthorne Moors, near Burnley, Lancs. (Leach 1951). Godwin (1934), however, criticizes the interpretation of the pollen spectra from Warcock Hill and Barden Fell and suggests that they more likely indicate a Sub-Boreal (Zone VIIb) dating. As the Oxenhope Moor spectrum, drawn by Raistrick, is practically identical with that on Barden Fell and so the same remarks apply.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the Worsthorne Moor analysis—made by Godwin himself—the deposit is described as having formed ‘during and after Zone VIIb (i.e. Atlantic and later time)’. In a recent letter Prof. Godwin writes ‘if it was a correct allocation to Zone VIIb, then that ought now to be called Sub-Boreal’.



Though in some of the deeper basins in the Pennines peat may have begun forming as early as the Boreal-Atlantic transition, the blanket bog peat appears to be generally very much later. Thus the peat sealing a Mesolithic flint site on Blubberhouses Moor, about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles west of the present site, was found by Walker to belong to Zone VIIb or later (Davies & Rankine, *op. cit.*), and that overlying Hallam's site at Cook's Study was found by Dimbleby to be Sub-Atlantic (Zone VIII). The evidence from Stump Cross where the industry is dated to the first half of the Atlantic fits in with this later allocation and little further can be added until other similar sites turn up (though the prospects of this are only slight).

Chronologically the Stump Cross site was dated by radiocarbon (C14) analysis of the organic mud in which the flints were stratified to  $6500 \pm 310$  B.P.—(Godwin & Willis 1959). Unfortunately the few fragments of charred hazel-nut shells from the present site were insufficient for a C14 dating but those from the main occupation (Phase II) at Oakhanger, Hants, gave a very similar date,  $6300 \pm 120$  B.P. (Rankine & Dimbleby, *op. cit.*). At Scaleby Moss, Cumb. (Godwin, Walker & Willis 1957), a remarkable series of correlations between pollen analytical zones and C14 dating gave  $6998 \pm 131$  B.P. for the base and  $5037 \pm 122$  B.P. for the top of Zone VIIa. Until further evidence is forthcoming then the Pennine Mesolithic sites, including the present one, may be safely referred to the Atlantic period (Zone VIIa) between six and seven thousand years ago.

At that period the higher parts of the moors which are today notoriously bleak, wet and uncultivable, must have been considerably more attractive. Dimbleby (1961) has shown that the wild and desolate moorlands on the watershed of the Cleveland Hills were very extensively wooded in Mesolithic times, chiefly with alder, oak and hazel and although extrapolation over great distances is unsafe, nevertheless there is no reason why conditions on the Pennines should have been much different. On Blubberhouses Moor, as on many others, stumps of trees, recognizably oak and birch, are very common at the base of the peat round about the 1,000 foot contour, and though these may be later than the Mesolithic occupation, the few chips of charcoal on the present site show that the same species, as well as hazel, were growing then. So we can picture these Mesolithic hunters, fishers, wildfowlers and food-gatherers roaming the wooded uplands in the less inclement weather, camping in the open and perhaps moving into lower ground with the onset of winter. Unfortunately, with extremely rare exceptions, the only surviving traces of this occupation are the virtually indestructible tools and weapons of stone, all organic remains as bone, antler and wood having irrevocably perished.

Although the presence of gravers strongly suggests the working of these materials into tools, or at any rate into hafts for the smaller stone tools, not a single one has survived, in contradistinction to the very rich bone and antler industry at the proto-Maglemosian site at Star Carr, near Seamer (NR), waterlogged and sealed by mild fen peat (Clark *et al.*, 1954). Similarly, with food débris, though the fragments of hazel-nut shells, preserved on the present site by lucky

chance, give a faint glimpse of one source of food. (It can be added that—although not recorded by Walker—hazel-nut shells were also found in the culture level at Stump Cross, by G. Gill, and are exhibited in the Royal Pump House Museum, Harrogate.) In this connection a passage from Godwin (1956) may be quoted. 'In numerous Mesolithic and later human settlements on the European mainland, hazel-nuts occur in such quantities that it is evident that they were collected for food and indeed Schwantes has suggested that in the earlier cultures they had something of the rôle later taken by the cultivated cereals. It cannot be doubted that similar use was made of hazel-nuts in prehistoric Britain.' More evidence of the way of life of our Mesolithic forebears in the Pennines must await the discovery of more extensive organic matter preserved in basins of waterlogged peat which is unlikely (except perhaps in the limestone areas) or by charring from contact with the camp fire.

It is quite possible, of course, that other chipping floors belonging to the same scraper factory exist but only more considerable excavation in difficult terrain can decide this.

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#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Thanks are due to Mr. T. G. Manby of the Huddersfield Museum for kindly drawing the illustrations, and to him and Dr. G. W. Dimbleby for helpful criticism of the MS.

# THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY RIEVAULX BRIDGE AND ITS MEDIAEVAL PREDECESSOR

By the late J. WEATHERILL, stonemason of Rievaulx.<sup>1</sup>

Rievaulx Bridge crosses the River Rye half a mile down the valley from the ruins of the Cistercian Abbey of Rievaulx in the North Riding of Yorkshire. It is frequently referred to as 'Scawton Bridge', and before the construction of the modern A170 it carried the coach-road from Thirsk via Sutton Bank and Scawton to Helmsley.

The Rye flows at this point from north to south, and the orientation of the bridge is described accordingly throughout this article.

## I. THE WORKMANSHIP AND DATE OF THE PRESENT BRIDGE

Judging by the style of the mason work, the present bridge appears to date from the second half of the eighteenth century; all of it, except the approach parapets, seems to have been built from one plan and at one building operation. There is one wide central arch flanked by a smaller arch on each side, all three being nearly semicircular except that the springing line is a little above the centres of the curves. However, only when the river is in flood does any water flow through the east arch, the ground under which is about a yard above the normal water level.

The workmanship of the bridge proper is the same throughout and none of it seems to be an addition to any that might previously have existed. The finish on the stonework is in wide tooling, giving corrugations with regular crests and hollows, made with a wide boaster or batting tool (about four inches wide), struck with a mason's mallet or mell; this kind of tooling is almost always done with the corrugations vertical, or square to the bed of the stones, and the spaces between crest and crest are usually about  $\frac{1}{4}$  in., but on this bridge they are bolder, from  $\frac{3}{8}$  to  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. Such work was the main style of finish on a chiselled job in the Eastern Dales of the North Riding between the middle of the 18th century and the middle of the 19th, but was often used by the older masons till nearly the end of the 19th century for small jobs. Much facework on buildings was also finished with a pick, or a tool called an axe, which is really a modified pick with the points sharpened in a special way. The herring-bone finish on the ashlar stones of the period was done with this kind of axe (herring-bone axing is not to be confused with herring-bone bond on wall faces of the so-called Saxon period).

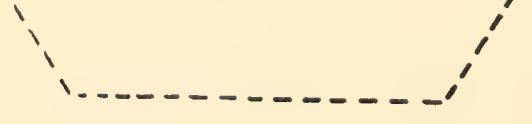
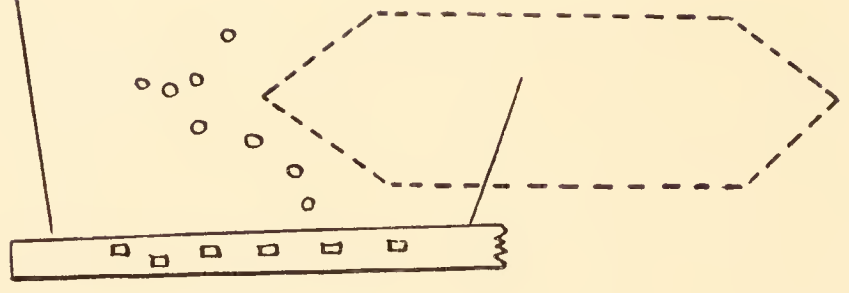
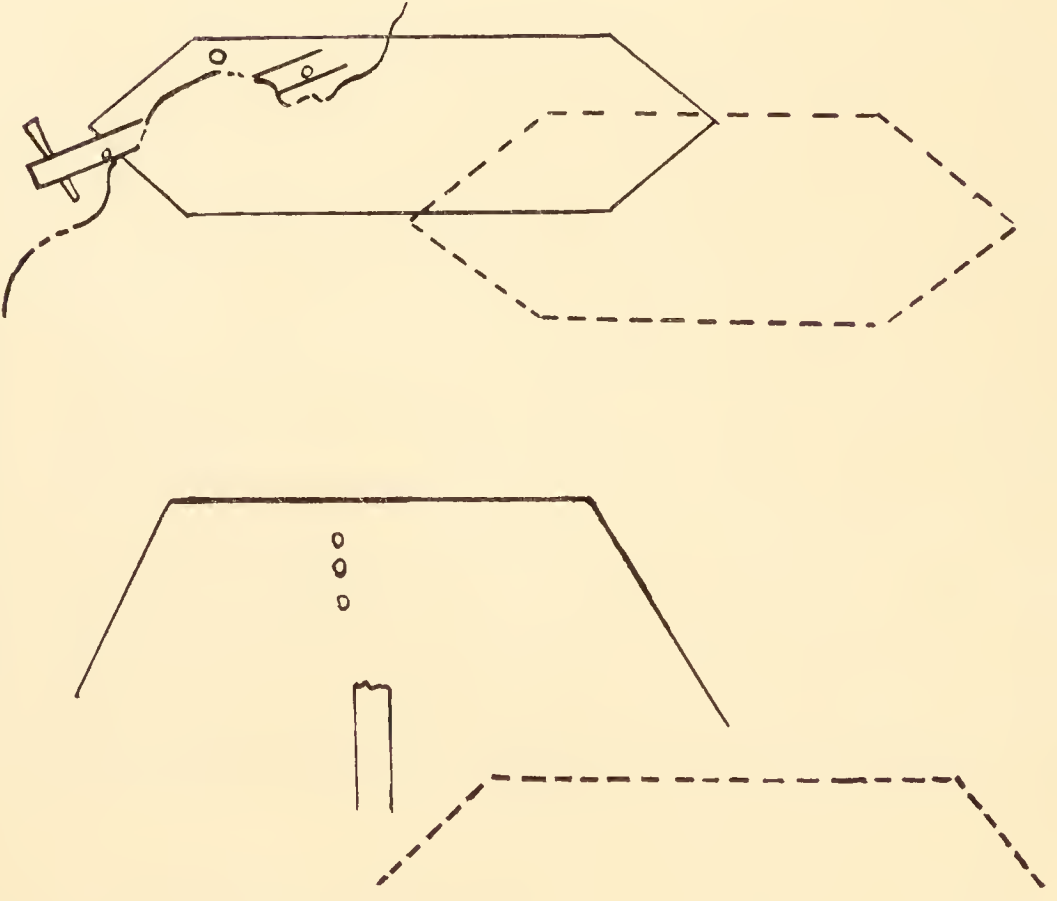
<sup>1</sup> Edited and revised by Mr. J. McDonnell of Helmsley.



# RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MEDIAEVAL & 18th CENTURY BRIDGES

PLAN SHOWING BEAMS AND PILES—LATER BRIDGE SHOWN DOTTED

EDGE OF CONCRETE



Where a better class of work was required during that period (18th-19th centuries) another kind of finish was to dress the stones finely, and then either leave it, finishing with a narrow boaster about 2 ins. wide, or rub it smooth with a piece of coarse stone and water, in neither case making any deliberate pattern of tooling.

There exists an engraving of a drawing by J. M. W. Turner<sup>1</sup> entitled 'Rievaulx Abbey'. It shows the Abbey in the middle distance below wooded hills, the bridge in the right foreground, the road on the left with figures and horses. The scene is drawn from the south or down-stream side and includes the west arch of the bridge and part of the central arch,  $\frac{1}{3}$  of which is cut off by the edge of the engraving. The drawing accords more with Turner's ideas on composition than with the actual details of the scene. The bridge is shown with a hump, and with no parapet at the approach to the bridge. Examination of the parapets at this point now shows them to be different in workmanship to those on the bridge itself; the approach parapets have three courses, and the bottom course (set back from the face of the retaining wall at the approach) has been dressed in various ways—some stones with a pick, some roughly scutched, others with a chisel. The two upper courses, on the other hand, are mainly finished with wide vertical tooling similar to that on the bridge itself. Nearly half the stones in the parapets are from a different class of rock which is not local. It seems therefore that the approach parapets have been added since Turner made his sketch.<sup>2</sup>

The date of the main structure of the bridge is indicated by documentary evidence relating to a flood in 1754. The diary of a Helmsley man, John Pape,<sup>3</sup> records that on 'October ye 28th 1754, a great and trable flud of water came by the rever Reye to Helmslay blakemour which came with such veamancy that it drove down to the ground 8 houses, 5 dwelling houses. Thorten poure creatures were dround, besides a great deal of catel, hey and corn staks. It drove down most of Helmslay Bredg, that was over the Rever Reye, and Revolx Bredg down to the ground, and part of Bow Bredg and Shacan Bredg, and abundance of damage in the contre besides . . . all this was dune by the flud and is sartanley trew. I so it with my own eys.' Pape's account is supported by the *Universal Magazine* for November 1754: 'A correspondent sends us an interesting account . . . of the inundation caused by the overflowing of the Rye and Derwent on October 28. A sudden inundation of the River Rye in Yorkshire, happened at Helmsley, such as hath never been known by the oldest people in those parts . . . . The stone bridge at the entrance to the town was damaged. Fourteen haystacks were driven down the river a mile.

<sup>1</sup> Engraving by J. C. Bentley, No. 571 in *The Gallery of modern British artists*, published by Simpkin & Marshall, Islington, 1834-36.

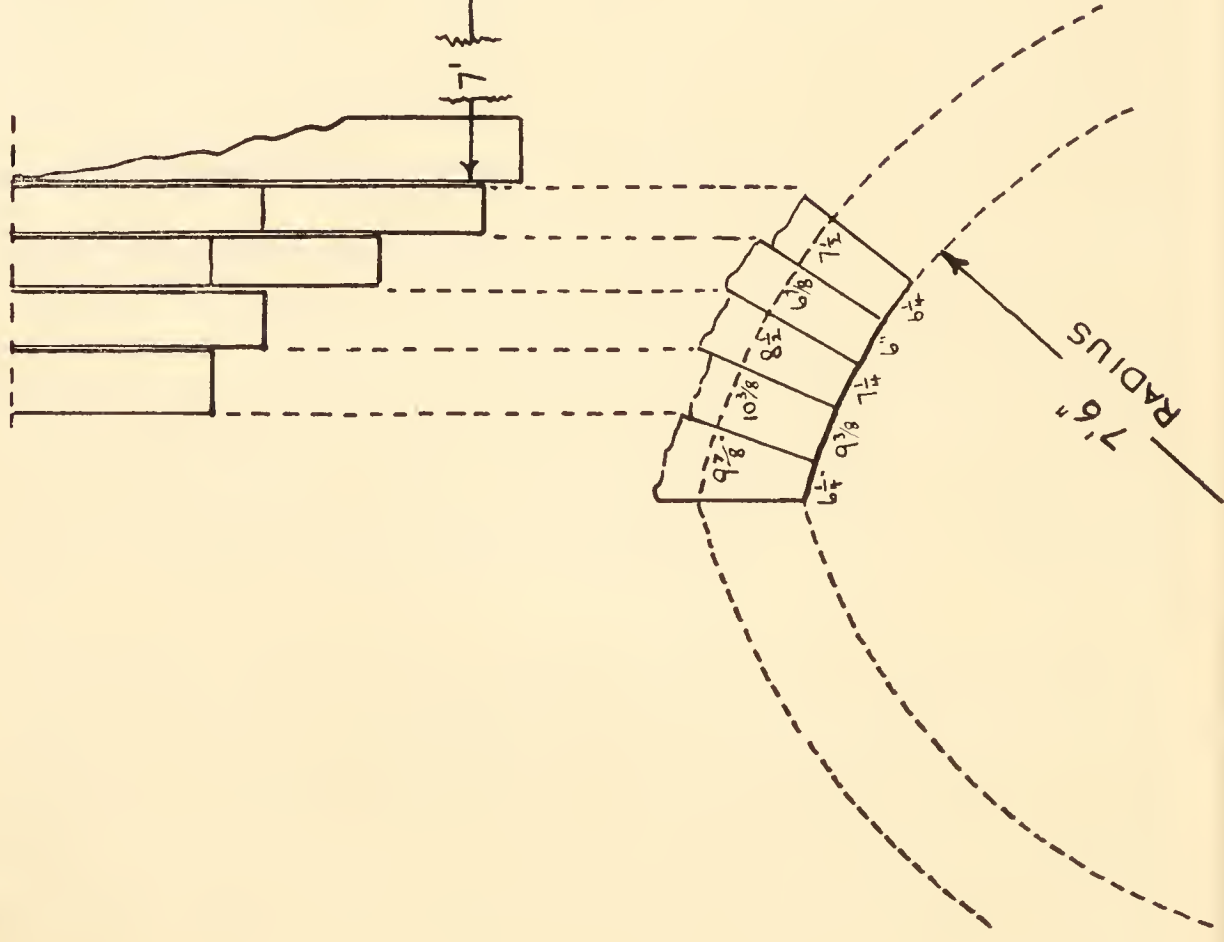
<sup>2</sup> Turner used to stay with Walter Ramsden Hawksworth Fawkes at Farnley Hall, on the north bank of the River Wharfe near Otley. He was in Yorkshire in 1797 and at intervals thereafter until Fawkes' death in 1825, when he ceased to visit Farnley. The original sketch may therefore have been made at any time between these dates.

<sup>3</sup> Not now extant. Extracts from it are quoted in Isaac Cooper, *Helmsley, or Reminiscences of 100 Years Ago*, York, 1887.

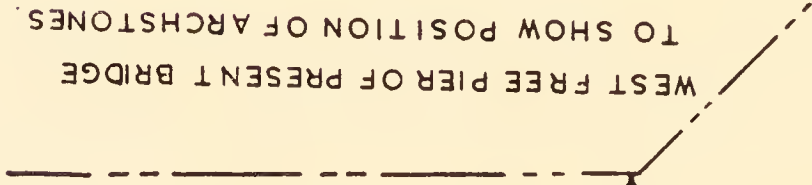


# MEDIAEVAL BRIDGE

PLAN OF ARCHSTONES FOUND IN RIVER  
NARROW WEST ARCH

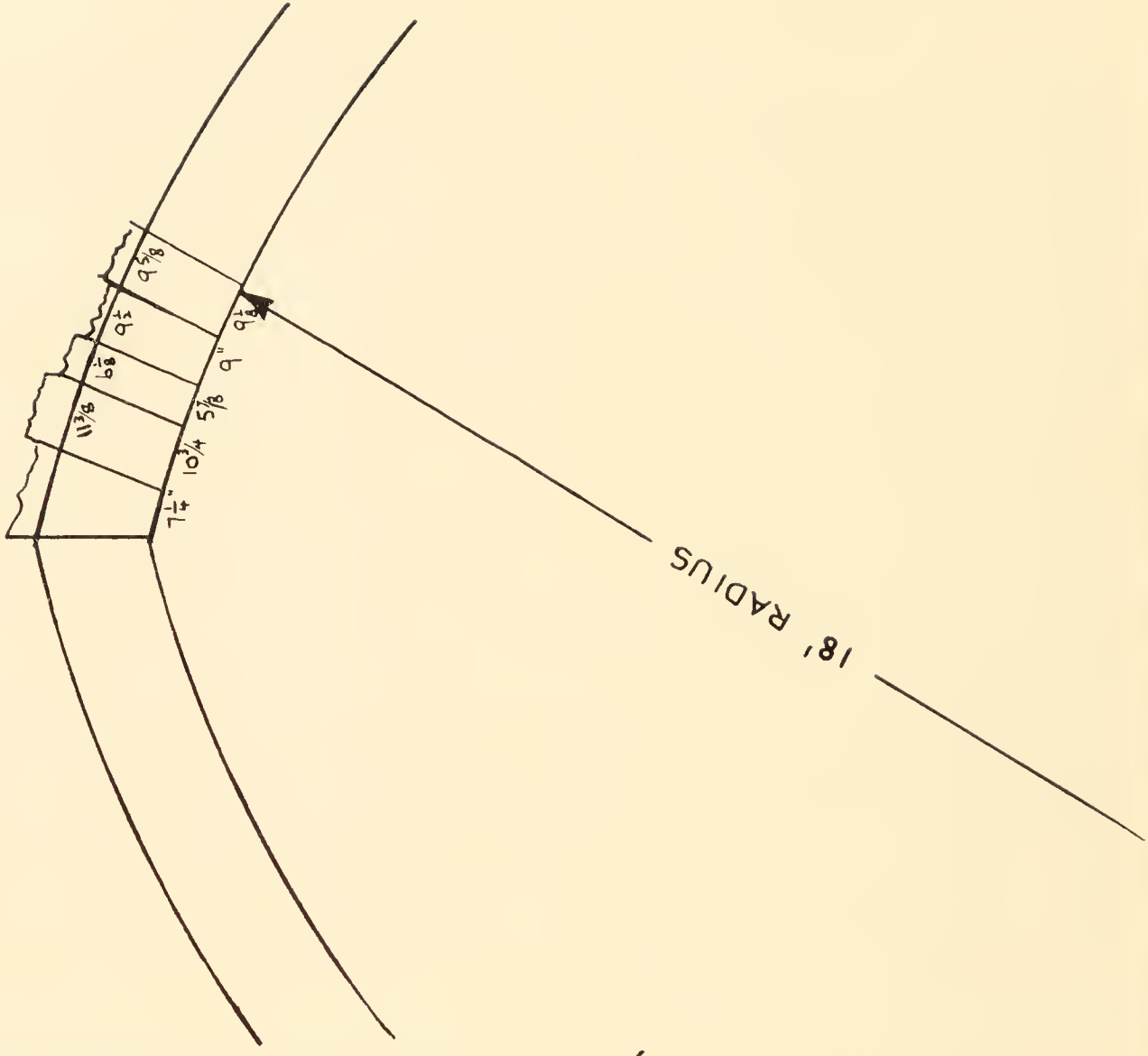


WEST FREE PIER OF PRESENT BRIDGE  
TO SHOW POSITION OF ARCHSTONES



# MEDIAEVAL BRIDGE

ELEVATION—WIDE EAST ARCH.



Two large bridges, one of stone, the other of wood, at Rievaulx were driven down, as were several more damaged . . . .’

Local tradition supports the statement that haystacks were driven down the river. Some time in the 1920s a man named Flintoft, then about 80 years old, was staying at Hagg Hall, and told a company of men who were standing on the bridge that when he was young he had heard old people say that during a big flood a haystack was carried down the river and got fast in front of the bridge, causing the water to dam up so much that the weight of it overwhelmed the bridge. Mr. H. M. Thompson of Bungdale Head also said (1949) that he had often heard his grandfather tell of a tradition about a haystack coming down the river in a flood and damming the water back at Rievaulx Bridge till it washed it down. Neither of them knew the date of the flood.

The accounts of both Pape and the *Universal Magazine* mention severe damage to other bridges in the locality, and the latter a second bridge at Rievaulx as being entirely ‘driven down’. This would be Bow Bridge (noted by Pape as partly destroyed, a mile upstream from Rievaulx Bridge. That is was Rievaulx Bridge which was stone built, and Bow Bridge which was of wood, may be deduced both from the evidence given below and from the fact that Rievaulx Bridge carried the main-road traffic from Thirsk.

The present Bow Bridge seems to have been built about the same time as Rievaulx Bridge. Most of the facework, excepting that on the single arch which spans the river, has not been chiselled and is rougher work than that on Rievaulx Bridge. The coping of the parapets and the corner pillars on the abutments, however, have been tooled in a fashion similar to that of Rievaulx Bridge. Both bridges have been County-maintained since before their re-building, together with a stretch of road extending 100 yds. from the middle of the bridge. On the three branches at Rievaulx Bridge a flat stake with a semicircular top in the roadside fences marks the division of responsibility between County and Rural District prior to 1930.

No evidence is known as to the actual date of rebuilding of either bridge. But Rievaulx Bridge at least was important enough to replace within a very few years of 1754.

## II. THE MEDIAEVAL BRIDGE

### (a) Finds in the river-bed, 1949-55.

At various times between 1949 and 1955, depending on the depth of water in the river and on the scouring of the bed by flood-water, much evidence has been obtained from stones and timber belonging to the former bridge which were found still lying in the river-bed, and it is possible to gain some idea of its plan and appearance. See plan and elevation on opposite page.

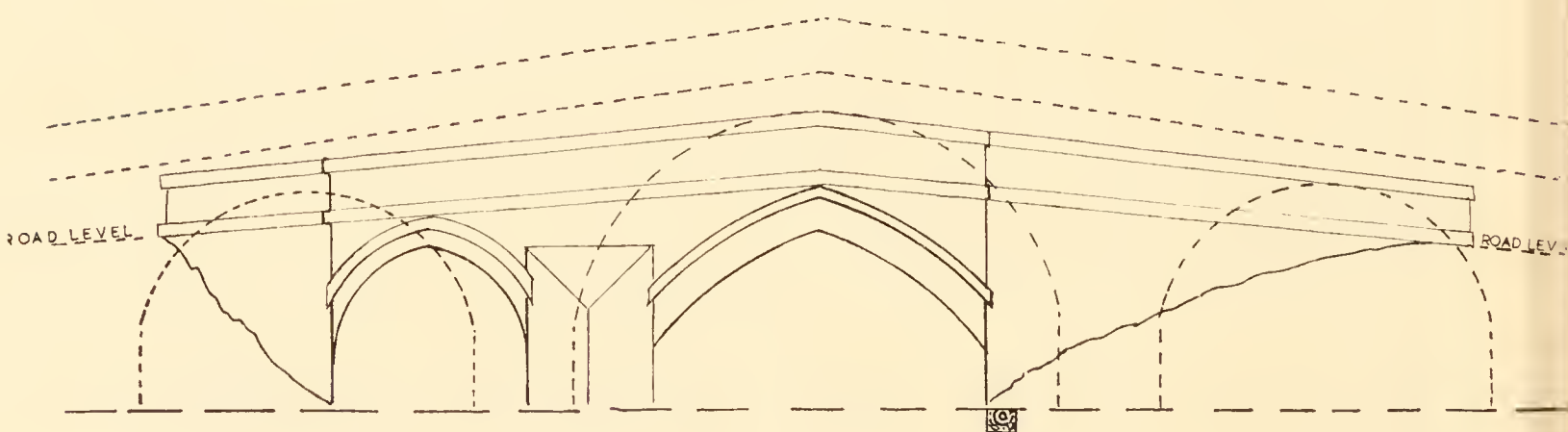
#### *Stones of West Arch*

In the week beginning 14th February 1949, following a dry spell, it was noticed that underneath the West arch of the present bridge the stream bed had been scoured out deeper than usual by autumn floods. Portions of four courses of archstones adhering together with white



lime mortar in the bed and end joints were exposed to view. Another archstone, belonging to another course, was found stuck to the other four in the same way with mortar on 4th August 1952, when the river was extremely low. The archstones lay with their extrados or backs uppermost, as if they had fallen straight down into the stream as the bridge collapsed. The courses lay about parallel with the flow of the stream, but their upper surface dipped upstream at an angle of 14 degrees from the horizontal. The upstream ends were mostly buried in the river bed, but it was possible to see the full size of the exposed downstream ends, which had the wedge-shaped profile of archstones with a concave under-surface (intrados or soffit).

MEDIAEVAL BRIDGE (PLAIN)  
IN RELATION TO  
18th CENTURY BRIDGE (DOTTED)



A year later (July 1953) floods had scoured off enough gravel and débris to show that the upstream ends of the courses all finished in a line. By clearing off what still remained it was possible to see that they were the quoins forming the angle between the soffit of the arch and the upstream face of the bridge. Two of the end archstones still had some white lime mortar sticking to their backs or extrados which had belonged to the joint between the back of the archstones and the spandrels of the bridge face.

On the surfaces of these stones which had been exposed to the action of running water and rolling pebbles, tool marks were nearly obliterated, but the faint remains seemed to be like the tool marks made with a mediaeval mason's axe. This resembled a small wood-chopping axe, except that it had a straight cutting edge instead of a curved one, and was altogether different from the pointed axe used in the 18th and 19th centuries.

Some loose separate stones lying in the river bed around these courses of archstones were found, when turned over, to have definite mediaeval axed tool marks on the surfaces which had been protected from the action of water and gravel. One of these loose stones proved to be a key-stone for a pointed arch, one of its bed-joints coinciding with the vertical key line, forming an obtuse angle with its concave soffit, while its other bed is an ordinary radiation from the centre of the curve.

These observations as to tool marks were confirmed by other masons, among them, on the 15th March 1949, the then Foreman at the Abbey, Mr. G. S. Davies, who had considerable experience of mediaeval mason work.

The thickness or height of the adhering archstone courses and of the keystone was measured at the intrados and extrados, and by plotting them the approximate curve of the arch can be calculated, while their relation to the key-line gives the amount of point at their intersection. By this means, the radius of the arches was estimated to be between 7 ft. 6 ins. and 7 ft. 10 ins., which for a pointed arch such as the keystone indicated would give a span of no more than 13 ft. But this figure is approximate only, especially as there is no evidence for the nature of the imposts—whether the centres of curves were on the springing line with the curve starting imperceptibly, i.e. with the vertical faces of piers at a tangent to the curves, or whether the centres were below the springing line, causing the curves to meet the piers at an obtuse angle.

### *Stones of East Arch*

On 21st May 1949, after further spates followed by a long period of drought, archstones were noticed in the stream bed under the middle arch of the present bridge, two of which were still stuck together with the same sort of lime mortar as has been described above. Four of them were measured at the intrados and extrados, and a radius of 18 ft. was calculated, which means that the arch here had a considerably wider span than the one on the west side. If the centres of the curves were below the springing line it would allow a fairly wide span without the apex of the arch causing too great a hump in the roadway. These stones too had mediaeval axe marks on them; there appeared to be other similar stones, but they were too fast in the river bed and too deep under water to measure.

County Council men came on 13th June 1949 to do some repairs to the present bridge. A block of concrete was put in along the north-west face of the cutwater of the east free pier. A stone which they had to move was found to be a keystone for a pointed arch, which makes it reasonably certain the wide east arch too was a pointed one. (The identification of the keystone was confirmed by the County Council mason, Mr. George Shields.)

### *A Parapet Stone?*

After a period of drought a stone like a parapet coping stone was seen lying on the downstream side of the present bridge and was examined on 9th June 1952. It was only splayed or chamfered off at one side of its top, the other side being flat. Both the splay and the flat top had been subjected to the wearing action of water and gravel. They also had the appearance of having been exposed to the weather and of having been walked on for a long time before falling into the river. The end joints and bottom bed still had clean-cut tool marks of a mediaeval mason's axe on them.



*Timber foundations*

There is also timber—beams and piles—left in the river bed, which seems to belong to the foundations of a previous bridge.

One thick beam still remains at the upstream end of the east free pier of the present bridge, with its stream side 4 ft. 4 ins. further into the stream than the present pier's west face, and its middle about a foot further upstream than the tip of the pier cutwater. It is 15 ft. long by 1 ft. 9 ins. wide, with its top surface just under water at ordinary summer level. It is pierced with six holes, five of them about 9 ins. by 6 ins., the other one smaller and nearer the stream side of the beam. Through these holes, piles have been driven into the ground below the beam; the upper end of each pile has a mortise hole cut through it, evidently for stout pegs to secure the beam to the piles. The smaller pile, which is the second from the upstream end of the beam, has a round hole through it, bored with a  $1\frac{1}{4}$  ins. auger, and still had the round peg in it on 4th August 1952.

Eastwards towards the bank at least seven other piles were visible in February 1949, some only just protruding above the stream bed, but others up to 18 ins. above the level of the top side of the beam described above. When the new concrete was put along the side of the cutwater (June 1949—see above), another pile was found under the bank about ten feet from the stream side of the beam. This seems to be more than would be needed for a free pier, and it is more likely that it formed the east abutment. Some of the piles had to be taken out, and were found to go down about two feet below the underside of the beam. All had a pointed end like a stake for driving.

At the west abutment of the present bridge, a wide block of new concrete similar to that round the free pier has been put in, as well as a thin layer across the stream bed above the west arch, extending from the north side of the bridge a few yards upstream. If there was any evidence of the old bridge on that side it is now covered up. However, on the 31st March 1950 the Council men came to extend the concrete surround of the west abutment further upstream, and in digging out the ground for it exposed three piles and part of a beam 1 ft. 6 ins. wide, lying across the line of flow. Its eastern end projected 4 ft. 6 ins. further into the stream than the east face of the abutment, and it was 3 ft. 6 ins. from the side of the beam to the angle formed by the face and the splay of the abutment. The western end of the beam continued beyond the excavation and was not traced. The three piles were in a line parallel with the beam, 9 ins. to the north of it, the westernmost pile being level with the eastern end of the beam.

At the west free pier of the present bridge a wide surround of concrete was put down in the 1930s, covering the stream bed for some distance from the sides of the pier. There is, however, one pile protruding out of the stream bed, beyond the edge of the concrete, 10 ft. 6 ins. upstream from the angle formed by the east side of the pier and its cutwater, and 3 ft. 2 ins. east from the line of the east face of the pier. There were probably more piles under the concrete.

Just above the bridge on the west side there is a bed of gravel extending into the river as far as the line of the west free pier. Much of this gravel was carried away by floods, and in 1951 the top side of a piece of timber lying roughly parallel to the direction of flow could be seen flush with the surface of the gravel. Small but constant amounts of rain that summer made it impossible to examine this timber, and then in October flood-water brought some 10 ins. of fresh gravel over the spot. Not until the spring of 1953, and then again in 1955, did the state of the river bed (aided by children throwing gravel for amusement) uncover the timber again. On 30th May and 1st June 1953 the east side of the beam was cleared to a depth of about 10 ins. (as deep as seeping water would allow), and its upper surface was cleared as far as the edge of the concrete round the west free pier. It was thus exposed on two sides for about 4 ft. of its length from the upstream end. The upper surface was about  $10\frac{1}{2}$  ins. wide; the depth of the east side could not be ascertained owing to water seeping into the trench. Near the upstream end was a hole then measuring about 10 ins. by 8 ins., but which may have become enlarged by the perishing of the wood (cf. the holes in the east side beam, described above, which measured 9 ins. by 6 ins.). This hole, however, was not from top to bottom as the beam then lay, but from side to side, showing that it had been wrenched from its original position and turned over on its side.

Through the large hole was a small stake or pile, 5 ins. by  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ins. in section, protruding about 11 ins. at the west side of the beam, and further than the excavation extended (18 ins.) on the east side. 10 ins. along from the east side of the beam was a 2 ins. round hole through the  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ins. thickness of the pile. The pile lay through the hole at an angle of 8 degrees with the upstream end towards the east, and sloping downwards towards the east at an angle of 25 degrees. The difference in size between the hole and the pile made it possible for the latter to be skewed so much, and it seems very possible that the pile did not originally belong in that hole, but was pushed in later for some purpose—perhaps when the new bridge was being built. The beam itself was not lying level but sloping downstream at an angle of 6 degrees.

There was a further hole from side to side through the beam as it lay, about 2 ft. from the upstream end and only 3 ins. across. Another still smaller hole ran down from the upper side to intersect the horizontal one, as though intended for a peg to pass through a pile fitting into the 3 ins. hole.

On 25th July 1955 it was noticed that children playing near the concrete had managed to expose a further length of the upper side of this same beam, to about 12 ft. 6 ins. from the upstream end; it still continued further downstream under the concrete. 11 ft. 6 ins. from the upstream end was a round hole  $1\frac{1}{2}$ -2 ins. in diameter, bored from the top side as the beam lay, as if meant to peg another pile. In the river bed about a yard upstream from this hole was the pile referred to earlier (see plan). Closer examination of this pile showed that there was the bottom part of a hole through it suitable for driving in



a peg to secure the beam. The position in which the beam then lay in relation to this pile makes it evident that it had been wrenched from its original position on top of a row of piles (the surviving one being part of the row) and turned over on its side towards the west. The comparative fragility of the piles used here may explain why this beam was torn loose while the corresponding beam of the east side abutment remained in position. The single free pier would also, of course, suffer most in the collapse of the bridge.

(b) Conclusions.

The evidence of the old archstones and the timber foundations points to the conclusion that there had been a wide pointed arch on the east side of the bridge and a narrow pointed arch on the west side. The width of the whole, including road and parapets, would be about 14 ft., as shown by the length of the beam on the east side of the river.

Unless any records of its construction can be found, it is not possible to decide exactly when it was built. But the mason work and the type of stone used enable us to approximate to its date.

The tool marks on the stonework give some clue: the axe described earlier was used to dress sandstones in the dales of north-east Yorkshire, from at least the Norman period or before, to roughly the beginning of the Perpendicular period, towards the end of the 14th century.

The stone is the same kind as that used in the choir of the Abbey, which was built in the second quarter of the 13th century by hired masons. It is in fact the same sort of stone as the present bridge, a cream-coloured, fine-grained stone from the Calcareous Grit series. But the developing importance of road communications at that period of the Abbey's history makes it probable that the same masons were used to build a well-found bridge. So well-found, indeed, that it lasted over 500 years.

# MESOLITHIC SITES IN SOUTH-WEST YORKSHIRE

By JEFFREY RADLEY, M.A. and GEOFFREY MARSHALL.

## *Introduction*

This paper has a fourfold purpose. After describing the area, the writers examine the existing printed comments on the Mesolithic sites of south-west Yorkshire with a view to establishing their usefulness and accuracy. The sites which have been discovered in recent years are accurately recorded, special emphasis being paid to the surface sites found by the writers. The types of raw materials are examined and two siliceous rocks are used as criteria for recognizing local Mesolithic sites. Fourthly, the number and nature of the artifacts are considered and they are related to neighbouring areas.

## *The Physical Unity of the Area*

The escarpment to the east of the Derbyshire Derwent and to the west of the River Don forms a continuous north-south spine of high moorland, which is somewhat isolated from the high moors of the Central Pennines. Derwent Edge forms the nucleus of this spine, exceeding 1700 ft. in the north and descending to 1,000 ft. in the vicinity of Baslow, Derbyshire (fifteen miles to the south) and the area is generally called the Derwent Moors. Most of the moorland occurs as a series of spurs which radiate north and eastwards from the edge proper, descending to 600 ft. near the Don.

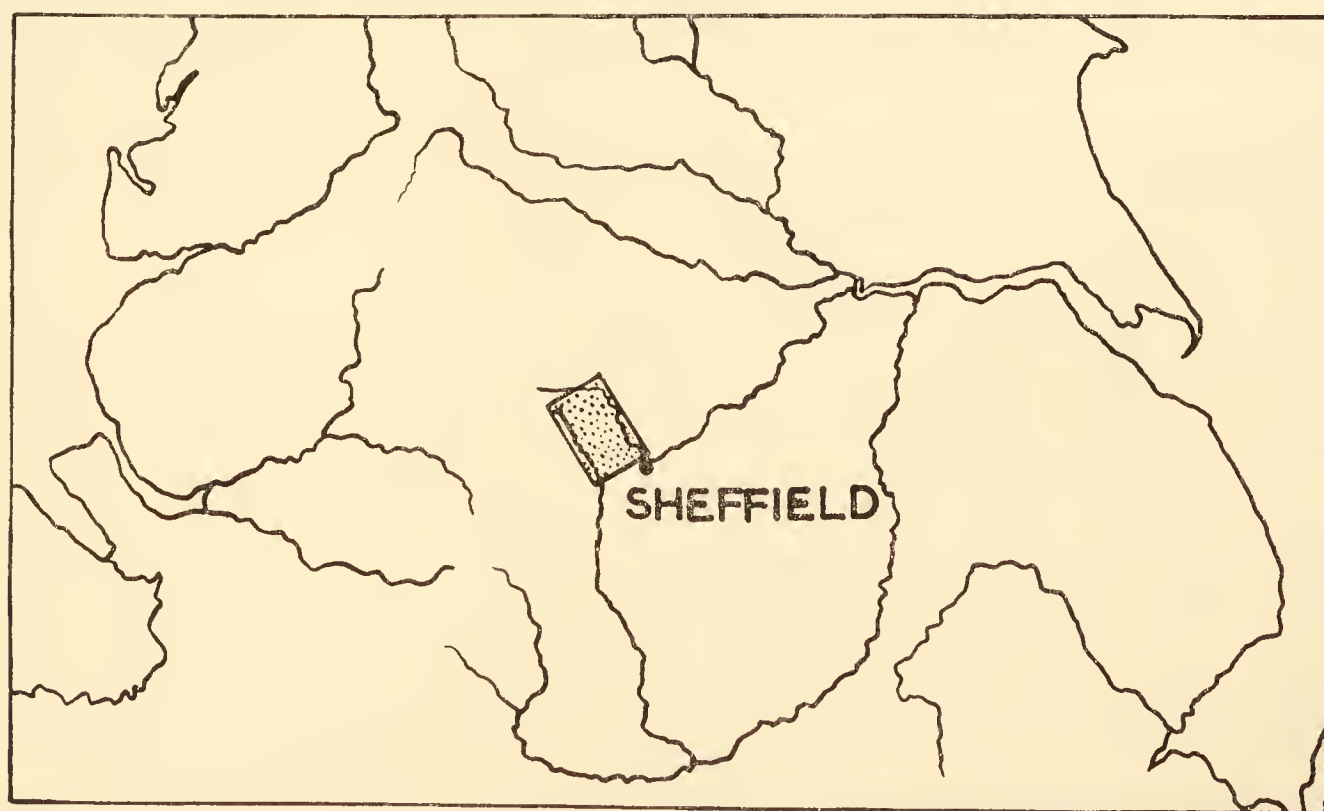


FIG. 1. Location map.



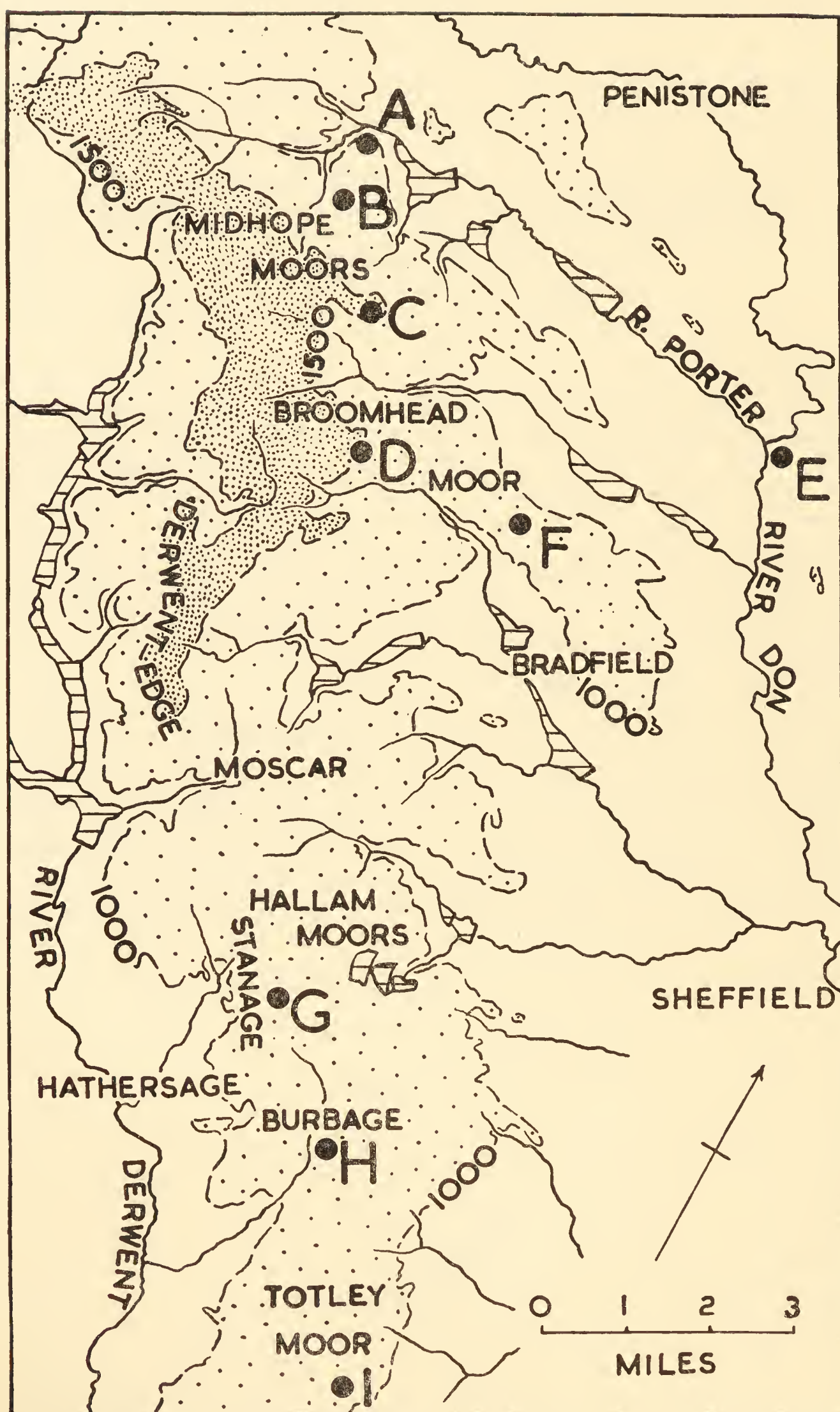


FIG. 2.  
South-west Yorkshire. Principal place names are shown, together with the Mesolithic sites, lettered A—I, referred to in the text.

Derwent Edge, Midhope, Broomhead, and Bamford Moors are part of the Kinderscout Grit series, while a zone east of this belt, comprising Strines, Hallam, Stanage and Burbage Moors, is formed of Rivelin Grit.

The whole area is peat covered, and heather and cotton grass are the dominant plants today. Only on the brink of some edges, on areas ravaged by fire, and on areas churned up by World War I military manoeuvres can exposures of sandy soil and stones be seen.<sup>1</sup> The moors are uninviting owing to the size of the area, the height, the inhospitable weather, and the private nature of the tenures. Thus these moors have never been properly explored and described from an archaeological viewpoint.

#### *Published Notices and Museum Collections relating to the Area*

Any study of the Derwent Moors must begin with Armstrong's prolonged activities in the area. Collecting from perhaps 1900 until 1958, he has long been the authority on the high moors. In 1920, and particularly in 1929, he described implements 'such as are usually found upon . . . . the moorland foothills at this altitude (c. 1,000 ft.) in the vicinity of Bradfield',<sup>2</sup> and 'on the high moors of the Yorkshire-Derbyshire border'.<sup>3</sup> He proposed that the artifacts were the final expression of the Upper Palaeolithic on these 'glacier-sculptured heights' (sic) and were directly related to his Cresswellian cultures. He never found a specific work floor but his random finds took on the importance of sites; his most definite description records that flints occur:

'most plentifully on Derwent Edge, the Cut Gate and Langsett Moors, Stanage and Higgarr Tor, southeast of which none have been located except at the extremity of the area, near Unstone and Dronfield.'<sup>4</sup>

This summarizes most of what is known of Armstrong's work. Little can be gleaned from his illustrations, with captions like 'From the High Moors, under peat', and no scale is given; no details occur, even in his 1956 assessment<sup>5</sup> in which he has adopted the term 'Cresswellian' to describe his sites.<sup>6</sup>

Armstrong leaves the picture dominated by hill-top sites with tools of a strong Palaeolithic affinity, related to only the oldest of the sites

<sup>1</sup> The dry summer of 1959 led to catastrophic fires. Since then, erosion has washed the ash and dust from large areas presenting an opportunity to archaeologists rivalled, perhaps, only by fires in 1938 and 1948.

<sup>2</sup> Armstrong, A. L. *Trans. Hunter Arch. Soc.* 1920 v. 2, p. 39. He records six bone awls (now in Sheffield Museum) and various artifacts.

<sup>3</sup> Armstrong, A. L. Lectures entitled 'Prehistoric Man in Yorkshire', reported in *Trans. Hunter Arch. Soc.* 1920: v. 2, p. 206.

<sup>4</sup> Armstrong, A. L. 1929. 'Flint and Stone Implements of the Sheffield District and their Distribution'. *Proc. Sorby Scientific Soc.*, v. 1, p. 85. This is an extension of an earlier paper: *Proc. Prehist. Soc. E. Anglia*, v. 3, pp. 277-289.

<sup>5</sup> Linton, D. L. Edit. 1956, 'Sheffield and its Region'. *British Assoc. Adv. Sci. Handbook*. Chapter 6 by Armstrong. From fig. 30 it seems that the sites illustrated are those in his 1929 paper.

<sup>6</sup> Kenworthy clarifies one point: 'Mr. A. L. Armstrong has found several undoubted settlements near the Broomhead shooting-box'; Kenworthy, J. 'Midhope Potteries', 1928, p. 28, 'Settlements' is an exaggeration.



found by Buckley in the Central Pennines.<sup>1</sup> The evidence recorded by Armstrong is flimsy for such a strong conclusion, and certainly conflicts with Buckley who describes the majority of his sites as having a generally Neolithic affinity, being very late in the Mesolithic.<sup>2</sup> Buckley and Clark have also noted that the Huddersfield sites favoured spurs and off-the-summit sites,<sup>3</sup> which is geographically dissimilar to Armstrong's findings. This leaves a well defined problem which can only be solved by accurately recorded field work.

Other published evidence is restricted by Himsworth's record of two microliths from Burbage<sup>4</sup> and Butcher's note on a Mesolithic site at Deepcar.<sup>5</sup>

Museum collections from the Derwent Moors are both small and poorly recorded. The Armstrong Collection<sup>6</sup> in Sheffield Museum is the core of our information on the area; it comprises a muddle of boxes and packets which has been reduced, using the original labelling, to the following table:

Table 1. The Armstrong Collection

	Total	Micro-liths	Micro-burins	Other tools		
	Mesolithic				Neol-Br. Age	Dub-ious
Bamford .. ..	—	—	—	—	—	3
Broomhead and Midhope .. ..	82	—	15	—	—	7
Burbage Brook .. ..	—	—	—	—	—	3
Hingcliff Hill .. ..	270	4	3	10	56	5
Mickleden Edge, Midhope <sup>7</sup> .. ..	22	1	—	1	—	—
Moscar .. ..	1	—	—	—	56	3
Rocher Flat, Bradfield, or Bradfield .. ..	29	16	—	—	52	112
Stanage Edge .. ..	24	—	1	—	—	—
Stanage Lodge .. ..	9	—	—	—	—	—

Such a small collection is insufficient to form any conclusion as to the cultural history of the flints, especially as they are all surface finds.

<sup>1</sup> Petch, J. A. 1924. 'Early Man in the Huddersfield District'. *Tolson Mem. Mus. Pub. No. 3*, Huddersfield.  
<sup>2</sup> Petch, J. A. 1924, *op. cit.*, p. 34.  
<sup>3</sup> Petch, J. A. 1924, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-14; and Clark, J. G. D., *The Mesolithic Age in Britain* 1932, p. 21.  
<sup>4</sup> Himsworth, J. B. 1943, 'Some flint artifacts from local sites'. *Trans. Hunter Arch. Soc.*, v. 5, pp. 238-242, and plate 1, no. 11, 12. 'Burbage' covers more than five square miles.  
<sup>5</sup> Butcher, L. H. 1957. 'Archaeological Remains on the Wharncliffe-Grenoupland, South Yorkshire'. *Trans. Hunter Arch. Soc.*, v. 7, pp. 38-9, Preliminary Notice.  
<sup>6</sup> Correspondence with Manchester University Museum, the British Museum and elsewhere has established that it is unlikely that there is any material from this collection in any other museum, except for a group of twenty flints in Huddersfield Museum (see later). Armstrong claimed: 'Every scrap of flint found I have kept . . . .'; *op. cit.* 1929, p. 83.  
<sup>7</sup> In Huddersfield Museum





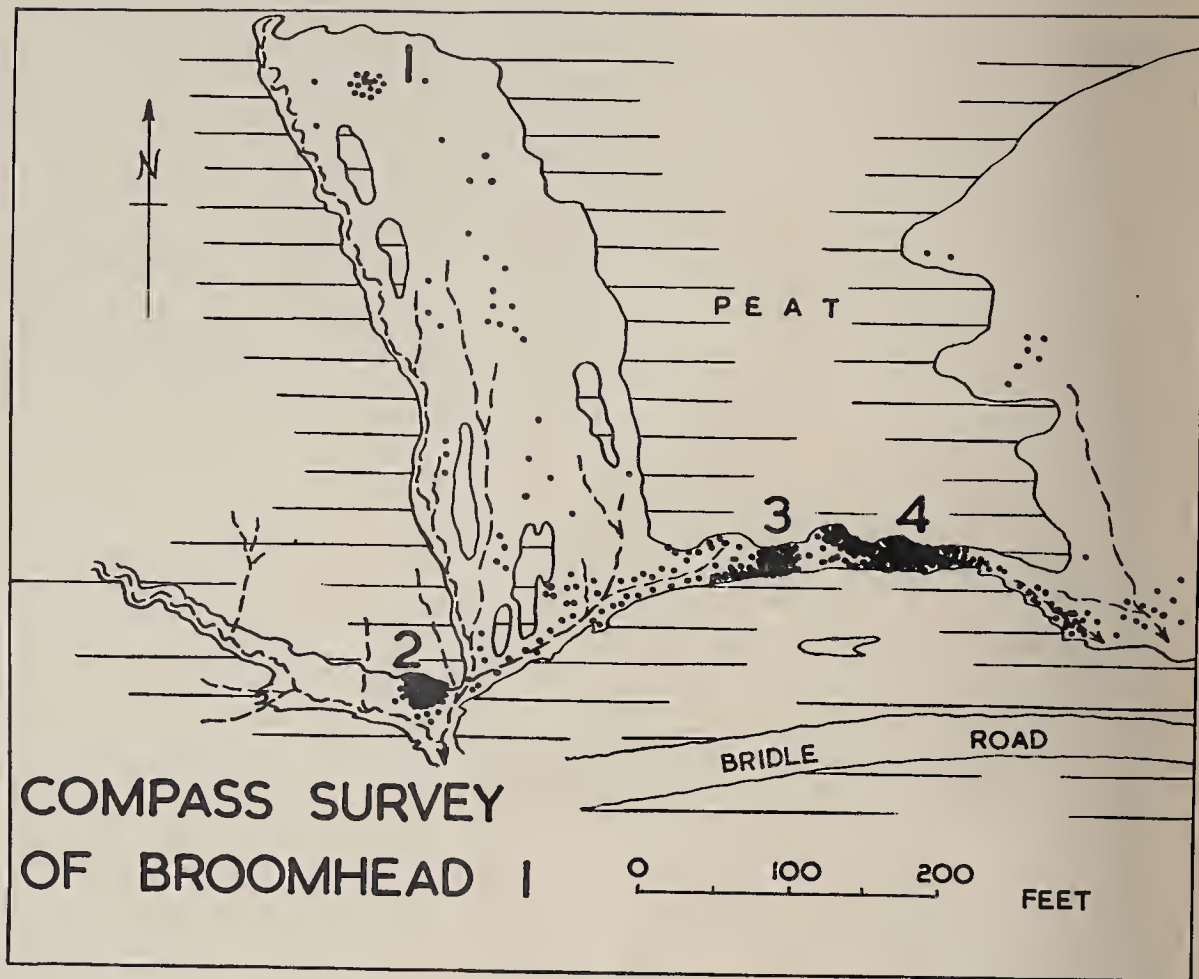


FIG. 3.

The erosion patches at Broomhead I and the frequency of artifacts. Groups 1 and 4 are mixed white and brown flint; groups 2 and 3 are chert. Dashed lines are intermittent water courses.

The collection is of limited use as its detailed origin is usually unknown. Fifteen microliths, comprising almost the whole number in the collection, are from a display card labelled: ‘Bradfield and Hooton Roberts’.<sup>1</sup> One box of fifty-six tools, not included in Table 1 is labelled: ‘From Totley, Broomhead, Moscar, Hollow Meadows, Rivelin, Stanage and Bradfield’. Claims<sup>2</sup> for sites yielding 70% black chert (or ‘lydianite’) are not substantiated by Table 1.

Another collection of very limited use is the Gatty Collection.<sup>3</sup> His collection is mainly Neolithic and later, except for the Doncaster group of microliths. There is one black chert microlith in Sheffield Museum; the definite and possible mesolithic artifacts are summarized in Table 2, with the respective museums’ captions:

Table 2. The Gatty Collection

	Total	Micro-liths	Blades	Other tools
Bradfield (in Doncaster) ..	495	6	73	7
Moorlands, Bradfield (in Rotherham) ..	17	—	12	5
Rocher Flat, Bradfield (in Sheffield) ..	106	8	85	6

These are the maximum figures which can be ascribed to the Mesolithic, and the number is probably exaggerated. The chapelry of Bradfield covers 20,000 acres, and only ‘Rocher Flat’ is meaningful (see later).

More recent additions to our limited knowledge, now in Sheffield Museum, are summarized in Table 3:—

Table 3. Recent Additions<sup>4</sup>

	Total	Microliths	Blades and Other Tools
Blacka Moor .. ..	185	3	10
Deepcar <sup>5</sup> .. ..	82	11	38
New Bridge Farm .. ..	555	—	126

There is a maximum of forty-nine microliths, nineteen micro-burins, and 270 blades, scrapers and other tools in public collections, and it is reasonably certain that there are few appreciable private collections from the Derwent Moors. It would appear that past assessments have been based on not more than 2,200 artifacts, of which at least

<sup>1</sup> Hooton Roberts, north-east of Rotherham.

<sup>2</sup> Armstrong, A. L. 1921, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

<sup>3</sup> Divided between Sheffield, Rotherham and Doncaster Museums, in the Will of the Rev. R. A. Gatty, 1914. Table 2 excludes the non-mesolithic materials where they can be accurately determined.

<sup>4</sup> All the Deepcar, some of the Blacka Moor, and a fraction of the New Bridge Farm assemblage is Mesolithic. The last was bought by Sheffield Museum in 1954. Its history is not known, but the artifacts come from the vicinity of the farm and includes 76 scrapers, and over 20 arrow heads. The Deepcar total does not include the enormous amount of tiny wastage.

<sup>5</sup> Recently, Mr. Hepworth of Stocksbridge has added 1,100 flints to the Deepcar total, including six broken microliths, three scrapers, and many broken blades, and they are still in his possession.



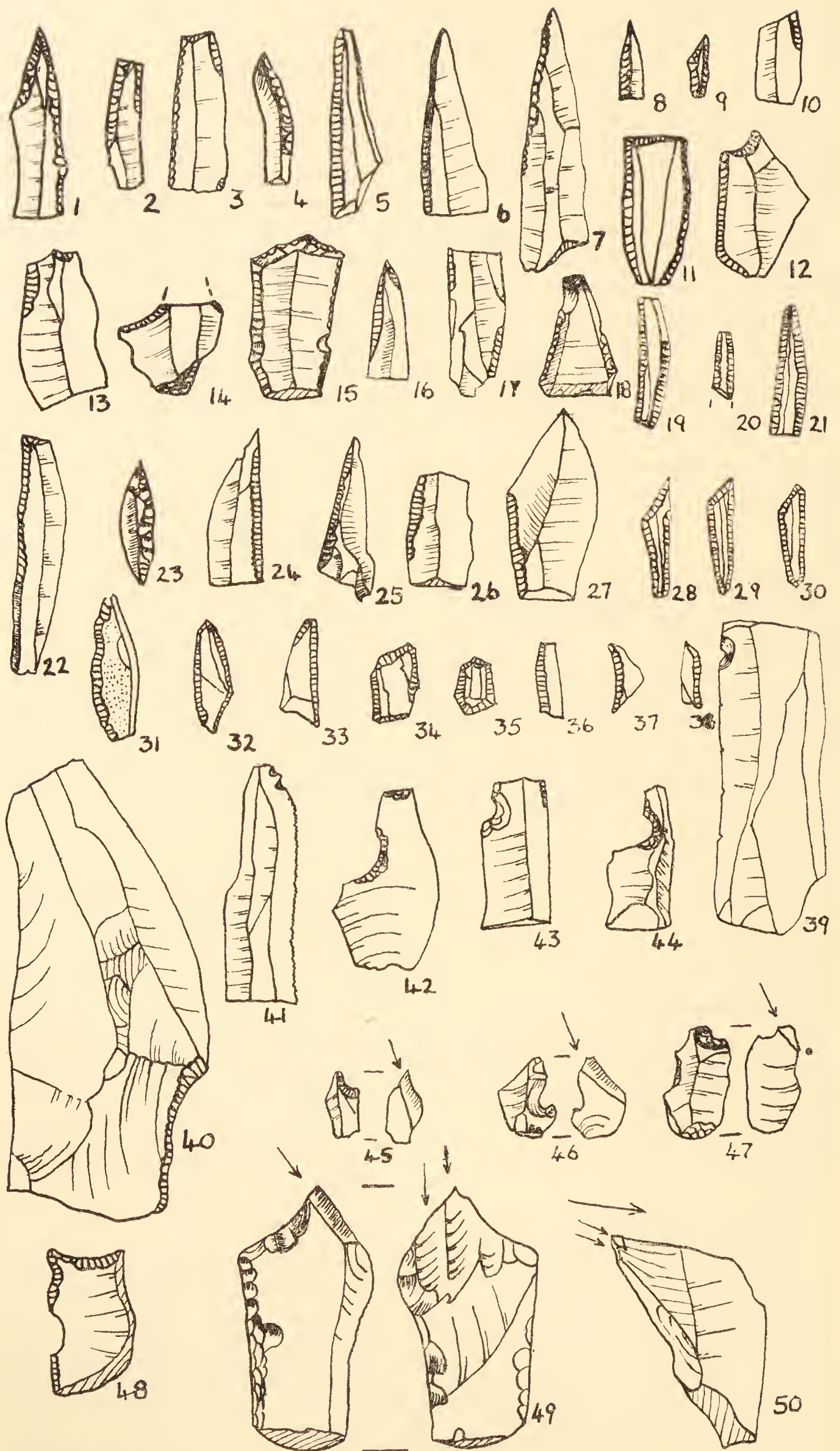


FIG. 4.

The microliths belong to the Broad Blade (non-geometric) and Narrow Blade (geometric) types and are white flint (1—15, 33—38), grey flint (19—32), and black chert (16—18).  $\frac{1}{1}$ .

half can probably be discounted as non-mesolithic; moreover, the sources of the artifacts are inadequately recorded, assemblages from individual workshops have rarely been isolated, and consequently it is usually impossible to determine whether one or many artifacts was the criterion of a site.

Field work has been directed towards clarifying the location of the flint workshops on the Derwent Moors, by checking the sites vaguely recorded on the map with Armstrong's 1956 paper,<sup>1</sup> and examining the rest of the uplands. Artifacts down to one tenth of an inch in size were collected; it was felt that if the large artifacts had been removed, the only indication of a site might be the smaller materials missed by previous collectors.

### *The Sites*

It is reasonably certain that all the sites from which Gatty and Armstrong obtained their flints have been located, but it is possible that some sites have been lost by the advance of the vegetation cover on to old erosion patches. Map 2 shows the general location of the sites, and National Grid References for specific workfloors are given in the appendix. A summary of the types of raw materials and tools follows the description of the sites, but it is hoped to describe the cultural aspects in more detail in a subsequent paper devoted to the whole of South Yorkshire.

#### *A. Hingcliff Hill*

Private collectors have been removing flints from here since Armstrong found the site in 1928. The hill is a large dome-like end of a long ridge which projects northwards from the high moors. It terminates above the Little Don. Attaining a height of 1,150 ft., it has few exposures and no true site is known. Artifacts are constantly being found along the eroded path which slants across the southern slope, and begins near the Flouch Inn and extends to the Cut Gate. Some flints have been found on wind-eroded patches near the summit, some of which were Neolithic.

#### *B. Mickleden Edge*

There are two sites; each is about ten yds. square and they are fifty yds. apart. Each is a chipping floor which has been exposed by peat erosion. They lie at 1,200 ft. on the east-facing slope of the edge about 750 yds. below the intersection of the Cut Gate with the path to Midhope by Sugden Clough. The sites lie within the bigger Midhope Moors and are probably those found by Armstrong. The sites are well below the summit which is peat covered, and has yielded only a few stray blades. On the sites, flints were excavated from depths of up to 4 ins. in the grey sand.

#### *C. Pike Lowe*

This 1,600 ft. hill has been isolated from the higher moors by tributaries of the Don to the north, and Ewden Beck to the south. The site, not previously reported, is to the south-east of the rocky summit on the edge of a small sandy bench at 1,525 ft. It is close to

<sup>1</sup> Armstrong, A. L. 1956, *op. cit.*, fig. 30.



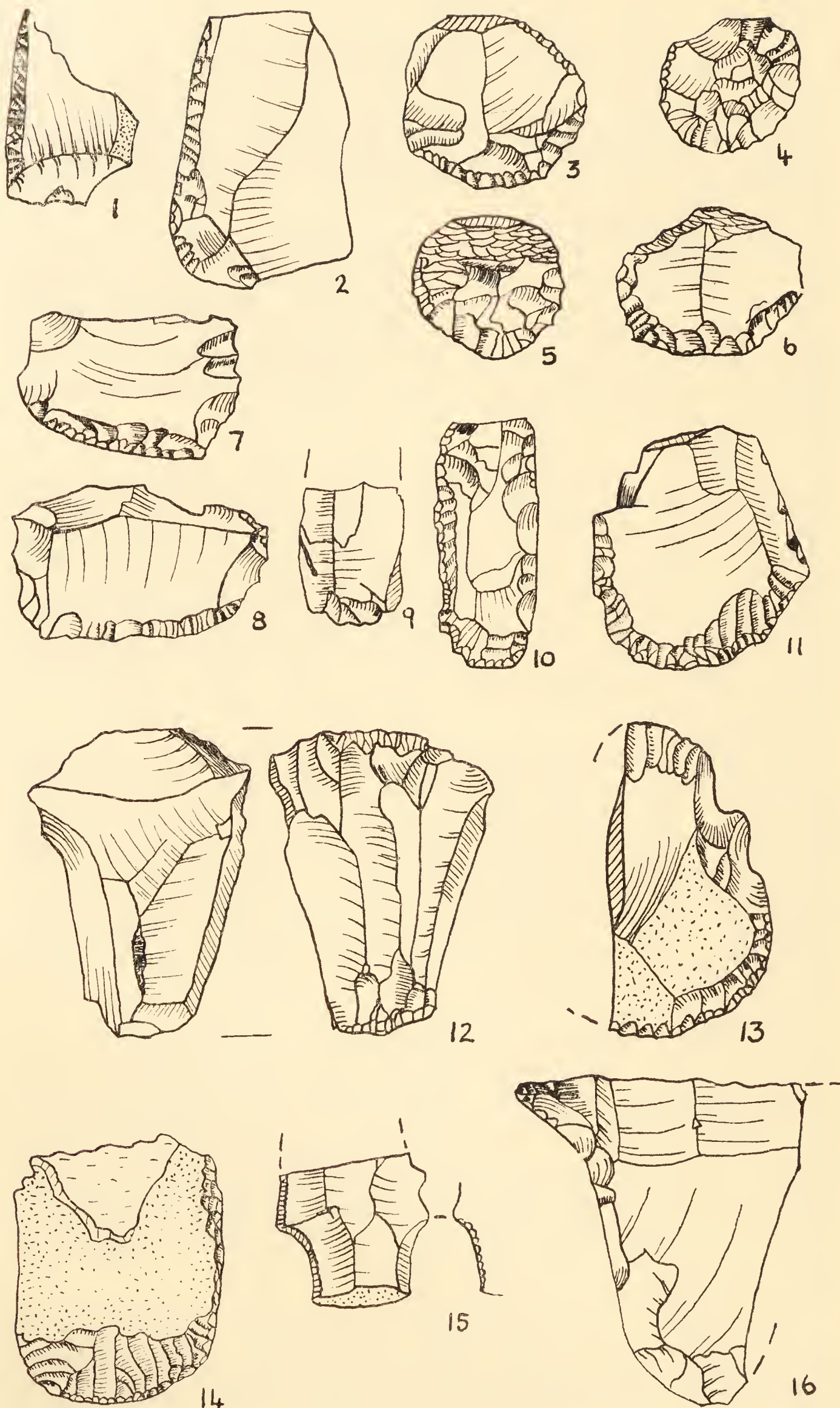


FIG. 5.

The scrapers of white flint (3, 7, 10), grey flint (4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 12, 13), and chert (11).  
The shouldered blade (15) and arrowhead (16) are chert.  $\frac{1}{1}$ .

a conspicuous shooting-box. Artifacts were found in a small patch 3 yds. square. Many were excavated and no doubt many more remain. 20 yds. west of this, Site 1, a small homogeneous group of chert artifacts was found.

#### *D. Deepcar*

Overlooking the junction of the Porter, or Little Don, with the Don, this site stands on the rim of a partly quarried spur-end, at 570 ft. The site is away from the moorlands; the mixed nature of its industry is similar to that on Hingcliff Hill, but geographically it is like sites to the east.<sup>1</sup>

#### *E. Broomhead Moors*

Brusten Croft Ridge, Flint Hill, and Hurkling Edge are parts of a long ridge, called Broomhead Moor, which descends from 1,700 ft. on Derwent Edge to 1,200 ft. at Bar Dike. There are numerous bare areas except on Flint Hill. This latter name derives from a time when flint was collected on now-healed exposures for the making of grit, once used in the rearing of grouse.

Flint Hill may be the place where Gatty and Armstrong obtained their flints. Artifacts, including five microliths, have been found on the path<sup>2</sup> across the hill. Three distinct sites provide the writers' richest finds on new exposures. Site 1, shown on fig. 3, is on a south-facing ridge, immediately east of a clough called Rushby Dike and north of the Duke's Road, at 1,375 ft. There are four distinct chipping floors with a scattering of artifacts between them. The area is almost 200 yds. by 150 yds., and much of it is still peat covered. Both flint and chert have been taken from under the peat. Site 2 is a small working floor at 1,550 ft., one mile west of Site 1, and Site 3 is a small floor of 1 sq. yd. at the head of Hobson Moss Dike at 1,500 ft. For convenience, the title of Site 4 has been given to the path over Flint Hill, described above, which clearly transects a hunting area rather than a settlement.

#### *F. Bradfield*

A mile west of Bradfield is a structural bench called Rocher Flat. This was the site of many Gatty and Armstrong discoveries; it is now half moor and half rough pasture but then the latter was arable land. At the western end is Handsome Cross. Site 1 is to the south of this old milestone and has yielded some artifacts. Site 2, on a small ridge to the north of the milestone, called White Lee Moor, has produced a mixture of flint and chert similar to the older collections. Two excellent microliths were found here (fig. 4, 28 & 29).

#### *G. Stanage Edge*

South of Broomhead there are no good working floors, but there are also extensive peat mosses to impede the searcher. The edge is one of Armstrong's sites. Three tiny concentrations have been located; Site 1 produced a few artifacts on a hillock by Long Causeway, 500 yds.

<sup>1</sup> Wincobank Hill, for example, north-east of Sheffield, has produced many artifacts, including two microliths which are now in Sheffield Museum. The hill is 500 ft. high.

<sup>2</sup> This is the only public way over the moor, and is called The Duke's Road.



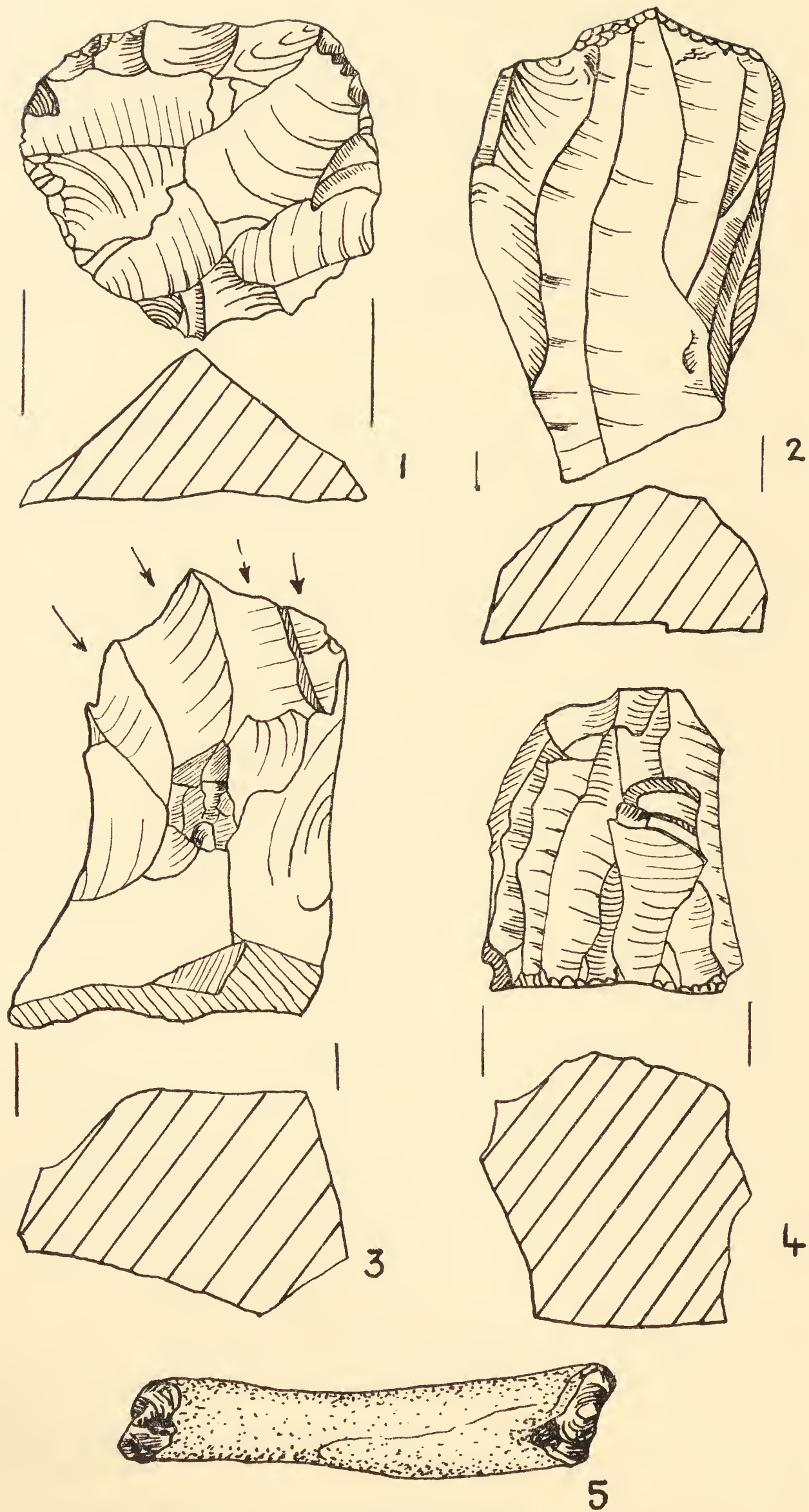


FIG. 6. Cores and a 'fabricator' (5).  $\frac{1}{1}$ .

west of Upper Redmires Dam. Site 2 is where twenty brown flints were excavated from under the peat above a gap in Stanage Edge.<sup>1</sup> Site 3 is where a few flints, including a microlith, were taken from the high southern extremity of the edge.

### *H. Burbage*

Two microliths are reported from somewhere in the area.<sup>2</sup> Several blades have been found above Burbage Rocks at 1,375 ft. Higgar Tor is an Armstrong site, but the nearest flints from this severely-burnt moor were found half a mile to the south, and consisted of some flakes and a double-ended scraper.

### *I. Topley Moor*

Flint can be found between Fox House and Owler Bar, but only a fraction of it is definitely mesolithic. Site 1 is on Blacka Hill or Moor (see Table 3). One working floor on Flask Edge has yielded many tiny chips and a microlith, north-east of which is a similar group called Site 3. A scattering of many flints along Brown Edge contains some mesolithic tools, and two microliths were found at the south end of Stoney Ridge. This scattering suggests that the zone was a natural line of travel from the Hope Valley to the Don Valley.

### *Other Finds*

Small white or patinated flint splinters and a broken microlith came from Win Hill. Flint blades and flakes were found at Horseshoe Rocks, and on Strines Moor. Exposures near Lady's Cross on Big Moor produced a few pieces of flint and chert, including a white flint microlith (fig. 4, 15). Some flint and black chert, including a chert core, were found near Bar Brook, on Big Moor.

Sheffield Museum has some large blades from the Rivelin Dams, Ringinglow, and New Bridge Farm; a scraper is recorded by Kenworthy from Bolsterstone.<sup>3</sup>

### *General Comment on the Sites*

The foregoing evidence offers no support to the idea of a series of hill-top sites dominating the mesolithic moorland distribution. In fact, the distribution is similar to the Central Pennine pattern. There is no evidence to suggest a prolific occupation of the area, or even a regular one, and there is no hint at the reason for visiting the high moors.

At Broomhead 1, Pike Low 1, and Stanage 2 artifacts have been obtained from beneath the fringes of the peat. The latter occur in a peaty sand at the base of the Stanage peat, but in the leached mineral soil in the other cases. Provided that there has been no vertical movement of the flints, it seems that the Stanage brown flints are more recent than the white flint (see below) and black chert of the other sites, which is the converse of Buckley's findings.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This may be the 'Stanage Lodge' site in the Armstrong Collection.

<sup>2</sup> Himsworth, *op. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> Kenworthy, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

<sup>4</sup> Petch, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-20.



*The Raw Materials*

Buckley's Central Pennine industries are a suitable point of departure. He distinguished chert, unpatinated and patinated flint. The latter is dominant at Lominot, Boar Flat, and Warcock Hill (south site) and Buckley labels it 'grey-chert-flint'.<sup>1</sup> Black chert, often with a bluish tinge, is common.

The 'grey-chert-flint' is a frequent component of the Derwent sites. After breaking many blades, it is clear that we have to distinguish between a white flint and patinated brown flint which is good quality flint and often shows a colour gradation from the surface to the centre. The white flint is conspicuously mottled; the ground-mass may be white to grey while the inclusions in the ground-mass are a chalky-textured cream-white. Normally opaque, it is rarely worked into such fine tools as brown flint,<sup>2</sup> and may be regarded as an inferior type of flint. Often it is impossible to say whether it is flint or chert, hence Buckley's term: 'chert-flint'. Cavities occur in the flint containing transparent quartz crystals, which could be Buckley's 'Derby Diamonds'.<sup>3</sup>

Sites yielding fresh grey flint, chert and white flint all together demonstrate that the white coloration was not produced chemically on the sites. The peculiar nature of white flint has simplified the search for its origin, which is the chalk of Flamborough Head, North Lincolnshire and other inland areas, conclusively proving that it was white when taken to the Pennines. Crystal-filled crevices of the chalk might be an alternative source of 'Derby Diamonds'. White flint has been found in boulder clays on Spurn Head and as beach material on the Yorkshire coast. Battered cortex remains in the Pennines could be from the latter places. Lacking the normal colour of flint, it has not been recognized before as a type of flint, but it must be considered here as a major component of the Pennine industries.

To emphasize the East Yorkshire origins of the white flint, it appears that sites frequently using white flint disappear very quickly once the watershed of the main Yorkshire rivers is crossed. The central and southern Pennines form a suitable hinterland served by these Yorkshire rivers and mesolithic sites en route would have been part of this trade. Between the hills and the coast one group of flints has been found to support this.<sup>4</sup>

Black chert, and to a less extent grey chert, occurs on every site, and is sometimes the dominant material. The black type flakes well, is totally black or has grey banded inclusions, and patinates blue-

<sup>1</sup> It was thought that during a dry early phase the clear brown and grey flint were used, while the later wet period patinated the flints then in use. Obviously, early or late, both types of flint would be influenced by the wet period. Buckley's collections were examined to supplement Petch's description.

<sup>2</sup> For example, all the Gatty microliths in Doncaster Museum are made of white flint, and these are large microliths.

<sup>3</sup> Petch, *op. cit.*, p. 18; also in Huddersfield Museum.

<sup>4</sup> Of 62 artifacts, 58 are white flint. They were found by Mr. G. Darley on the Hadfield levels about 1912, and are now in Doncaster Museum; see *Catalogue of Doncaster Museum Acquisitions*. First Edit., 1913, Items 29, 30.

grey. Similar cherts have been found in screes near Bakewell, Ashford and Sheldon, Derbyshire.

Realising the problem of isolating Mesolithic artifacts on mixed surface sites, the white flint and black chert have been used as criteria for isolating some artifacts as mesolithic. For example, at New Bridge Farm some of the artifacts are made of white flint and they are called mesolithic in this paper even though it is possible that Neolithic folk may have used the white flint. In Buckley's collections, several assemblages consist almost wholly of white flint. There is no evidence of white flint forming an important component of assemblages more recent than the Mesolithic. One floor at Broomhead 1, Pike Lowe 2, and Totley 2 & 4 are made up of black or grey-white chert.

The most controversial materials are the patinated and non-patinated grey-brown flints, which may have found their way from other periods on to an open site. The Totley sites present the greatest problem; flint was used for microliths and barb-and-tang arrowheads and the waste might belong to almost any period from the Mesolithic onward.

Before leaving the raw materials, the museum collections in tables 1-3 are divided into three types of raw materials, illustrating how chert and white flint assume important proportions in the collections.

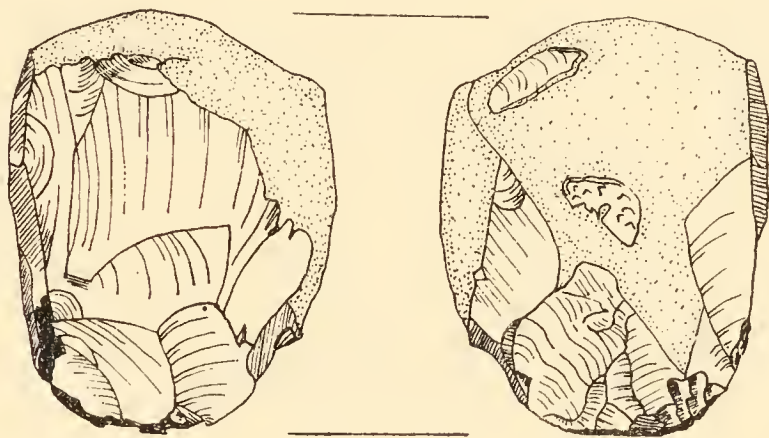


FIG. 7.

The largest tool from the area—perhaps an axe, core, or hammerstone.  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

Table 4

				Chert	Brown-grey Flint	White Flint
Blacka Moor	..	..	..	5	180	—
Bradfield	..	..	..	31	519	80
Deepcar	..	..	..	21	65	1,110
Hingcliff Hill	..	..	..	91	153	26
Midhope-Broomhead		..	..	25	79	6
New Bridge Farm	..	..	..	32	495	28
Stanage	..	..	..	10	22	1

*The assemblages from the Derwent Moors*

Recent finds, now in the possession of the writers, are summarized in Table 5. The raw materials and number of tools are recorded, and it will be noted that these more than double the known total from these moors. The table shows that there are no March Hills in the



Derwent area, and only Broomhead can warrant being called an important area, with its 24 microliths. The general scattering of artifacts, and the concentration at Broomhead 1 is an indication that this moor was more frequented than the surrounding moors. As a result, Armstrong's picture of a generally linear, north-south, distribution of sites is replaced by one with the emphasis placed around Broomhead Moor, and to a lesser extent around Hingcliff Hill—Mickleden Edge, and Totley Moor.

*Table 5. Recent finds on the High Moors<sup>1</sup>*

		<i>Total</i>	<i>Chert</i>	<i>Flint</i>	<i>White Flint</i>	<i>Micro-liths</i>	<i>Micro-burins</i>	<i>Blades</i>	<i>Cores</i>	<i>Other Tools</i>
Broomhead	1	401	245	56	105	15	4	76	11	16
"	2	40	1	11	28	2	—	10	2	—
"	3	43	—	—	43	—	—	9	1	2
"	4	12	4	6	2	7	—	1	—	—
Burbage		9	—	7	2	2	—	1	—	—
Deepcar		1,649*	—	—	—	6	—	67	—	2
Handsome										
Cross	1	5	—	4	1	—	—	—	—	1
"	2	70	14	56	—	3	—	2	—	2
Hingcliff Hill		41	6	31	3	1	—	9	2	3
Mickleden	1	116	17	1	98	3	3	21	—	2
"	2	102	2	3	97	2	—	29	4	4
Pike Lowe	1	313	3	4	306	5	2	62	3	6
"	2	9	9	—	—	—	—	3	—	—
Stanage	1	11	—	7	4	—	—	4	—	—
"	2	23	4	19	—	—	—	7	—	—
"	3	5	—	5	—	1	—	2	—	—
Totley	1	26	20	6	—	—	—	2	—	—
"	2	178	145	33	—	3	1	7	1	3
"	3	59	5	52	—	1	—	4	1	8
"	4	311	107	90	—	4	3	17	1	32

\* Many flakes and chips are too small to distinguish between white and patinated grey-brown flint. There is a small amount of chert.

Four types of workshop can be recognized. The small work floor with one raw material, found mainly on the northern moors (Mickleden 1 & 2; Pike Lowe 1 & 2; Broomhead 2 & 3); Broomhead 1 is a series of these small sites in a confined area. Secondly, the surface sites with artifacts of more than one period (Hingcliff Hill; Handsome Cross 2; Totley 1 & 4). Thirdly, the small sites represented by a few artifacts in a reasonably small area, in the south of the area (Burbage;

<sup>1</sup> For comparison, eight of the smaller Buckley sites are listed below. Mr. T. G. Manby kindly supplied the list, and his help is gratefully acknowledged.

		<i>Total</i>	<i>Blades</i>	<i>Microburins</i>	<i>Cores</i>	<i>Other tools</i>
Badger slacks	..	272	8	8	13	27
Brushes Moor	..	399	7	2	13	11
Cupwith Moor	..	305	4	2	1	3
Dry Clough	..	118	5	—	—	5
Lominot 4	..	701	1	2	6	13
Rocher Moss 1	..	677	24	—	4	32
Tintwhistle Knarr	..	557	7	6	5	14
Warcock 10	..	107	10	1	1	9

Stanage 1, 2, & 3; Totley 3). Fourthly, Deepcar is set apart by the huge volumes of wastage with few implements.

Thirty-eight of the fifty-five microliths are illustrated. The most important are the twenty-four from the Broomhead sites,<sup>1</sup> which, like all the others, show considerable diversity. The coarser chert and white flint normally produced large microliths. Several are transversely worked, others are steepened on one or more sides. One is pointed at both ends, there are rod-like shapes, and one is 'bent'. The smaller, more delicate shapes are made of brown flint; the tiny scalene triangles, and less perfect shapes show much finer working than the large microliths. The number from each site is as follows: six from Deepcar (4. 5, 18, 33, 36-38); five from Pike Lowe 1 (4. 1, 9, 10); four from Totley 4 (4. 32); three from Handsome Cross 2 (4. 28, 29); Mickleden 1 (4. 8, 14); Totley 2 (4. 30, 31); two from Mickleden 2 (4. 6, 13) and Burbage; one from Hingcliff Hill (4. 35); Totley 3 and Stanage 3 (4. 27). It is common to find the microliths broken on these sites and they are included in the counts. On some sites the objective seems to have been to produce elongated or narrow triangles, the size being controlled by the quality of the raw material.

Amongst other tools from these sites, there are several large blades (4. 39, 40), and a good saw blade from Mickleden 2 (4. 41). The Broomhead sites produced several notched blades which appear to be unsuccessful attempts at making microliths (4. 42-44). Micro-burins are rare (4. 45-47; from Mickleden 1, Deepcar, and Broomhead 1). A borer from Mickleden 1 (4. 48) and others from Mickleden 2 (4. 49, 50) are as infrequent as the well-trimmed blades (5. 1, 2) from Ughill Moor and Totley Moor.

There are many scrapers from the Totley sites, but few can be ascribed to the Mesolithic. Scrapers, good indication of a settlement, occur on all the larger sites; the best come from Pike Lowe 1 (5. 3, 10), Ughill (5. 4), and Hingcliff Hill (5. 5, 6), Totley 4 (5. 7, 8, 11, 12), and Handsome Cross 2 (5. 13). A rare shouldered blade and broken petit-tranchet derivative (5. 15, 16),<sup>2</sup> both of black chert come from Broomhead 1.

The cores are excellently worked. Fine white flint (6. 2), a rare brown chert (6. 4) and black chert (6. 3), have been used in a long-blade industry, but few of these long blades occur on the Derwent sites. Conversely, although there are many microliths from Broomhead Moor, there are no micro-cores (the smallest being 5. 14). Perhaps this is due to the general coarseness of the white flint. The rarest core form is the conical chert core (6. 1) from Broomhead 1. It has been worked on both sides and appears to have been trimmed for use as a chopper.<sup>3</sup> One natural flint rod which may be a 'fabricator'

<sup>1</sup> These include: Broomhead 1—fig. 4. 2, 3, 4, 11, 12, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26; and Broomhead 2—4, 22, 34.

<sup>2</sup> Clark has determined that these arrowhead types occur in a late Mesolithic-Peterborough context. *Arch. Journal*, vol. 91, 1934, pp. 32-58.

<sup>3</sup> A similar one (illustrated in *PPS*, vol. 26, 1960, p. 293, fig. 10, F.35) was found with Peterborough ware. The Broomhead example was found with nearly 200 pieces of black chert in Group 2 on figure 3.



from Totley 4 (6. 5) and a large flint tool (7) from Broomhead 1—perhaps a hammer or an unfinished core—complete the implements illustrated.

### *Conclusion*

The survey of south-west Yorkshire's moorland sites shows that they are widely scattered and there are few of any significance. The confusion concerning the precise location of the sites has been removed, and the various collections of artifacts have been drawn together. The resulting picture shows that the mesolithic sites prefer the 1,250–1,500 ft. zone on east to south-facing slopes. They are on off-the-summit areas, which discounts the older idea that they occur on the crest of the moors; the crest is the most popular trespass walk on the Derwent Moors, and this coincides with many wind-erosion patches, enhancing the chance of casually finding artifacts. Assemblages from the sites form an extension of many of the cultural features of the Central Pennine surface sites formerly called Azilio-Tardenoisian. There is little to be gained by seeking a better or wider correlation at this time.

The white flint, common to the Derwent Moors and the Central Pennine sites, is a unifying factor. The origin of this white flint has been determined with considerable certainty, pointing to occasional movements of groups of people westwards from East Yorkshire.

The black chert probably comes from Derbyshire, but it is curious that a microlithic industry, based on black chert, or indeed on any other raw material, remains to be found on the limestone outcrop.<sup>1</sup>

Assessing what was known and what has been recently discovered, it is clear that Broomhead is the centre of the Derwent Moors' mesolithic activity. Hingcliff Hill and Deepcar stand out, and particularly the volume from the latter. Claims for good sites in the Stanage-Burbage region must be withheld until more evidence is forthcoming.

The remaining problem is that of dating. Little can be said beyond the placing of the artifacts in a general mesolithic context. Most of the finds are related to the transitional Boreal-Atlantic forest level at the base of the peat which may cover a considerable time-range. Similarities to Buckley's finds and the excavation of some flints from the mineral soil beneath the peat would appear to place some of the sites in an earlier context than others which may be contemporary with the early Neolithic in some parts of northern Europe. The fine, but broken, petit-tranchet derivative (5. 17) from Broomhead 1 was a surface find but appears to be made from the black chert which is abundant on the site. Perhaps the diversity of Pennine microlithic form is indicative of a degeneracy of style, but alternatively the microliths could come from a considerable period of time which would explain the diversity. On the whole, the frugal evidence points away from an early Mesolithic origin, the large-blade industry of Epipalaeolithic industries being absent, and although some sites show

<sup>1</sup> One microlith was found at Benty Grange near Arbor Low, and probably a few others have been found.

Sauveterrian affinities,<sup>1</sup> it is abundantly clear that the time has not yet arrived for a more definite assessment.

It is interesting to note, in conclusion, that material from the higher sites is almost completely homogeneous. The Derwent ridge is a spur of mesolithic settlement penetrating an area which appears to have been not so favoured. Only to the east do sites occur, and these are more impoverished than the Derwent sites. These empty areas yield many signs of Neolithic and Bronze Age occupation while the Handsome Cross and Topley sites appear to be on the contact zone, having truly heterogeneous industries.

#### APPENDIX

Grid References for places and sites mentioned in the text.

Barbrook	SK. 279745
Big Moor	SK. 2778
Blacka Moor	SK. 285802
Cut Gate	SK. 1996, 1997
Broomhead Moors	SK. 2194, 2294, 2295
" " 1	SK. 228949
" " 2	SK. 217946
" " 3	SK. 214938
Brown Edge	SK. 288793
Burbage Rock	SK. 267827
Deepcar	SK. 295981
Flask Edge	SK. 287802
Handsome Cross	SK. 260941
Higgar Tor	SK. 257820
Hingcliff Hill	SK. 195999
Horseshoe Rocks	SK. 146982
Margery Hill	SK. 189958
Moscar	SK. 2288
Mickleden Edge	SK. 193989
New Bridge Farm	SK. 289723
Pike Lowe	SK. 211972
Stanage 1	SK. 249847
" 2	SK. 238849
" 3	SK. 249831
Stoney Ridge	SK. 275800
Strines Moor	SK. 2189
Topley Moor 2	SK. 284785
" " 3	SK. 288792
" " 4	SK. 289794
Ughill Moor	SK. 243883, 237887
White Lee Moor	SK. 2694
Win Hill	SK. 186851

The writers wish to acknowledge the flint finding ability of Mrs. G. Marshall and Mr. P. Mellors who have contributed many of the finds in Table 3.

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<sup>1</sup> Clark, J. G. D. 1955. 'A Microlithic industry from the Cambridgeshire Fenland and other Industries of Sauveterrian affinities from Britain'. *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* v. 31. No. 2, pp. 3-20. Five excavations, completed since this paper went to press, and which will be described at a later date, confirm the idea that there are Sauveterrian-styled industries and non-Sauveterrian-styled industries in the Pennines.



# THE 'HENGE' MONUMENT AT NUNWICK, NEAR RIPON 1961 EXCAVATION

By D. P. DYMOND.

With appended Soil Report by V. B. Proudfoot.

## THE SITE (see figs. 1 & 2)

The site lies two miles north of Ripon, and  $\frac{1}{4}$  mile north of the hamlet of Nunwick (Grid Ref. SE.323748). The 'henge' monument is visible as a low circular bank with an internal ditch only. The overall diameter (between the outer bottom-scarps of the bank) is 690 ft. The circle lies mainly in two ploughed fields and is almost bisected by a hedge and farm track; on its north-western side, the circle just obtrudes into a third ploughed field. Geologically, the site lies on a low gravel terrace,  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile from the present course of the river Ure; the gravel is covered by approximately 2 ft. of sandy silt (see Soil Report below). In type and siting, this circle belongs to the well-known group of ceremonial monuments in the Ripon area between the rivers Ure and Swale; the others are the three Thornborough Circles (associated with an earlier 'cursus') near West Tanfield, and two circles at Hutton Moor and Cana approximately east of Ripon.<sup>1</sup>

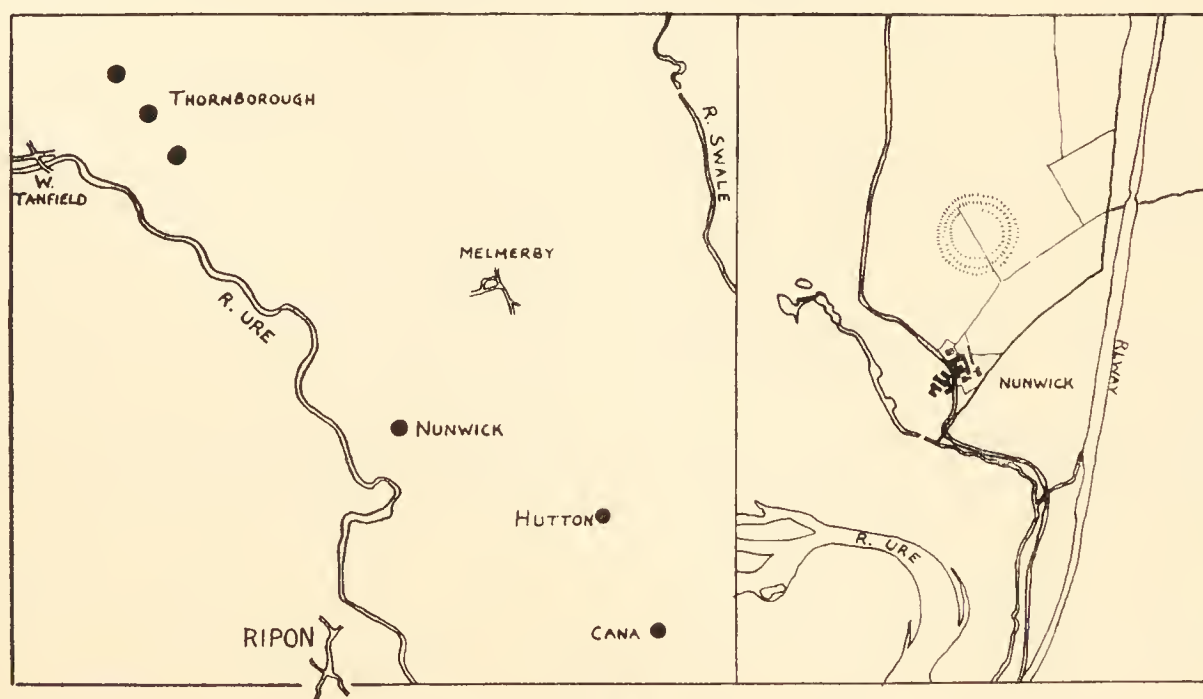


FIG. 1.

Map showing position of site A. in relation to other 'hengés'. B. in relation to hamlet of Nunwick.

<sup>1</sup> N. Thomas, *Y.A.J.*, xxxviii (1955), 425 ff.







PLATE I.  
Oblique air-photograph of site from N.W.  
(Photo. by J. K. St. Joseph, *ex* Cambridge University Collection)



The site was discovered in 1951 from the air by Dr. St. Joseph of Cambridge University; he has since taken several photographs in varying conditions.<sup>1</sup> It had also been noted independently by fliers from nearby Dishforth airfield, but not appreciated for what it is. The farmer had long been aware of the circle for its relief and stoniness. Until the south-western field was ploughed in the early 1950s, the circle had been obscured by prominent ridge-and-furrow, which had run right across it. There is little surface trace now of the ridge-and-furrow, but it shows clearly on air-photographs (see pl. 1). The effect of modern ploughing, therefore, has been to rub out mediaeval interference, and to leave the prehistoric earthwork readily appreciable on the ground. This in its turn is now threatened, and is being gradually reduced. The presence of the bisecting hedge and track and the former presence of ridge-and-furrow may well explain why the site has never been noticed on the ground, even though in places the bank is 2-3 ft. high.

The bank is now spread to a width of 120 ft., and is 1-3 ft. high. The internal ditch appears as a wide depression 100 ft. wide and 1-2 ft. deep. Two slight depressions in the bank to north and south mark the site of the original opposed entrances; the corresponding causeways across the ditch are clearly visible on air-photographs (see pl. 1), and have been added to the plan (fig. 2). The interior of the 'henge' has a slightly domed appearance, but this is not an original feature and has been caused by the ploughing out of the inner side of the ditch.

#### 1961 EXCAVATION (see figs. 2 & 3)

With the help of grants from the Ministry of Works and the Prehistory Research Section of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society, a small excavation was undertaken by the writer in the autumn of 1961. The valuable assistance of volunteers from local societies, students of Swarthmore Educational Centre, Leeds, and Ripon Training College, and above all Mr. and Mrs. C. E. Hartley, is gratefully acknowledged. The farmers, Messrs. J. and F. English, must also be thanked for their kindness and co-operation throughout; at times, they cheerfully accepted great inconvenience from our activities.

The 1961 Excavation was restricted to a single long section through the north-west side of the circle, to examine the structural details of the bank and ditch, and to confirm the apparent absence of an outer ditch.

A small area, 22 ft. square, was stripped inside the ditch to test for pits or postholes, but nothing was found in the sandy silt which covers the gravel deposits. Air-photographs give no indication of the former presence of standing features within the enclosure (see pl. 1).

The ditch was found to be 45 ft. wide and 5 ft. 10 ins. deep, with a wide, shallow profile. Allowing for the destruction by ploughing of the upper edges of the ditch, the original dimensions of the ditch were undoubtedly greater. The edges of the ditch were not easy to see in excavation, as the fill was similar to the natural gravel subsoil,

<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to Dr. St. Joseph for permission to publish pl. I.



and some slumping had occurred on the loose gravel faces. The ditch had apparently silted slowly with material washed in from both sides. At an early stage in the silting, when the accumulation was about 1 ft., there had been occupation in a limited area, revealed by a circular patch of burnt material, 10 ft. in diameter, which contained many split pot-boilers reddened by fire.

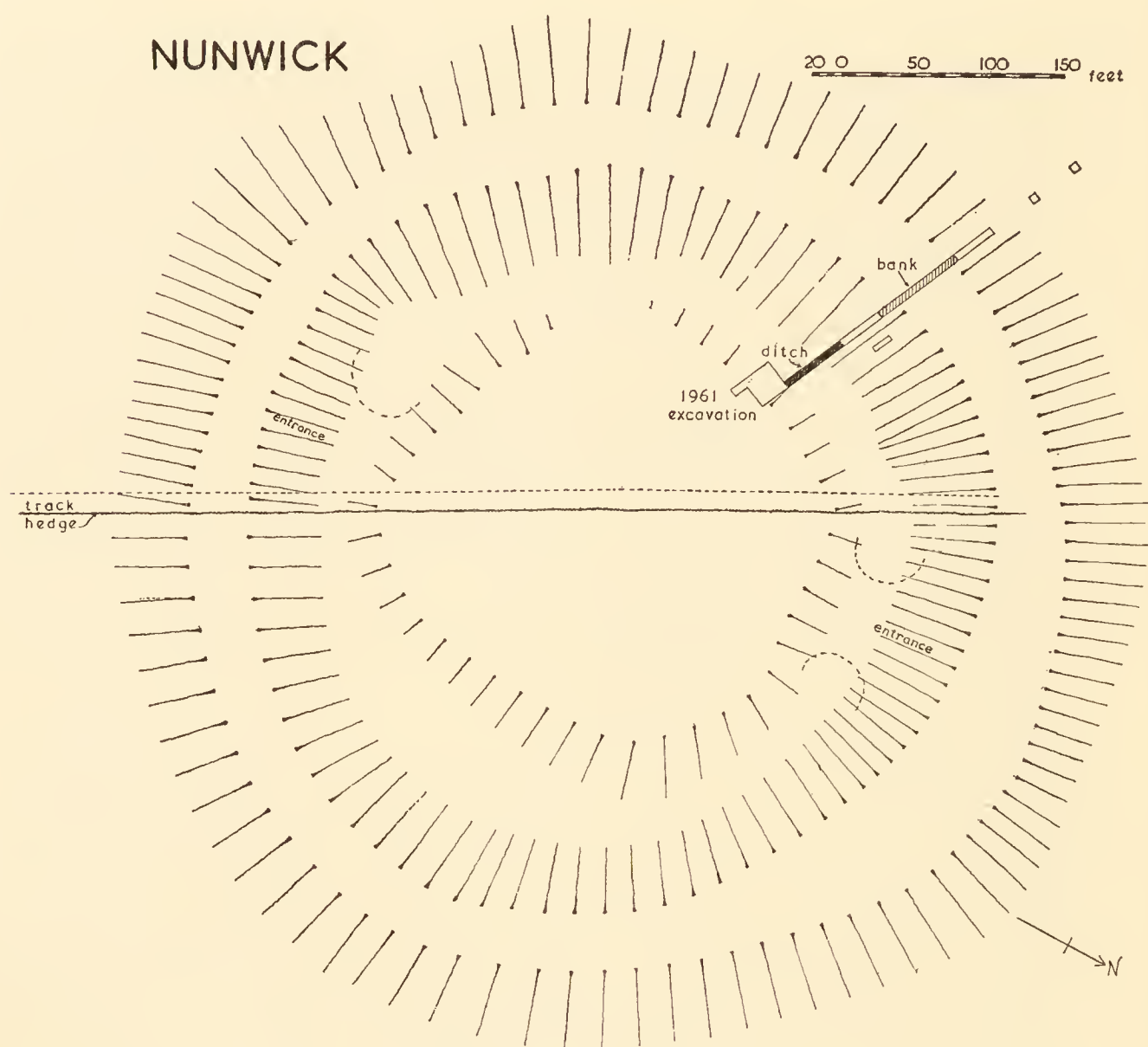


FIG. 2. Plan of site.

Between the ditch and bank, there was originally a berm of 30 ft. On the surface, this is not visible as the bank shades imperceptibly into the ditch. The bank was originally about 60 ft. wide, but is now considerably spread on both sides. In the 1961 section the bank survived only 18 ins. high; this was sufficient, however, to show clear traces of tip-lines and the interleaving of loads. The lowest two inches of bank material consist partly of turf (see Soil Report below). Under the bank, the original turf-line was visible as a purple-black line, 1 to 3 ins. thick, with traces of a weakly developed iron-pan (see Soil Report below). In the original composition of the bank there were many water-worn stones (3-9 ins. across), now in the outer spread and in the bottom of the ditch; on the northern side of the circle where the bank is best preserved there are large quantities of these stones in the plough soil. Quarried from the bottom of the ditch,

where the aggregate of the gravels was much larger, these stones were probably on the top of the bank.

Two squares were dug outside the bank, on the line of the section to test for an outer ditch. This confirmed the evidence of air-photographs (see pl. I) that no such ditch existed. Of the six 'hengés' in the Ripon area, Nunwick is therefore the only one without two ditches.

No dating evidence was found in the 1961 excavation. Three worked flints, however, were picked up from the plough soil of the south-western field near the 'henge'. They consist of two waste flakes and a small flake scraper of opaque brown flint (now in Yorkshire Museum).

Two vertical soil-samples from the ditch-fill and the bank were taken by Dr. V. B. Proudfoot of Durham University. His analysis is appended to this report.

At some future date, when farming plans allow, it is hoped to excavate one of the entrances, and to strip an area in the centre.

#### DISCUSSION

Because of the absence of an outer ditch and the existence of two opposed entrances, the Nunwick 'henge' falls into Atkinson's Class II, and not with the other 'hengés' of the Ripon area into Class IIa.<sup>1</sup> In diameter it is 5 ft. smaller than the S. Thornborough Circle, the smallest of the three (see table below). In the dimensions of its bank and ditch, it is smaller than the other excavated example of the group, the Thornborough central circle.<sup>2</sup> It is possible that being structurally simpler (without an outer ditch) and with slighter earthworks, the Nunwick 'henge' is the earliest of the group.

The orientation of the entrances, almost north-south (bearings  $129\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  and  $349\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ ), brackets Nunwick with the 'hengés' at Hutton Moor and Cana; the three Thornborough Circles are orientated almost NW-SE (see table below).

As there was only one ditch to serve as a quarry for the bank, it is certain that the bank never stood as high as those of Thornborough, Hutton Moor and Cana. The best preserved circle of the group, Thornborough northern, still has a bank about 8 ft. high. In comparison, it can be estimated that the Nunwick bank was little higher than 3 ft.<sup>3</sup>

It will be noted from the map in fig. 1 that Nunwick is considerably nearer Hutton Moor and Cana than Thornborough. In its orientation, too, it is nearer the former two sites. In its actual siting, however, it resembles the Thornborough circles, as it is on a low-lying site near a river; by contrast, Hutton Moor and Cana are on a higher ridge midway between the rivers Ure and Swale. The frequent siting of 'hengés' near streams and rivers has been emphasized by Atkinson.<sup>4</sup>

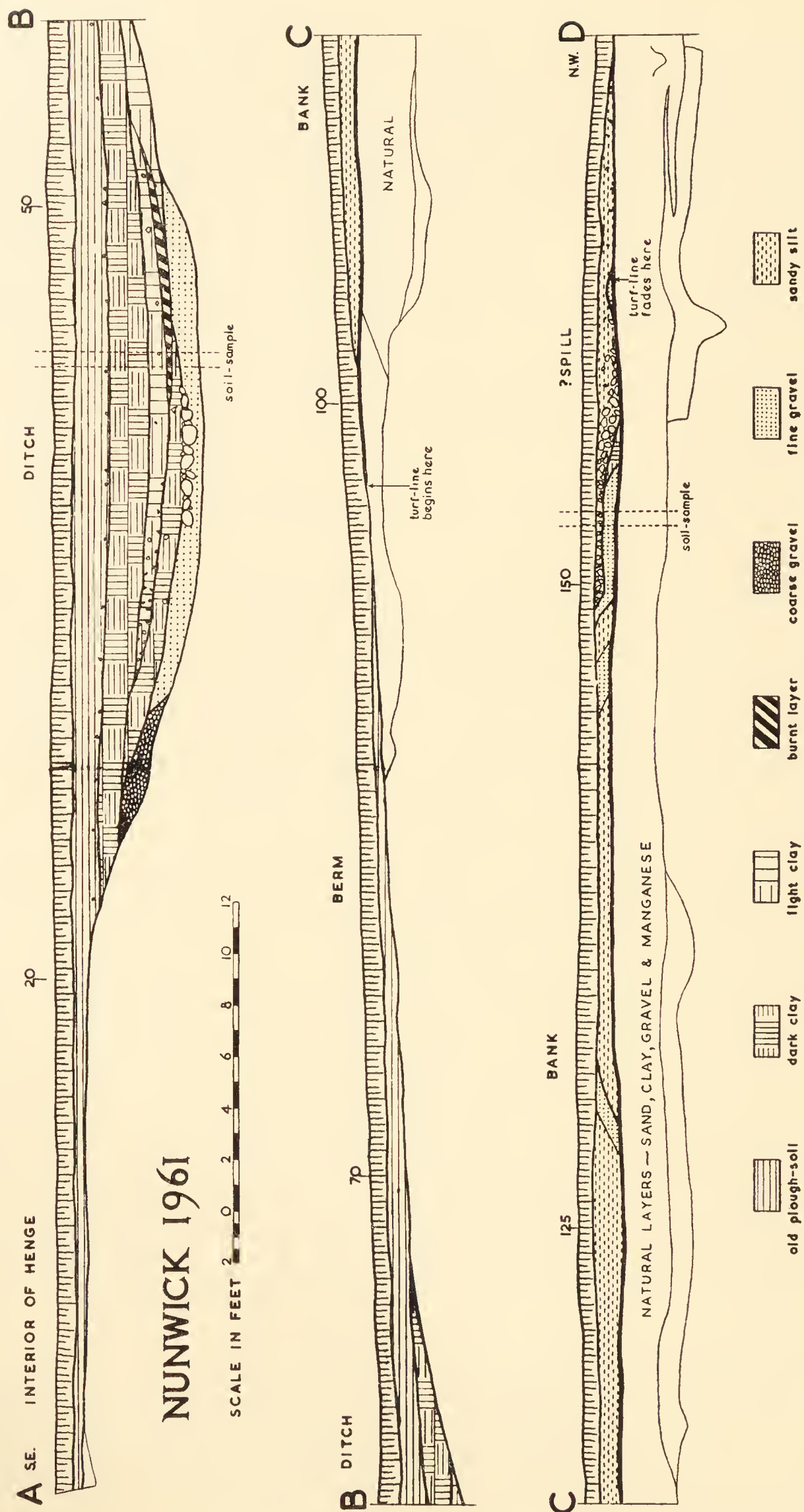
<sup>1</sup> R. Atkinson, *Excavations at Dorchester, Oxon*, First Report, 81 ff.

<sup>2</sup> N. Thomas, *Yorks. Arch. Jour.*, xxxviii (1955), 425 ff.

<sup>3</sup> The area of the ditch section was 196 sq. ft. Assuming that the bank material came entirely from the ditch, and on the basis of a hypothetical, trapezoidal section with sides sloping at  $34^{\circ}$  (the natural angle of repose) the bank was only just over 3 ft. high. This calculation allows for the larger circumference of the bank, and the expansion of excavated gravel. The writer is indebted to Prof. R. Atkinson for help with these calculations.

<sup>4</sup> Atkinson, *op. cit.*, 84.





The other 'henges' of the group are closely associated with clusters of round barrows. For example, there are 15 barrows on the high ground near Hutton Moor and Cana.<sup>1</sup> There are no known barrows, however, in the vicinity of Nunwick.

The discovery of the Nunwick circle has emphasized the remarkable concentration of prehistoric monuments in the Ripon area. It must be remembered that this concentration includes not only six 'henges' but two 'cursuses' (at Thornborough and Scorton) and the large stone row known as the Devil's Arrows at Boroughbridge.

It is not easy to explain the importance of the Ripon area in prehistoric times. There is evidence for a fairly considerable local population, but, as Thomas remarks, this was probably attracted by the prior importance of the area as a religious centre.<sup>2</sup> The fact that the area is on a natural route-way from west to east, from Ireland and the Pennines to eastern Yorkshire, may be one reason for this concentration of religious sites; other, more fundamental, reasons probably lie in the nature of the beliefs and rites involved (perhaps, for instance, the sanctity of rivers). Unfortunately, such intangible and cerebral notions are not the stuff of archaeology. It is a noteworthy fact that no 'henges' have been recognized in eastern Yorkshire, where there was a considerable Neolithic and Bronze Age population; the nearest examples are those in the Ripon area.<sup>3</sup>

*Table of Comparisons* (based on Atkinson, *Excavations at Dorchester, Oxon.*, First Report, 95, table II).

Class	Name	diam. <sup>4</sup>	width	Ditch depth	Bank width	Bearings <sup>5</sup> of entrances
Ila	Thornborough N.	570 ft.	58 ft.	unexcavated	c.63 ft.	143°/323°
Ila	Thornborough C.	600 ft.		7 ft.		145°/325°
Ila	Thornborough S.	550 ft.		unexcavated		155°/327°
Ila	Hutton Moor	570 ft.		unexcavated		172°/348°
Ila	Cana	570 ft.		unexcavated		169°/354°
II	Nunwick	545 ft.	45 ft.	5 ft. 10 ins.	60 ft.	129½°/349½°

## SOIL REPORT

By BRUCE PROUDFOOT, B.A., Ph.D., F.S.A.

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*Summary*

Conclusions from a study of the soil evidence can only be tentative. It is suggested that at the time the bank was built, the soil was a slightly degraded brown earth which had certainly not been intensively cultivated, and may indeed never have been cultivated at all. The occurrence of burnt material in the ditch is associated with a layer containing considerable amounts of alkali organic matter of uncertain origin.

<sup>1</sup> Thomas, *op. cit.*, 426 (fig. 1), 436-7; Appendix II by L. V. Grinsell.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas, *op. cit.*, 437.

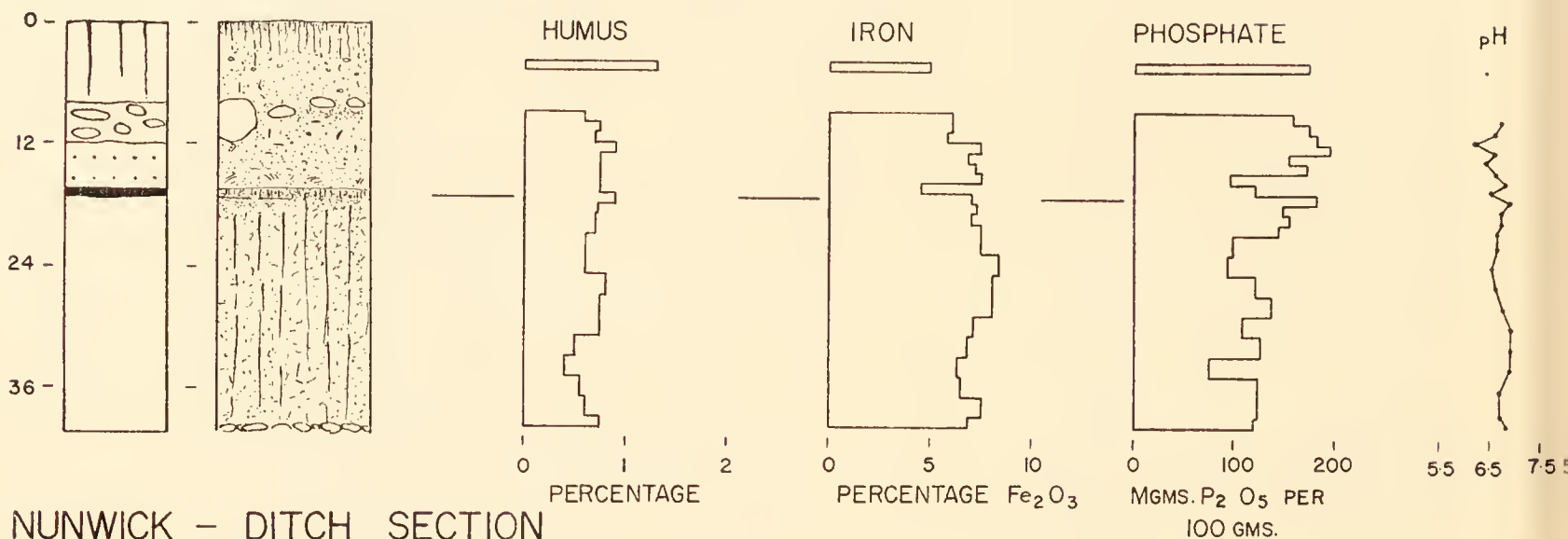
<sup>3</sup> For a convenient map showing relative distributions of 'henges', 'cursuses' and barrows, see *A Matter of Time*, R.C.H.M.(Eng.), (1960), 25, fig. 2. Since 1960, however, 'cursuses' have been recognized on the Yorkshire Wolds.

<sup>4</sup> Following Atkinson, diameters are given, in feet, between the crests of the bank.

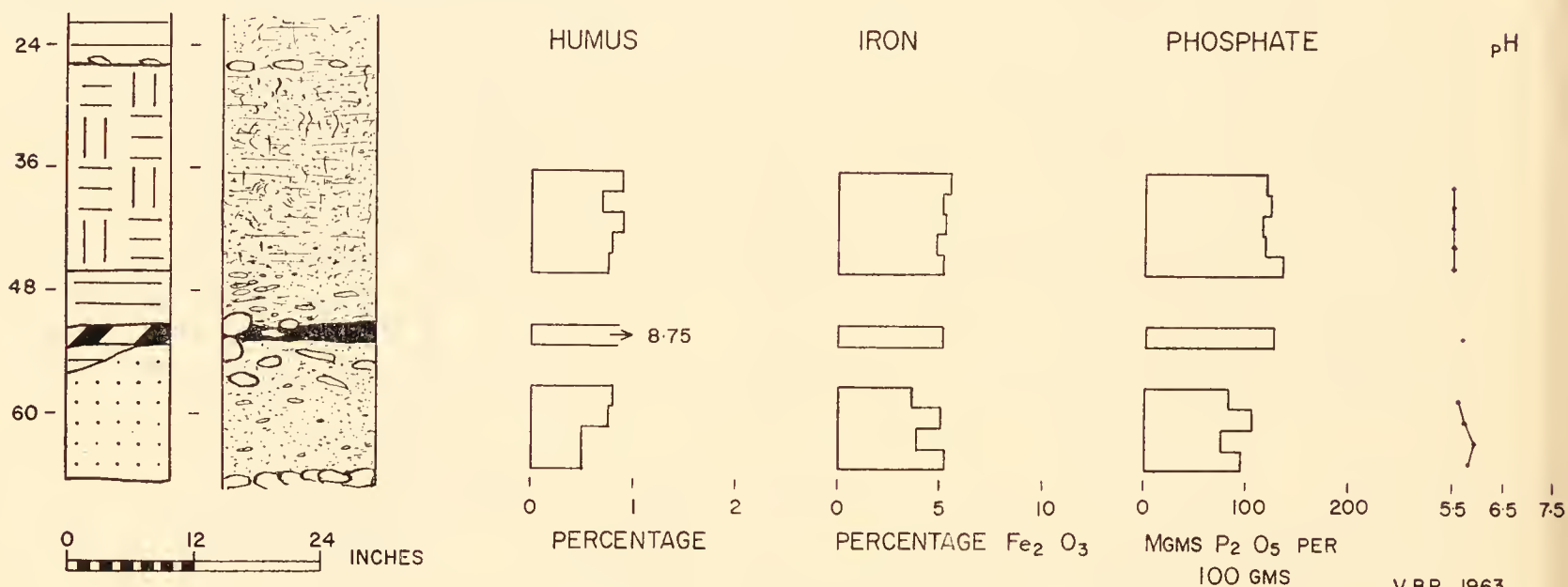
<sup>5</sup> Bearings from True North, from the centre of each circle.



## NUNWICK - BANK SECTION



## NUNWICK - DITCH SECTION



V.B.P. 1963

FIG. 4. Results of soil samples, shown graphically.

*Introduction*

The site was visited in October 1961, when soil samples were collected from the section through the ditch and bank as shown in fig. 3. Samples were air dried in the laboratory and half of each sample was sieved, the fine earth fraction which passed a 2 mm. sieve being used subsequently for chemical analyses. Results are shown graphically in fig. 4.

Humus, iron, and phosphate were determined for each sample using colorimetric methods similar to those described by Cornwall (1958). pH was determined on an E.I.L. direct reading pH meter using a soil-water paste prepared from the samples the day after their collection. Thin sections of samples from the buried soil beneath the bank were prepared for microscopic examination using 'Ceemar' embedding resin.

*Bank Section*

Below the layer of surface vegetation the top 2-4 ins. of the modern plough soil was virtually stone free, presumably as a result of earth-worm action. A composite sample was collected from all the plough soil to its full depth of 8-9 ins. At the base of the plough soil there was a thin scatter of stones up to 4 ins. in diameter but mainly about

2½ ins. Such a layer of stones is common at the lowest level disturbed by cultivation especially if the land is left under grass for some years after cropping. In parts of the section examined there was some indication of clay and iron enrichment at this level. Such deposition of material derived from the cultivated upper part of the profile is again a common feature and under certain conditions can lead to the formation of an iron pan at this level (Proudfoot, 1958).

Below the plough soil samples were collected from each inch of the section through the bank and underlying buried soil. The lowest 2 ins. of bank material resting on the buried surface consisted in part of grey turfy material, clearly the turf dug first from the site of the ditch and piled on the old land surface. Individual cut turves such as are sometimes recognizable in the turf core of barrows built on the chalk lands of southern Britain, could not be identified. Beneath the bank the buried turf line, representing the pre-bank organic rich surface soil, was recognizable as a thin but distinct feature often no more than 1 in. thick. It was darker than the soil immediately above and below it, and had a slightly blue tinge. Thin streaks of iron were sometimes noted at the base of the buried turf line, a feature previously recorded from other sites (Proudfoot, 1960; North, 1943), while some flecks of iron-rich material were also noted occasionally in the buried turf line (Fox, 1943, 96). The top few inches of the buried soil seemed more clayey than the deeper parts, probably as a result of weathering in pre-bank times, although after burial beneath banks the old land surface sometimes seems more clayey as the organic matter alters and a layer of what has in the past been described as 'blue clay' is formed (O'Kelly, 1951). Within the top twelve inches of the buried soil there was no development of a stone-free layer, no concentration of stones at any particular depth and no evidence for disturbance of the top soil, so that the evidence would tend to suggest that the site had not been intensively cultivated before the bank was built.

Samples were collected from each 2 ins. of the section below the upper part of the buried soil, until a gravel layer was reached at 40 ins. from the present surface. The silty parent material above the gravel had been laid down as a river flood-plain deposit with nearly horizontal bedding, but these characteristics were masked by well-developed vertical, prismatic cracking at 2-3 ins. intervals. Such cracking is characteristic of flood plain loams subject to alternate drying and wetting with a fluctuating water-table. Associated with these variable conditions gleying is common, giving rise to a mottled soil with grey and yellow flecks, the latter composed of ferric iron hydroxides, and overall a grey or blue-green colour. At Nunwick gleying was weakly developed throughout the lower part of the profile beneath the bank, being best attested by the manganese banding found in the lower gravels. Biological activity continued down into the gleyed material, earthworms being observed right to the bottom of the excavated sections.

The analyses suggest the downward movement of humus, iron and phosphates through the plough soil and upper part of the bank. Below 12 ins., at which level accumulation seems to be taking place,



there are still high iron and humus values for a few inches, but phosphates decrease from this level down to the buried surface beneath the bank. Immediately above this buried surface iron also decreases markedly, but humus, iron and phosphates all increase in the buried turf-line itself. Below this, humus and phosphates decrease, before increasing again at a depth of 8-12 ins. below the buried surface. Iron increases from the buried surface reaching maximum values in a broad zone 6-12 ins. below it. The accumulation of material at this depth suggests that we are dealing with the gradual leaching of a brown earth type of soil into a podsol type. The leaching of phosphate from the upper horizon of a podsol and its accumulation in the lower horizons is a common feature (Robinson, 1949, 189), perhaps complicated here by the fluctuating water table (Russell, 1961, 503).

Microscopic examination of thin sections of soils from the buried turf line, from immediately below it and from the zone of accumulation some 6-8 ins. below the buried surface, supports the identification of the soil as a brown earth undergoing leaching. The upper part of the buried soil has an intertextic fabric in which the mineral grains are bare, free of coatings and loosely embedded in a porous ground mass of flocculated or crumbly material. Kubiena (1938, 141; 1953) has described such fabrics as characteristic of Brown Earths. Small black granules or flecks of either iron or humus also occur, perhaps as a result of secondary deposition after the burial of the soil. The zone of accumulation has a plectoamictic fabric in which the mineral grains are coated and held tightly within the soil plasma. This fabric is characteristic of the illuvial horizons of podsoles and podsollic brown earths (Kubiena, 1938, 145).

Whether the change from brown earth to podsol occurred before the bank was built, or has continued since then is difficult to determine. If the graphs showing the analytical results are smoothed by averaging successive pairs of samples so that each sample is counted twice, once with the sample above it, and once with the sample below, then sampling and experimental errors are minimized (Proudfoot, forthcoming). These smoothed curves show clearly the accumulation of humus and phosphates in the buried turf line, and the accumulation of humus, phosphates and iron in the lower zone some 6-12 ins. below this. It seems as though accumulation of humus and phosphates immediately below the buried turf line has to some extent masked earlier depletion of these from the upper part of the buried profile. If accumulation at the buried turf line, and depletion from this layer with accumulation in a broad zone some 6-12 ins. below it, are both going on at present, then accumulation at the buried turf line is greater than depletion.

To varying extents the evidence suggests the following sequence of events:

1. Formation of a brown earth on the silts of an old river flood-plain.
2. Gentle leaching of this brown earth.
3. Erection of the bank.
4. Leaching of the top soil and lower bank material resting on the buried surface, with deposition of iron and phosphate in the buried turf line.

5. Leaching of the upper part of the bank and deposition of material at a depth of about 12 ins. from the present surface. This may be a relatively recent development since the bank was degraded and ploughed.

#### *Ditch Section*

The section shown in detail in fig. 4 shows minor difference from that in fig. 3. At the point where soil samples were taken the burnt layer was associated with a number of large stones and overlain by a discontinuous layer of small gravel with some larger stones. Samples were collected from the burnt layer at several points, and from the rest of the section at 36-46 ins., and from 57 ins. to the bottom of the ditch.

Analyses showed that the primary silting of the ditch contained relatively small amounts of alkali soluble organic matter, but the amount increased almost to 1% 5 ins. from the bottom and remained at this value in the other samples, except in the burnt layer where the value reached 8.75%. It is difficult to explain this remarkably high value since there is no evidence for a major break in the silting of the ditch at this level with development of a deep peaty soil, containing as much humus as this, in the partly infilled ditch. No guide to intensity of occupation can be obtained from the phosphate values, for these show generally similar values throughout the section and no regular variation. To account for this it can be suggested that there may have been redistribution of phosphates under conditions of a fluctuating water table (compare Russell, 1961, 587-8).

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# THE PIPE ROLL OF A CROMWELLIAN SHERIFF OF YORKSHIRE

By S. C. NEWTON

## *Introduction*

The Pipe Roll has hitherto been the preserve of the mediaeval historian; the majesty of its format and text, the complexity of language and abbreviation and the importance of its contents to the understanding of the working of mediaeval government have all contributed to this phenomenon. Nevertheless, the later rolls and 'Quietus' copies frequently found among the papers of the more distinguished gentry families, are not to be despised as a source of national and local history.

The Pipe Roll copy transcribed below is among the archives of the Bright family of Carbrook, Sheffield and Badsworth, near Pontefract, now part of the Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments deposited in Sheffield Central Library.<sup>1</sup> It forms part of the papers of Colonel (later Sir) John Bright, who, after a distinguished career in the Parliamentary army,<sup>2</sup> was appointed Sheriff of Yorkshire on 15th November 1654<sup>3</sup> and held the office for two years. His deputy was John Scott of Howden and it was his responsibility to see to the passing of the sheriffs' accounts at the Exchequer.

This was often an expensive business. In 1656 the 'Quietus' cost £10 merely to draw up<sup>4</sup> and the innumerable officials of the Exchequer had all to be paid their fees. Scott's expenses in London on the occasion of the passing of the accounts reproduced here totalled £37. 19. 7d.<sup>5</sup> Indeed the allowances for the 1655-1656 account included £140 expressly for the purpose of covering the expenses at the Exchequer.<sup>6</sup> In addition to the cost the audit was time consuming and it is small wonder that Scott referred, rather wearily, to the sheriffs' 'clogginge intricate accompte'.<sup>7</sup>

The period of the Commonwealth and the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell, as is well known, was a period of considerable administra-

<sup>1</sup> Catalogue no. W(entworth) W(oodhouse) M(uniments), Br. 66. This document is reproduced here by permission of Earl Fitzwilliam and the Trustees of the Wentworth Woodhouse Settled Estates.

<sup>2</sup> Brights' career and family background are summarised in the introduction to 'A Calendar of the Bright Papers' by S. C. Newton (London University Thesis, 1959).

<sup>3</sup> WWM. D. 667 (a).

<sup>4</sup> WWM., Br 70 (4). Deputy Sheriffs' accounts.

<sup>5</sup> WWM., Br 70 (5).

<sup>6</sup> See below. WWM., Br 70 (25), Scott to Bright, March 3rd 1656/7 gives the sum as £100 but Scott has transposed the allowances for passing accounts and for gaols.

<sup>7</sup> WWM., Br 70 (24), Scott to Bright, Feb 23rd 1657/8.

tive change and the Exchequer did not escape the reformers' attentions. By an ordinance of 21st June 1654<sup>1</sup> the Exchequer of Audit was abolished and the Exchequer of Receipt became responsible for both functions. However, the 'Ancient Course', or traditional method of accounting, was expressly preserved.

The sheriff was responsible for the collection of the royal rents and revenues but he only paid a composition for these into the Exchequer.<sup>2</sup> This was known as the 'blanch farm' and from it were deducted the sheriffs' expenses, the cost of justice and the value of the lands alienated by the Crown during the year (the 'terrae datae'). These were allowable by 'Custom of the Exchequer' and did not require the authority of a writ.<sup>3</sup> Casual allowances did, and casual revenue, for fines, escheats, reliefs, etc.,<sup>4</sup> was paid direct and subject to a separate summons called the Green Wax. The examination of these accounts took place before an official known as the Foreign Apposer.<sup>5</sup> The sums found owing after this process were copied onto a roll known as the 'Escrow' or 'Scroll' and sent to the Pipe Office.<sup>6</sup> All these terms appear in the roll printed below in much the same meaning as they had had in the twelfth century.

There are, however, certain differences between it and similar documents of previous centuries. The most striking is the use of English instead of Latin and the employment of the customary handwriting of the period, in place of the fantastic convolutions of the Pipe Office. These changes are due to an ordinance of the Commonwealth.<sup>7</sup> The rents and profits are those of the Lord Protector, not the King, and the Court of Kings' Bench is the Court of Capital Bench. Most interesting of all is the size of the 'New Seizures'—over £500 within the year, indicative of the continuing acquisition of the lands and property of former Royalists and other opponents of the Commonwealth. Yet alongside these are the nominal rents, the roses and 'white harriers' of the ancient concepts of finance, an interesting example of both the radicalism and conservatism of the Cromwellians.

#### *Note on the Method of transcription*

Although the difficulties facing the transcriber of the mediaeval Pipe Roll are not present in this case, a document of this type is not without pitfalls. For example, it is not always clear whether abbreviations are to be treated as English or Latin, as there are several instances of the latter intruding. Again the spelling of English words

<sup>1</sup> Firth and Rait, 'Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum', vol. ii, p. 918-921.

<sup>2</sup> The classic work on the mediaeval Exchequer is the famous 'Dialogus de Scaccario' now available in Nelson's Mediaeval Classics. The best modern work is R. L. Poole 'The Exchequer in the Twelfth Century', 1912, on which this paragraph is partly based.

<sup>3</sup> Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 160, 162.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 167.

<sup>5</sup> M. S. Giuseppi, 'Guide to the Manuscripts preserved in the Public Record Office, vol. i, p. 136.

<sup>6</sup> Giuseppi, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

<sup>7</sup> Firth and Rait 'Act and Ordinances . . .', vol. ii, p. 455-6 (Nov. 22nd 1650). This enactment prescribes English as the sole language to be used in Public Records, which are to be written, 'in an ordinary, usual and legible Hand and Character'.



varies sometimes from line to line, so that the extension of these when abbreviated is a dubious matter.

In this transcription all abbreviations have been extended (including the still-current 'esq'.) and such extensions indicated by the use of square brackets. The exception to this are 'ye' and 'yt' which have been transcribed as 'the' and 'that' respectively without any indication of the extension. Where possible the spelling of abbreviated words has followed the usage indicated by the document. An initial double 'f' has been treated as 'F', otherwise capitalisation follows the document, in order to represent one of the aids to comprehension and speedy reference used in the original. Another of these was the use of bolder letters, and words so written are here italicized. Punctuation is almost entirely absent in the original and has been supplied.

[Membrane 1]

The Great Rolle of Thexchequer for The yeare MDCLIIII in It[em] A[dhuc] R[esiduans] Ebor[acense]

*Ebor[acensis] John Bright* Esquire, late Sheriffe of the saide Countie of Yorke, *From* The Feast of St. Michael The Archangell in the yeare of our Lord One Thousand six hundred, fiftie and fower *Unto* The Feast of St. Michael Tharchangell from thence next ensuing in the yeare of our Lord One Thousand six hundred, fiftie and five, *That* is to say *By* the space of one whole yeare, *Rendring Accompt* of the yssues of his office by *John Scott* gentl[eman], his Attorney, or Deputie, *Accompteth* for feefarmes and other farmes, Debts and Seizures hereunder following.

*That is to say;*

*Parcells of The Pipe*

*Of Peter Vavasour* for a certeine Rent com[m]only called the Blanchfarme for the Township of Spaldington in the Wapentake of Harthill in the Eastriding. And xxxii other like Blanchfarme Rents of severall Towne[shi]ps and other places in the same Wapentake . . . . . cxviii<sup>s</sup> iii<sup>d</sup> ob.

*Of The Inh[ab]itants* of Thinge in Wapentake of Dickering for the Blanchfarme of their Towne[shi]p, and for xviii other like Blanchfarme rents of severall Towne[shi]ps and other places in the same Wapentake . . . . . iiiii<sup>l</sup> vii<sup>s</sup> vii<sup>d</sup>

*Of William Chamberlayne*, Esq[ui]re, for the Blanchfarme Rent of Thorlabie Grange in the Wapentake of Buckrose in the Eastriding. And for xxi other like Blanchfarme Rents in the same Wapentake . . . . . lii<sup>s</sup>

*Of The Inh[ab]itants* of the Towne of Stillingfleete in the Wapentake of Owse and Darwent in the Eastriding for the Blanchfarme rent. And for viii other such like Rents in the same Wapentake . . . . . xii viii<sup>d</sup>

*Of the Ten[na]nts* of lands lying in Wooton, Crome and Kirkeham in the Wapentake of Bullmer in the Northriding for the Blanchfarme rent of the said lands. And for xxvii other such like Rents in the same Wapentake . . . . . cii<sup>s</sup> viii<sup>d</sup> ob.

*Of Ralph Grey* for the Blanchfarme of the lands lying in Barton in the streete in the Wapentake of Rydall in the Northriding. And for ten other Rents of lands in the same Wapentake . . . . . xxxvii<sup>s</sup> viii<sup>d</sup>

[Membrane 2]

*Of The Ten[nan]tes* of lands in Rydall and Helmesley for the Blanchfarme Rent of the said lands. And for vi other such like Rents . . . . . xxxii<sup>s</sup>

*Of Rob[er]te Rosse* Esquire for the Blanchfarme Rent of lands in Upsall in the Wapentake of Birdforth in Northriding. And for xi other such like rents in the same Wapentake . . . . . iiiii<sup>l</sup> iiiii<sup>d</sup>

*Of The Towne[shi]p* of Cookewould for the Wapentake fyne in the Northriding. And for xv other such like fynes or Rents of xv other Towne[shi]ps . . . . . xlvi<sup>s</sup> x<sup>d</sup>

*Of The Inh[ab]itants* of Spofforth in the Wapentake of Claro in the Westriding for the Blanchfarme rent of the said Towne. And for xi other such like rents in the same Wapentake . . . . . lx<sup>s</sup> vii<sup>d</sup>

*Of The Inh[ab]itants* of the Towne of Drax in the Wapentake of Barkeston in the Westriding for the Blanchfarme Rent of that Towne. And for xix other such like rents in the same Wapentake . . . . . iii<sup>li</sup> vii<sup>s</sup> viii<sup>d</sup>  
*Of Lands* w[hi]ch were lately Miltons' lying in Aston and Todwick in the Wapentake of Strafforth in Westriding for the Blanchfarme rent of those lands. And for xxt<sup>y</sup> other such like rents in the same Wapentake . . . . . iii<sup>li</sup> iii<sup>s</sup> vi<sup>d</sup> ob.  
*Of Lands* in Harwood. And for the same Manno[r] in the Wapentake of Skyracke in the Westriding. And for viii other Blanchfarme rents in the same Wapentake . . . . . xxxv<sup>s</sup> viii<sup>d</sup>  
*Of Lands* in Adle belonging to the late Priory of Kirkstall . . . . . xxiii<sup>s</sup>  
*Of Lands* within the Mannor of Beckley . . . . . ii<sup>s</sup> vi<sup>d</sup>  
*Of Lands* in Astwick for the Blanchfarme . . . . . xv<sup>s</sup>  
*Of The Inh[ab]itants* of the Towne of Thorneton . . . . . xv<sup>s</sup>  
*Of Lands* in Brackenbetham for the like . . . . . xx<sup>s</sup>  
*Of Benedict* Normanton . . . . . l<sup>d</sup>  
*Of Twoe* Oxegangs in Snillington . . . . . xii<sup>d</sup>  
*Of Rob[er]te* of Sproxton for the farme of his lands . . . . . xiii<sup>s</sup> iii<sup>d</sup>  
*Of Symon* of Lillinge for vi Acres in the moore of Hobbie . . . . . iii<sup>s</sup>  
*Of The Towne* of Schupton the remayne of Santres . . . . . ii<sup>s</sup>  
*Of The Priory* of Merton for lands at Merton . . . . . v<sup>s</sup> vi<sup>d</sup>  
*Of Roger* Le Bygodd for i Acre in Thornalthorpe . . . . . iii<sup>d</sup>  
*Of The Towne* of Skelton for Twoe Acres . . . . . viii<sup>d</sup>  
*Of Rob[er]te* of Bolton for a Close made at Whiteacre . . . . . xl<sup>d</sup>  
*Of William* Falderles for ix Acres at Easingwand . . . . . iii<sup>s</sup> vi<sup>d</sup>  
*Of W[illia]m* of Melton for the Mannor of Kellum . . . . . xiii<sup>s</sup> iii<sup>d</sup>  
*Of W[illia]m* Viscount Mansfield, for the Manno[r] of Carleton . . . . . x<sup>s</sup>

## [Membrane 3]

*Of Rob[er]te* Hemsworth for the lands of Edw[ard] Hoppey in Yeadon . . . . . vi<sup>s</sup> viii<sup>d</sup>  
*Of [Christ]ofer* Lawson for Closes in Upland . . . . . iii<sup>s</sup> iii<sup>d</sup>  
*Of John* Bland for the Mannor of Allerton . . . . . xiii<sup>s</sup> iii<sup>d</sup>  
*Of Rob[er]te* Franck for a Mess[uage] and lands in Wilsden . . . . . v<sup>s</sup>  
*Of Rob[er]te* Hayman for the third p[ar]te of the Mannor of Baldon . . . . . vi<sup>s</sup> viii<sup>d</sup>  
*Of Rombant* Jacobson for lands in Hatfield . . . . . v<sup>s</sup>  
*Of Lancelot* Copie for the manno[r] of Northfodringham . . . . . v<sup>s</sup>  
*Of Henry* Parker, Esq[ui]re, for Nunthorpe Hall . . . . . v<sup>s</sup>  
*Of John* Hull for a capitall messuage in Merton . . . . . x<sup>s</sup>  
*Of Gabriell* Freeman for Plumbtreebancks . . . . . iii<sup>s</sup> iii<sup>d</sup>  
*Of W[illia]m* Thorneton for lands in South Skerleigh . . . . . iii<sup>s</sup> iii<sup>d</sup>  
*Of Thomas* Butler for Beeston Parke . . . . . iii<sup>s</sup> iii<sup>d</sup>  
*Of W[illia]m* Cole, gent[leman], for the manno[r] of Normandy . . . . . xv<sup>s</sup>  
*Of Edmund* Gregory for lands in Pickton . . . . . vi<sup>s</sup> viii<sup>d</sup>  
*Of W[illia]m* Bower for lands in Melburne . . . . . v<sup>s</sup>  
*Of W[illia]m* Belt, Esq[ui]re, for the Manno[r] of Farnley . . . . . xxvi<sup>s</sup> iii<sup>d</sup>  
*Of Eliz[abeth]* Dawson, Widd[ow], for the Manno[r] of Kilton . . . . . xviii<sup>s</sup> ix<sup>d</sup>  
*Of Richard* Solme, Esq[ui]re, for lands in Markington . . . . . vi<sup>s</sup> viii<sup>d</sup>  
*Of Mary* Parradine, Widd[ow], for the Mannor of Fearnley . . . . . xviii<sup>s</sup>  
*Of The Burgesses* of Scarberough for their fee farm . . . . . xlii<sup>li</sup> xi<sup>s</sup>  
*Of Thomas* Hunt for twoe Acres of Meadowe . . . . . iii<sup>s</sup> iii<sup>d</sup>  
*Of Henry* P[er]cey, Kn[igh]t, for a Messuage in Malton . . . . . iii<sup>s</sup>  
*Of Henry* Fitzhugh, Kn[igh]t, for the Mannor of Clifton . . . . . v<sup>d</sup>  
*Of Rob[er]te* Fitzhugh for lands in Rigimorne . . . . . xii<sup>d</sup>  
*Of Edward*, Earle of Kent, for an Overplus of Rents . . . . . xi<sup>li</sup> xv<sup>s</sup> ix<sup>d</sup>  
*Of John* Talbott for the Manno[r] of Sheffield . . . . . ii lepor' alb' <sup>1</sup>  
*Of John* Pickering, Kn[igh]t, for lands in Apleford . . . . . l<sup>d</sup>  
*Of Henry* Lockwood for lands in Selby . . . . . ii<sup>s</sup> viii<sup>d</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'leporarii-albi' i.e. white harriers or greyhounds. The entry is an interesting example of the archaic nature of Pipe Rolls. John Talbot, First Earl of Shrewsbury had died in 1453, and the manor was really in the hands of the Howard family and their representatives.



<i>Of John Carr, Kn[igh]t, for the Manno[r] of Stretton</i>	. . .	irose
<i>Of Edward Lockwood for lands in Nether Kilborne</i>	. . .	xiii <sup>s</sup> viii <sup>d</sup>
<i>Of John Willesborne, Esq[ui]re, for lands in Naborne</i>	. . .	i Rose
<i>Of Nicholas Of Kingston for the Manno[r] of Wellerbie</i>	. . .	i <sup>d</sup>
<i>Of W[illia]m, Lord Ewre, for the R[e]c[t]ory of Inglebie</i>	. . .	ix <sup>s</sup> viii <sup>d</sup>
<i>Of W[illia]m Paycock for p[ar]cell of the Manno[r] of Goldborough</i>	. . .	ii <sup>s</sup>
<i>Of W[illia]m Bell for a Messuage in Thirske</i>	. . .	iii <sup>s</sup>
<i>Of John, Lord Darcey, for Rothelhay Parkes</i>	. . .	xv <sup>l</sup> vii <sup>s</sup>
<i>Of W[illia]m Theckeston for the Manno[r] of Bedhall</i>	. . .	xliii <sup>s</sup> x <sup>d</sup> ob.q.
<i>Of Michaell Hudson, Clerke, for Meadowe in Ferryfreiston</i>	. . .	viii <sup>d</sup>
<i>Of Michaell Hudson, Clerke, for lands in Aislalie</i>	. . .	ii <sup>s</sup>
<i>Of Michaell Hudson, Clerke, for the hospitall of St. Nich[olas]</i>	. . .	x <sup>s</sup>
<i>Of Michaell Hudson, Clerke, for a messuage in Spratberough</i>	. . .	vi <sup>s</sup> viii <sup>d</sup>
<i>Of The Ten[n]ants of a mess[uage] and lands in Newbie</i>	. . .	ii <sup>s</sup> iii <sup>d</sup>
<i>Of The Ten[n]ants of a Mess[uage] and lands in Sprotley</i>	. . .	xi <sup>s</sup> vii <sup>d</sup> ob.q.
<i>Of John Garth, gent[leman], for a Mess[uage] in Skerton</i>	. . .	x <sup>s</sup> x <sup>d</sup>
<i>Of Thomas Catchmay for the Mannor of Northstead for one yeares Rent due before Mich[aelm]as 1650</i>	. . .	xxvii <sup>l</sup> vi <sup>s</sup> viii <sup>d</sup>

## [Membrane 4]

*Debts Totted in The Pipe*

A.J.E.	<i>Of The Inh[ab]itants of Southolme, Ass[ize]s 23 M[ar]cii, 1651</i>	lxvi <sup>s</sup> viii <sup>d</sup>
	<i>Of The Same Inh[ab]itants, Ass[ize]s 2 Sept[ember], 1652</i>	lxvi <sup>s</sup> viii <sup>d</sup>
	<i>Of The Inh[ab]itants of great Smeaton, Ass[ize]s 23 M[ar]cii, 1651</i>	c <sup>s</sup>
	<i>Of The Inh[ab]itants of Whitchurch Ass[ize]s 23 M[ar]cii, 1651</i>	c <sup>s</sup>
	<i>Of The Inh[ab]itants of Swyne and the Towne of Billiton</i>	xl <sup>s</sup>
Comp. Tr. 1655	<i>Of The Inh[ab]itants of Northriding, Ass[izes] 23 M[ar]cii, 1651</i>	c <sup>s</sup>
	<i>Of The Inh[ab]itants of Rockliffe at the same Assizes</i>	lxvi <sup>s</sup> viii <sup>d</sup>
C. Tr. 1655	<i>Of The Inh[ab]itants of the Northriding at the same Ass[ize]s</i>	xl <sup>l</sup>
Co. Tr. 1655	<i>Of The Inh[ab]itants of the Northrid[ing], Ass[ize]s 2 Sept[ember], 1652</i>	lxvi <sup>s</sup> viii <sup>d</sup>
R.E. acq[ui]ttance	<i>Of the Inh[ab]itants of Cottingham a composic[i]on</i>	xii <sup>d</sup>
acq[ui]ttance	<i>Of The Inh[ab]itants of Allwoodley like composic[i]on</i>	iii <sup>s</sup>
acq[ui]ttance	<i>Of The Inh[ab]itants of Drypoole like Composic[i]on</i>	xvii <sup>s</sup> iii <sup>d</sup>
acq[ui]ttance	<i>Of The Inh[ab]itants of Rooth for their composic[i]on</i>	xvii <sup>s</sup>
acq[ui]ttance	<i>Of The Inh[ab]itants of Sutton for their composic[i]on</i>	xvii <sup>s</sup>
A.R.E.	<i>Of Charles Tankerd Esq[ui]re, a grand Juro[r]</i>	lxvi <sup>s</sup> viii <sup>d</sup>
	<i>Of The Inh[ab]itants of Stackhouse Ass[ize]s 2 Sept[ember] 1652</i>	lxvi <sup>s</sup> viii <sup>d</sup>
	<i>Of The Inh[ab]itants of Scarberough the same Assizes</i>	lxvi <sup>s</sup> viii <sup>d</sup>
	<i>Of The Inh[ab]itants of St. John of Bev[er]ley Ass[ize]s 23 M[ar]cii, 1651</i>	c <sup>s</sup>
	<i>Of The Inh[ab]itants of Scarberough the same Assizes</i>	c <sup>s</sup>
	<i>Of The Inh[ab]itants of Foiston<sup>2</sup> at the same Assizes</i>	c <sup>s</sup>
I.A.R.E.	<i>Of Ralph Heigham of Staveley, a Juro[r]</i>	x <sup>s</sup>
	<i>Scroe of Greenwax</i>	
	<i>Fynes in the court of Com[m]on Pleas</i>	cclxxix <sup>l</sup> xi <sup>s</sup> viii <sup>d</sup>
	<i>Yssues in the Court of Com[m]on Pleas</i>	lx <sup>s</sup>
	<i>Yssues in the Court of Capitall Bench</i>	cx <sup>s</sup>
	<i>Fynes and Am[er]ciam[en]ts at the Assizes</i>	xlvi <sup>l</sup> vi <sup>s</sup> viii <sup>d</sup>
ex[amined]	<i>Yssues of Juro[rs] between p[ar]ty and p[ar]ty at the Assizes</i>	lxiii <sup>l</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Originally written 'Friston'.

*Fynes* and Am[er]ciam[en]ts at the generall Q[uar]ter Sessions of Peace in the East, West and Northrid[ings] . cxxiii<sup>li</sup> xv<sup>s</sup> v<sup>d</sup>  
*Fynes* and Am[er]ciam[en]ts at the generall q[uar]ter Sessions for the Northrid[ing] . . . . . xl<sup>s</sup>

*Old Seizures*

For The Yssues of divers Lo[rdshi]ps, Manno[rs], Messuages, Lands, and Tenem[en]ts seized into the hand of the Com[m]onwealth before this Accomptants tyme of his office . . . . . mmcccv<sup>li</sup> xiiii<sup>s</sup> viii<sup>d</sup>

*New Seizures*

For the yssues of divers Lo[rdshi]ps, Manno[rs], Messuages, Lands, Tenem[en]ts, and hereditam[en]ts seized into the hands of the Lord Protecto[r] by this Accomptant . . . . . Dvi<sup>li</sup> xii ob.

[Membrane 5]

*Som[m]e Totall of The Whole Charge is m<sup>l</sup> m<sup>l</sup> m<sup>l</sup> Dlxviii<sup>li</sup> xix<sup>s</sup> ii<sup>d</sup>, Twoe white harryers and Twoe Roses. Into The Treasury . liii<sup>li</sup> vi<sup>s</sup> viii<sup>d</sup> in Two Tallyes. That is to say xxvi<sup>li</sup> xiii<sup>s</sup> iii<sup>d</sup> thereof the Thirtieth day of May, One Thousand Six hundred, fifty and five. And xxvi<sup>li</sup> xiii<sup>s</sup> iii<sup>d</sup> Residue the fifteenth day of November in the same yeare for the said sheriffs' Proffers payd. And Into The Treasury paid c x v<sup>li</sup> x<sup>d</sup> in Twoe tallyes. That is to say xxi<sup>li</sup> vii<sup>s</sup> vi<sup>d</sup> thereof the xxviii<sup>th</sup> day of Februarie, One Thousand six hundred, fiftie and six by the said Sheriffe for the Remayne of his Accompt. And iii<sup>xx</sup> xiii<sup>li</sup> xiii<sup>s</sup> iii<sup>d</sup>. Residue for the yssues of Juro[rs] to the use of Sir William Brouncker Kn[igh]t, Farmer of the same yssues. And into the Tresurie lvi<sup>s</sup> iii<sup>d</sup> in Two Acquittances the xxi day of Februarie One Thousand six hundred, fiftie and Three wherewith the said Sheriffe stands charged amongst his Totts of the Pipe in five p[ar]ticulars for Composic[i]ons made with the Inh[ab]itants of Cottingham, Albwoodley, Rowth, Sutton and Drypoole to Thomas Fauconberge, Receivo[r] generall paid. And in Allowance to the said Sheriffe for moneys by him paid to the Justices of Peace in the sayd Countie and their Clark[s] for their wages from the Ninth day of January in the yeare of Our Lord One Thousand six hundred, fiftie and foure, unto the fifth day of October, One Thousand six hundred fiftie and five, Each of the said dayes included, Everyone of the Justices taking iii<sup>s</sup> p[er] diem and Their Clark[es] each of them ii<sup>s</sup> p[er] diem, According to the forme of the Statutes in the xii and xiiii yeares of King Richard the second at Cambridge and at Westm[inster] in that case published. That is to say for the wages of the Justices for fower hundred thirtie five dayes, And to their Clark[s] for forty and eight dayes, whereon they sate in divers places in the East, West and North Riding[es] iii<sup>xx</sup> xi<sup>li</sup> xvi<sup>s</sup>. That is to say to W[illia]m Constable, W[illia]m Strickland, Hugh Bethell, Richard Robinson, W[illia]m Lister, and Rob[er]te Stafford, To every of them for Twoe dayes. To John Anlabie, Durand Hotham, Tho[mas] Stireinge, Phillip Saltmarsh, Charles Fenwicke, and Richard Darley, To every of them for fower dayes, to Edward Wingate, W[illia]m Adams, Henry Fairefax, Roger Coats, W[illia]m Spencer, Tho[mas] Dickenson, George Payle, Henry Tempest, John Cleyton, and Beniamyn Norcliffe, To every of them for six dayes. To W[illia]m Weddell and Rob[er]te Waters. To each of them for viii dayes. To Charles Fayrefax, George Smithson and Tho[mas] Lassells, To every of them for ten dayes. To Darcey Wentworth, John Hewley, John Stanhope, Alexander Johnson, John Ashton, and W[illia]m Beckwith. To every of them for Twelve dayes. To Luke Robinson, Christopher Percehay, and George Marwood, To every of them for thirteen dayes. To Leonard Smelt and W[illia]m Thorneton, Each of them for fourteene dayes. To John Ward, John Savile, Robert Barwick, Henry Arthington, To every of them for sixteene dayes. To George Byevard, W[illia]m Aiscough, Mathew Beckwith, John Wastell, and Francis Lassells. To every of them for xviii dayes. And to their Clark[s] for forty and eight dayes By virtue of the Acts of P[ar]liament aforesaid. And by an Indenture between the said Sheriffe on the one p[ar]te And the said Justices and their Clarks on the other p[ar]te testifying the payment of the said wages. And by the Extracts of w[hi]ch fines and Am[er]ciam[en]ts at the severall Quarter Sessions aforesaid, There is answered for the Com[m]onwealths p[ar]te cxxiii<sup>li</sup> xv<sup>s</sup> v<sup>d</sup> As appeareth by the same Extracts. And allowed to the said sheriffe for p[ar]te of the Surplusage w[hi]ch W[illia]m St Quintyn Barr[one]t,*



late Sheriffe of the said Countie, for the [membrane 6] yeare ended at Mich-  
[aelm]as 1649 *hath* l<sup>li</sup> As is conteined in the great Roll of the xxiiii<sup>th</sup> yeare of  
King Charles in Item Adhuc It[e]m It[e]m Resid[uans] Ebor[ancense] By  
considerac[i]on of the Baron annoated on the Trea[sure]rs Rememb[rancers]  
p[ar]te amongst the Records of Hillary Terme, 1656. *And allowed* to the said  
Sheriffe for moneys paid to the Master, fellowes, and Schollers of Trinitie  
Colledge in Cambridge for the Fee farm rent of the Towne of Scarberough  
where with he stands charged above amongst his p[ar]cells of the Pipe xlii<sup>li</sup> xi<sup>s</sup>,  
As by his acquittance of [Christ]opher Rose, their deputy, in the Custodie of  
the Clarke of the Pipe appeareth. *And allowed* to the said Sheriffe for the  
rent of the Manno[r] of Northstead wherewith the said Sheriffe is charged  
above amongst his p[ar]cells of the Pipe under the name of Thomas Catchmay  
xxvii<sup>li</sup> vi<sup>s</sup> viii<sup>d</sup> for that the said rent was paid to Collonell Mathew Alured,  
Receivor gen[er]all, for one whole yeare ended the xxv<sup>th</sup> March 1650, And by  
him accompted for to the use of the Com[m]onwealth, As by the Certificate  
of John Edwards Esquire, Auditor, more at large appeareth. *And in allowance*  
made to the said Sheriffe p[ar]te of the som[m]e of cxxxviii<sup>li</sup> ii<sup>s</sup> viii<sup>d</sup> by him  
disbursed in the service of the Lord Protector during the tyme of his office  
about repairing of the Com[m]on gaole and about diverse other p[ar]tic[ular]  
Necessaries, c<sup>li</sup> for that the said som[m]e of c<sup>li</sup> is to be Allowed him by warr[an]t  
of the Lords Com[missioners] of the Treasurie, Boulstrode Whitlocke and  
Sidney Mountague, By considerac[i]on of the Barons Annoated in a Remem-  
brance of Hillary Terme, 1655, amongst the P[re]cepts on the Trea[sure]rs  
Remembran[cers] part. *And in allowance* of Moneys by him the said Sheriffe  
paid to the offic[ers] of the Excheq[uer] in Passing his Accompt according to  
an Act of P[ar]liam[en]t made the xv<sup>th</sup> of February 1648 cxli<sup>li</sup> for that he is  
thereof to be allowed by warrant of Bulstrode Whitlocke and Sidney Mountague  
his highness Com[m]ission[er]s of the Treasurie, And by considerac[i]on of  
the Barons annoated as aforesaid. *And in allowance* of soe much moneys by  
him paid for the taking of felons within the tyme of his office xli<sup>li</sup>. That is to  
say to Laurence Swifte and Rob[er]te Swifte for app[re]hending John Bailey,  
whoe was convicted for robbing on the highway, x<sup>li</sup> And to John Jaques for  
the app[re]hending of Francis Rowles, George Agard, and James Turner,  
whoe were alsoe convicted for robbing on the highway, xxx<sup>li</sup>, For that  
the said Allowance is made him according to an Act of P[ar]liam[en]t  
of the xxi of October 1653, By warr[an]t of the Lords Com[missioners]  
of his highness Trea[su]rie, And by considerac[i]on of the Barons annoated  
amongst the Precepts aforesaid. *And he is discharged of* xxiii<sup>li</sup> xiii<sup>s</sup> iiiii<sup>d</sup>  
wherewith he stands charged amongst his Totts of Greenwax before the  
foreign Apposer under the Title of yssues, fynes and Am[er]ciaments at the  
Assizes upon the Inhabitants of the Northriding, By considerac[i]on of the  
Barons annoated amongst the P[re]cepts aforesaid. *And hee is discharged of*  
xxiii<sup>li</sup> xiii<sup>s</sup> iiiii<sup>d</sup> wherewith he likewise stands charged amongst [sic]  
his Totts of Greenwax before the foreign Apposer under the title aforesaid  
upon the Inhabitants of Akisgarth<sup>1</sup> in the Countie aforesaid, By considerac[i]on  
of the Barons annoated amongst the P[re]cepts aforesaid. *And he is discharged  
of* c<sup>s</sup> wherew[i]th he stands charged above amongst his Totts of the Pipe for  
the Inh[ab]itants of greate Smeaton, By Considerac[i]on of the Barons an-  
noated amongst the P[re]cepts aforesaid, *And he is discharged of* xxi<sup>li</sup> xiii<sup>s</sup> iiiii<sup>d</sup>  
wherewith he likewise stands charged above amongst his Totts of the Pipe  
for the yssues of the Inh[ab]itants of the P[ar]ish of Stackhouse and others in  
five p[ar]tic[ular]s, By considerac[i]on of the Barons annoated amongst the  
P[re]cepts aforesaid. *And he is discharged of* xvii<sup>li</sup> within the som[m]e of  
xxii<sup>li</sup> wherewith he likewise stands charged above amongst his Totts of the  
Pipe for the yssues of the p[ar]ish of Southolme and others in five p[ar]-  
tic[ular]s, By considerac[i]on of the Barons annoated amongst the p[re]cepts  
aforesaid. *And he is discharged of* xviii<sup>li</sup> vi<sup>s</sup> viii<sup>d</sup> wherewith he likewise stands  
charged above amongst his Totts of the Pipe in three p[ar]tic[ular]s [Membrane  
7] for the Inhabitants of the Northriding For that the said som[m]e of xviii<sup>li</sup>  
vi<sup>s</sup> viii<sup>d</sup> is Compounded for As appears by a Record of Trinity Terme, 1655.

<sup>1</sup> Word erased underneath.



*And he is discharged of l<sup>l</sup>* wherewith he stands charged in his foreigne Accompt for the yssues of the scite of the late Monasterye of Marrick, Being the Lands and Tenem[en]ts of Rob[er]te Blackbourne. *And he is discharged of xx<sup>l</sup>* wherewith he stands charged in the same his foreigne Accompt for the yssues of the Mannor of Marricke, Being the lands of W[illia]m Bullmer Esq[ui]re. *And he is discharged of xx<sup>l</sup>* wherewith he stands charged in the same his foreigne Accompt for the Issues of a Tenem[en]t called Jylridinge And other the lands of Symon Mason, Clerke. *And he is discharged of x<sup>l</sup>* wherewith he stands charged in the same his foreigne Accompt for the Issues of the Mannor of Spawneton, Being the lands of William Carrington. *And he is discharged of cc<sup>l</sup>* wherewith he stands charged in the same his foreigne Accompt for the yssues of the Manno[r] of Arnecliffe, Being the lands of James Maleverer. *And he is discharged of c<sup>l</sup>* wherew[i]th he stands charged in the same his foreigne Accompt for the Issues of the Manno[r] of Arnecliffe, Being the lands of James Malev[er]er. *And he is discharged of l<sup>l</sup>* wherewith he stands charged in the same his foreigne Accompt for the yssues of the Manno[r] of Aldberough, The lands of Arthur Aldberough, Esquire. *And he is discharged of cc<sup>l</sup>* for the yssues of the Manno[r] of Bowling, The lands of Richard Tempest, Esq[ui]re. *And he is discharged of xxxv<sup>l</sup>* for the yssues of lands in Sandbecke. The lands of George Burton, gent[leman]. *And he is discharged of xx<sup>l</sup>* for the yssues of the Manno[r] of Woolley, Being the lands of S[i]r George Wentworth, Kn[igh]t. *And he is discharged of l<sup>l</sup>* for the yssues of the Mano[r] of Thornehill, The lands of William Savile, Baronett. *And he is discharged of xx<sup>l</sup>* for the Issues of the Manno[r] of Lapsett, Being the lands of S[i]r John Savile, Kn[igh]t. *And he is discharged of xl<sup>l</sup>* for the yssues of the Manno[r] of Wooley, Being the lands of S[i]r George Wentworth, Kn[igh]t. *And he is discharged of xxx<sup>l</sup>* for the yssues of the Manno[r] of Rockley, Being the lands of Robert Rockley. *And he is discharged of cv<sup>l</sup>* for the yssues of lands in Harrop in the Towne of Slaidborne, Being the lands of Richard Moncke. *And he is discharged of xxx<sup>l</sup>* for the Issues of the Mannor of Hawnebye, The lands of James Morley and Cuthb[er]te, his sonne and heire. *And he is discharged of xxx<sup>l</sup>* for the Issues of lands in Jillridinge within the Lo[rds]hip of Naborne, Being the lands of Symon Mason, Clerke. *And he is discharged of x<sup>l</sup>* for the Issues of a Messuage and lands in Bingley, Being the lands of Ralph Leech, yeom[an]. *And he is discharged of c<sup>l</sup>* for the yssues of the Manno[rs] of Hatfield, Brampton and others, Being the lands of John Gibbons, gentl[eman]. *And he is discharged of ciii<sup>l</sup> viii<sup>s</sup>* wherewith he is charged in the same his Accompt for the Issues of Kellithorpe Sheepe pasture and other the lands of Alice Edwards. *And he is discharged of c<sup>l</sup>* for the yssues of a messuage lands and the p[ar]ke of Studley, the lands of S[i]r John Mallory, Kn[igh]t. *And he is discharged of cl<sup>l</sup>* for the yssues of a messuage and lands in Sandhutton, The lands of Henry Darley, Esquire. *And he is discharged of cc<sup>l</sup>* for the Issues of a Capital messuage and lands in B[isho]p Wilton, The lands of Richard Darley. *And he is discharged of xiii<sup>l</sup>* for the yssues of a messuage and lands in Longe Preston, The lands of Rob[er]te Singlehurst. *And he is discharged of xxxviii<sup>l</sup>* for the yssues of a Capital messuage and lands in Melborne, The lands of John Niccolls. *And he is discharged of xvii<sup>l</sup>* for the yssues of a messuage and lands in Swinton Of John Buckley, Esq[ui]re. *And he is discharged of xx<sup>l</sup>* for the yssues of divers messuages and lands in Newlay Briggs, The lands of Rob[er]te Thorneton. *And he is Discharged of c<sup>s</sup>* for the yssues of a messuage and lands in Gleasbie, The lands of [Christ]opher Potter, gent[leman]. *And he is discharged of xxx<sup>l</sup>* for the Issues of a messuage and lands in Thornabie The lands of Phillip Lassells, gent[leman] [Membrane 8] *And he is discharged of c<sup>l</sup>* for the yssues of the Mannor of Denton The lands of Ferdinando, Lord Faifax.<sup>1</sup> *And he is discharged of c<sup>s</sup>* for the yssues of a messuage and lands in Byland, Being the lands of George Garbutt, gentl[eman]. *And he is discharged of l<sup>l</sup>* for the yssues of the Mannor of Warter, The lands of S[i]r Phillip Stapleton, Kn[igh]t. *And he is discharged of cxx<sup>l</sup>* for the yssues of the Mannor of Studley, Being the lands of S[i]r John Mallory, Kn[igh]t. *And he is discharged of l<sup>l</sup>* for

<sup>1</sup> Another archaism. Ferdinando had died in 1648.



the yssues of the mannor of Stitnam, Being the lands of S[i]r Thomas Gower, Kn[igh]t. *And he is discharged of lvi<sup>l</sup> xviii<sup>s</sup> x<sup>d</sup> ob. q'* for the Issues of the Mannor of Aldborough, Being the lands of Arthur Aldberough, Esq[ui]re. *And he is discharged of liiii<sup>l</sup> vi<sup>s</sup> vi<sup>d</sup> ob. q' di.* the yssues of the Parke called Haveray, Being the lands of Henry Inglebye, gentl[eman] *And he is discharged of xliiii<sup>l</sup> viii<sup>s</sup> ii<sup>d</sup> ob' q'* for the yssues of the Mannor of Barford Being the lands of Ambrose Pudsey, Esquire. *And he is discharged of cxxxv<sup>l</sup> xii<sup>s</sup> ob. di. q'.* for the Issues of the Mannor of Allerton Malev[er]er, Being the lands of S[i]r Richard Maleverer, Kn[igh]t. *And he is discharged of lxxviii<sup>l</sup> xiiii<sup>s</sup> vii<sup>d</sup> ob. q' di.* for the yssues of the Mannor of Allerton Malev[er]er, Being the lands of Sir Richard Malev[er]er, Kn[igh]t. *And he is discharged of xl<sup>l</sup> x<sup>s</sup> i<sup>d</sup> ob.* for the yssues of divers messuages and lands in Thorpe, Being the lands of Thomas Lewes, Esq[ui]re. *And he is discharged of xliii<sup>l</sup> xii<sup>s</sup> vii<sup>d</sup> di. q'.* for the yssues of eight messuages and lands in Wakefeild, Being the lands of William Savile, Esquire. *And he is discharged of lx<sup>l</sup> xiii<sup>s</sup> i<sup>d</sup> ob. q'.* for the yssues of the third p[ar]te of the Rectory of Gargrave, The lands of S[i]r Edmond Duncombe in right of Hester, his wife. *And he is discharged of viii<sup>l</sup> xiiii<sup>s</sup> vi<sup>d</sup>* for a messuage and lands in Westlillinge of W[illia]m Holliday, gentl[eman]. *And he is discharged of viii<sup>l</sup> xiiii<sup>s</sup> vi<sup>d</sup>* for Twoe messuages and lands in Bugthorpe of Nicholas Seamour gentl[eman]. *And he is discharged of lix<sup>s</sup> x<sup>d</sup> 1'.* for a messuage and lands in Osgodbie of George Barley, yoman. *And he is discharged of xxiii<sup>s</sup> ob. q'.* for a messuage in Gatefulforth of Francis Bennett, widdowe. *And he is discharged of xiii<sup>s</sup> ix<sup>d</sup> ob.* for the Mannor of Barmby upon dan, Being the lands of Roger Portington, Esq[ui]re. *And he is discharged of xviii<sup>l</sup> xviii<sup>s</sup> ob. q' di.* for the yssues of Hornebie Parke, The lands of Conyers Darcey. *And he is discharged of xx<sup>l</sup>* for the yssues of Three messuages and lands in Cawood of William Smith. *And he is discharged of xlv<sup>s</sup> viii<sup>d</sup>* for a messuage and lands in Hasleton Of Marmaduke Fawcett. *And he is discharged of xx<sup>l</sup>* for the Mannor of Rickley, The lands of Rob[er]te Rockley. *And he is discharged of vi<sup>l</sup>* for a messuage and lands in Rawthwell of James Carr, yom[an]. *And he is discharged of xl<sup>l</sup>* for a Capitall Messuage and lands in Stokesley, The lands of Richard Forster, Esq[ui]re. *And he is discharged of xx<sup>l</sup>* for a capitall messuage and lands in Buttercrombe, The lands of S[i]r Richard Darley, Kn[igh]t. *And he is discharged of l<sup>l</sup>* for vi messuages and lands in Leeds and Wakefeild Of William Savile, Esq[ui]re. *And he is discharged of c<sup>s</sup>* for the yssues of a messuage and lands in Farlington of Phillip Howseman. *And he is discharged of c<sup>s</sup>* wherewith he likewise stands charged in his foresaid forreigne Accompt for the Issues of a messuage and lands lying in Aldwarke, Being the lands of Thomas Dickenson, By severall p[ro]-ceeding[es] and considerac[i]on of the Barons in the States and views of Trinity terme, 1656.  
ex[amined]

*And he is Quitt*

19 Junii 1657 Ex[amined] by

He[nry] Croke, Clerke of the Pipe.

# THE RODES FAMILY, OF HORBURY, Co. York.

By R. S. BOUMPHREY, M.B.E., M.A.

The Rodes family, whose affluence was founded by Francis Rodes, the Elizabethan judge, is usually associated only with Barlborough in Derbyshire and Great Houghton in Yorkshire, and the printed pedigrees of these branches of the family have never made it clear that the eldest branch of the family, seated at Horbury in Yorkshire, outlasted in the male line both of the better-known younger branches. Furthermore, the printed pedigrees contain so many inaccurate references to this eldest branch that the following account of it may not be without interest to Yorkshire genealogists.

The early ancestry of the family is set out in Stephen Glover's *History and Gazetteer of the County of Derby*,<sup>1</sup> Ralph Thoresby's *Ducatus Leodiensis*,<sup>2</sup> and Walter C. Metcalfe's *Pedigrees contained in the Visitations of Derbyshire, 1569 and 1611*,<sup>3</sup> and for the purpose of tracing the descent of the eldest branch it will suffice to begin with

## I

SIR JOHN RODES, of Barlborough Hall (eldest son of FRANCIS RODES, Justice of the Common Pleas), who was Sheriff of Derbyshire, 36 Eliz.; was knighted at the Tower of London, 15 March 1603; and died 16 September 1639, aged 77. He married firstly ANN, daughter of GEORGE BENSON, of Hugill, Co. Westmorland; by her he had issue, a son and a daughter, both of whom died young.<sup>4</sup> He married secondly DOROTHY, daughter of GEORGE SAVILE, of Wakefield; by her he had issue, besides a daughter who died young<sup>5</sup>:—

JOHN, of Horbury, of whom below (II).

SIR JOHN RODES married thirdly FRANCES, daughter of MARMADUKE CONSTABLE, of Holderness, Co. York, and widow of HENRY CHEEKE; they had numerous issue, of whom the eldest son, SIR FRANCIS RODES, was the first baronet of the baronetcy which is said to have become extinct on the death of his great-grandson, SIR JOHN RODES, of Barlborough Hall, in 1743.

## II

JOHN RODES, of Horbury, is said by Joseph Hunter<sup>6</sup> to have been aged 20 in 1611, but Glover<sup>7</sup> gives this as 'aged 20 and more in 1611.' He was buried at Horbury, 3 August 1661; his will, dated 9 July 1661,

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii, p. 91.

<sup>3</sup> *Genealogist*, N.S., vol. viii, pp. 71-2.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> *Familiae Minorum Gentium*, vol. ii, p. 585.

<sup>2</sup> 2nd ed., pp. 90-91.

<sup>4</sup> Metcalfe, *op. cit.*

<sup>7</sup> *op. cit.*



was proved at York in December of that year (see Appendix I). He is named in the wills of his grandfather, GEORGE SAVILE, of Wakefield,<sup>1</sup> and of his uncle, GEORGE SAVILE, of Wakefield.<sup>2</sup> Both Hunter<sup>3</sup> and Burke<sup>4</sup> state that he was disinherited by his father; that this was so is clear from the fact that he was not named in his father's will,<sup>5</sup> but was left the sum of only five pounds in a codicil to the will 'in full satisfaction of his child's part,' the same amount which SIR JOHN RODES left to two of his servants; the Barlborough estate passed to SIR JOHN'S second surviving son, SIR FRANCIS RODES, the first baronet. Burke, however, goes on to state<sup>6</sup> that 'there is the strongest presumptive evidence' that JOHN RODES, leaving Horbury, was the founder of the Rodes family, of Bellair and Shapwick, Co. Devon. This is the first of the many errors regarding this eldest branch of the family, for so far from there being any evidence, presumptive or otherwise, to support this theory, an examination of the parish registers of Horbury<sup>7</sup> and of the Rodes wills at York conclusively prove that the family continued at Horbury until 1745.

JOHN RODES married firstly, in 1616, MARGARET, daughter of HENRY NEVILE, of Chevet, Co. York,<sup>8</sup> and Hunter<sup>9</sup> shows her as the mother of his son, JOHN. This is almost certainly incorrect, for the latter was baptized at Horbury in 1637, and it seems improbable that a child would have been born to MARGARET RODES after an interval of 20 years. Unfortunately, no trace of her death or burial has been found, but JOHN RODES named his wife as ALICE in his will dated 1661, appointing her co-executor thereof. She was buried at Horbury, 6 February 1688/9, and although their marriage has not been traced it may safely be assumed, on the evidence of dates, that ALICE . . . . ., and not MARGARET NEVILE, was the mother of his children. They had issue:—

1. . . . ., an infant, buried at Horbury, 12 August 1636.
2. JOHN, of whom below (III).
3. FRANCIS, of Horbury, baptized there, 25 August 1642, named in his father's will, and buried 7 December 1728; will dated 30 January 1727/8, proved at York 1729 (see Appendix III). He married at Horbury, 21 February 1670/1, HANNAH THORNES, who was buried at Horbury, 3 September 1695. They had issue:—
  - a. JOHN, baptized at Horbury, 25 April 1685, named in his father's will, but apparently disinherited for he received only five shillings.

<sup>1</sup> Dated 6 October 1593, proved at York, 2 November 1593.

<sup>2</sup> Dated 16 December 1594, proved at York, 17 February 1594/5.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> *Commoners of Great Britain*, vol. iii, p. 566.

<sup>5</sup> Dated 12 September 1639; copy at Lichfield.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, and 'Extinct Baronetcies' (1838 ed.), pp. 448-9.

<sup>7</sup> Printed by the Yorkshire Parish Register Society.

<sup>8</sup> *Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire*, edited by J. W. Clay, vol. ii, p. 158.

<sup>9</sup> *Op. cit.*

- b. SARAH, baptized at Horbury, 10 February 1671/2, married there, 10 January 1692/3, GEORGE BRACEBRIDGE, and had issue; named with her husband in her father's will.
  - c. HANNAH, baptized at Horbury, 2 May 1674; not named in her father's will, so may have died young.
  - d. RACHEL, baptized at Horbury, 9 May 1676, buried there, 21 October 1683.
  - e. ABIGAIL, baptized at Horbury, 10 May 1679, buried there, 4 February 1679/80.
  - f. MARY, baptized at Horbury, 12 February 1680/1, married by licence at Kirk Heaton, 12 September 1703, SAMUEL COWPE, and had issue; he was named in his father-in-law's will.
  - g. RACHEL, baptized at Horbury, 13 October 1688, buried there, 3 June 1695.
4. GODFREY, baptized at Horbury, 8 October 1644, buried there, 27 February 1669/70; named in his father's will.
  5. SARAH, baptized at Horbury, 2 April 1640, buried there, 24 June 1715; named in her father's will; unmarried.
  6. DOROTHY, baptized at Horbury, 5 February 1647/8, buried at Mexborough, 1687;<sup>1</sup> named in her father's will; unmarried.
  7. GRACE, baptized at Horbury, 12 June 1652, married there, 20 May 1673, JOHN HAGUE; named in her father's will.

### III

JOHN RODES, of Horbury, was baptized there, 10 December 1637, and was buried there, 15 February 1709/10; his will, dated 6 February 1707/8, was proved at York, March 1709/10 (see Appendix II). Hunter,<sup>2</sup> relying apparently on this will in which no mention is made of his son, JOHN, states incorrectly that he 'had only daughters'. In fact, he had two sons, as is shown below. He married at Horbury, 2 July 1671, ANN, daughter of JOHN AUDSLEY, of Horbury, by his wife, ELIZABETH, daughter of ROBERT and ANN HARE, of Emley, Co. York;<sup>3</sup> she was baptized at Horbury, 6 January 1651/2, and was buried there 16 February 1732/3. They had issue:—

1. JOHN, baptized at Horbury, 16 April 1679, buried there, 12 July 1679.
2. JOHN, of whom below (IV).
3. ELIZABETH, baptized at Horbury, 4 July 1672, married there, 3 October 1693, DAVID COUPE, and had issue; named in her father's will.
4. ANN, baptized at Horbury, 26 September 1674; named in her father's will.

<sup>1</sup> Joseph Hunter's *South Yorkshire—The Deanery of Doncaster*, vol. i, p. 394; 'aged 33' (*sic*).

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> Parish registers of Emley, printed by the Yorkshire Parish Register Society.



5. MARGARET, baptized at Horbury, 23 November 1676; named in her father's will.
6. SARA, baptized at Horbury, 3 July 1680; named in her father's will; named in her brother JOHN's will as the wife of . . . . . FLETCHER.
7. ALICE, baptized at Horbury, 7 March 1682/3, married there, 6 December 1704, JOHN ECKLES, of Rastrick; named in her father's will.
8. BARBARA, baptized at Horbury, 17 November 1685; named in her father's and her brother's wills; unmarried.
9. MILLICENT, baptized at Horbury, 8 August 1689, buried there, 27 June 1761; named in her father's and her brother's wills; unmarried.

## IV

JOHN RODES, of Barlborough, Co. Derby, and of Northgate in Horbury, was baptized at Horbury, 21 June 1692, and was buried there, 21 June 1745; he is recorded in the parish registers at Barlborough as having died 19 June 1745. His will, dated 13 June 1745, was proved at York, 1746 (see Appendix IV). G.E.C. in his article on the RODES baronetcy<sup>1</sup> gives the following account of his parentage, which is clearly inaccurate: 'This John RODES of Northgate in Horbury (if no nearer heir existed) would have been, if alive in 1743, entitled to the Baronetcy. He was son of William RODES (aged 6 in February 1694/5) who was the only son (that survived infancy) of John RODES, of Cornhill, London, linen draper (living 1695), the son and heir of John RODES, of Sturton, Notts., 4th son of the 1st Baronet.' Leaving aside the evidence of the Horbury registers and of JOHN RODES's own will, in which he names three of his sisters, SARA, BARBARA and MILLICENT (for whom, see above), SIR JOHN RODES, of Barlborough Hall, the last Baronet, in his will<sup>2</sup> clearly distinguishes between his 'Cozen' and 'Kinsman John Rodes of Northgate in Horbury', and ' . . . . . [name omitted in the will] Rodes of London Gent. Grandson of my Cozen John Rodes late Citizen and Linen draper of London deceased.' JOHN RODES, of Horbury, was in no way entitled to the RODES baronetcy because, as has been shown above, he was descended not from the first baronet, but from the latter's elder brother. He married SUSANNA CLIFFE<sup>3</sup> who survived him, being named sole executrix of his will. They had issue:—

1. ANNE, baptized at Barlborough, 25 January 1734/5, named in her father's will, and buried at Harthill, Co. York, 27 July 1806, having married, 6 February 1754, THOMAS WRIGHT, of Harthill, Co. York, and had issue.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Complete Baronetage*, vol. ii, p. 139.

<sup>2</sup> Dated 13 March 1731, proved at London (P.C.C.), 7 February 1743.

<sup>3</sup> See William Swift's Ms. pedigree in the Jackson Collection at Sheffield.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, copied in part as Appendix VI.

2. SUSANNA, baptized at Barlborough, 24 July 1736, named in her father's will, married by licence at Horbury, 2 August 1770, JOSEPH WALKER.
3. MILLICENT, baptized at Barlborough, 10 October 1738, named in her father's will, buried at Harthill, 15 December 1791; unmarried.

With the death of JOHN RODES, of Horbury, in 1745, all the known branches of the RODES family appear to have become extinct in the male lines, though in female lines it continues to be represented by many descendants. Those of the Barlborough and Great Houghton branches appear in the various printed pedigrees of the family; those of the eldest branch, of Horbury, through the marriage of ANNE RODES and THOMAS WRIGHT, of Harthill, are shown in the chart pedigree at Appendix VI.

#### APPENDIX I

THE WILL OF JOHN RODES, OF HORBURY, 1661 (Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York).

IN THE NAME OF GOD AMEN The ninth day of July in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand six hundred sixtie and one I John Rodes of Horbury in the County of York Esquire weak in bodye but of good and perfect memorye (praised be Almighty God) revoakinge all other Wills by me formerly made doe make and ordaine This my last will and Testament in manner and forme followeing That is to say First I commend my soule into the hands of Almighty God my maker hoping assuredly through the onely merritts of Jesus Christ my Savior to be made partaker of life everlastinge And I commend my bodye go the earth whereof itt is made and to be decently buried at the discretion of my Executors And for my worldly estate I dispose of as followeth I give demise and bequeath All my freehold and copyhold lands (which copyhold lands I have surrendered into the hands of the Lord of the Mannor of Wakefeild) lyeinge and beinge in one close called the Pickeinge Close in Horbury aforesaid to my sonne Godfrey Rodes and his heires for ever Item I give unto my sonne ffrancis Rodes all those seaven halfe roodes of land (three halfe roodes whereof beinge copyhold land and the rest freehold) lyeinge and beinge in a Close called Storshill Close in the territoryes of Horbury aforesaid and to his heires for ever Item I give unto my two daughters Dorathy Rodes and Grace Rodes equally betwixt them and to their severall and respective heires for ever All that Close called the Whelepitt Close in Horbury Milnefeild and all those seven Rodes of land lyeing and being in the foresaid Milnefeild two roodes whereof being copyhold land and alsoe three roodes and a halfe of land lyeinge and beinge in the Stonebriggfeild of Horbury aforesaid two roodes whereof likewise beinge copyhold Now my mynde and will is and I doe hereby limitt declare and appointe That the said Whelepitt Close and all those tenn roodes and halfe of land in the Stonebriggfeild and Milnefeild shalbe to the use and behoofe of my said two daughters Dorathy and Grace Rodes and their severall and respective heires for ever Neverthelesse with and under this Proviso and caution That if my sonne John Rodes or his heires shall and doe well and truly pay Twenty pounds a yeere of Currant money of England to my said two daughters Dorathy and Grace when and assone as they shall respectively attaine to one and twenty yeares of age Then all the foresaid Whelepitt Close and tenn roodes and a halfe of land above expressed shalbe and I doe hereby devise and bequeath limitt and appointe to my sonne John Rodes and his heires and to their use forever and my mynde is that if eyther of my said daughters happen to dye before they Attaine to one and twenty yeares of age then the twenty pounds soe payable to her soe dyeinge as aforesaid shalbe abated and not payd by my sonne John to the survivor of them for the redemption of the said freehold and copyhold land And if they chance both to dye before they Attaine to their aforesaid age of one and twenty yeares then my sonne John to be absolutely discharged for payeinge eyther or both of the said Twenty pounds to any person claimeinge the same as in the right



of my two daughters Dorathy and Grace Item I give alsoe to my foresaid sonne Godfrey Rodes fower pounds of Currant money of England for the settinge him forth to a Trade to be paid him within a twelve month after my decease if he be then liveinge Item I give likewise to my foresaid Daughters Dorathy Rodes and Grace Rodes over and besides the land aforesaid tenn pounds apeece of Currant money of England to be paid them within a twelve month after my decease if they be then alive Item I give likewise unto my sonne ffrancis Rodes the sume of tenn pounds to be paid him within five yeares after my decease Item I further give unto my foresaid two daughters Dorathy and Grace Rodes to each of them five pounds to be paid them within five yeares after my decease Item I give them more five pounds apeece of Currant money of England to be paid them forth of the moneys due unto me for the arrearages of one Annuytie of tenn pounds per annum granted unto me from Mr John Savile my Kinsman and charged upon his lands att Norgatehead and Wakefeild so as the same arrearages be received and not otherwise and the rest thereof recovered and received to be equally divided amongst my wife and children Item I doe freely give and bequeath unto my sonne and heire apparent John Rodes and to his heires for ever All those Tythes and gleabe lands and all my estate right and title thereunto (whensoever happeninge after the death of Sir Thomas Middleton) in Hutton Pannell in the said County of Yorke Item I give unto my daughter Sarah Rodes twelve pence of Currant money of England in full of her childs parte and portion Item I give and bequeath unto Alice my loveinge wife (my debts and funerall expenses paid and discharged) all the rest of my personall estate whom with my son John Rodes I doe make nominate and appoint my Executors of this my last will and Testament and Mr Willm Yarburgh of Horbury gent Supervisor thereof whom I appointe to have a paire of Gloves Witnesse my hand and Seale the day and Yeare first above written

JOHN RODES (Mk.)

Witnesses: Wm. Yarburgh, John Sunderland (Mk.), Ed. Bradbry.

## APPENDIX II

THE WILL OF JOHN RODES, OF HORBURY, 1707 (Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York).

IN THE NAME OF GOD AMEN the sixth day of February one thousand seven hundred & seven according to the Computation of the Church of England I John Rodes of Horbury in the County of York Gentleman, being in perfect memory & remembrance, praised by God, doe make & ordaine this my last will & testament, in manner & form following, Viz: first I bequeath my Soull into the hands of God my Maker, hoping through the meritorious death & passion of Jesus Christ my only Saviour & Redeemer, to receive free pardon & forgiveness of all my sins, & as for my body to be buried in Christian buriall, at the discretion of my Executrix hereafter nominated, Item, I give unto my Daughter Elizabeth the sum of one Shilling, Item, I give unto my daughter Ann the Sum of one shilling, Item, I give unto my daughter Margret the sum of one Shilling, Item, I doe give to my daughter Sara the sum of one shilling, Item, I give to my daughter Alice the sum of one Shilling, Item, I doe give unto my daughter Barbara, six roods of land lying in two severall fields of Horbury, that is to say five roods thereof lying together in the bottom of the mill field, the lands of Samuell Wadsworth lying on the South, & ye lands of Francis Rodes on the North, butting upon a Headland of Mr. Thomas Leeke on the East, & the other rood being the remainder of the Sd. six roods lying in the Southfield of Horbury, the lands of Tempest Pollard lying on the West, and the land of Willm. Dawson on the East, butting on Addenforth pasture on the one end, & on a croft called Goodale Ing at the other end, also one Acre more in the West field lying on a Shut called Braconhill, the lands of Fran: Marsden lying on the West, & the lands of Mr. Robert Leek on the East, Item I give unto my daughter Millicent, three Acres & one rood of land lying in two fields of Horbury, two acres in the West field lying on a Shut called Shepstie, six roods thereof butting on a pasture called Addenforth, & the other two roods, the one of them butting upon the said six roods & the other upon a headland of Katherine Issotts, & also one Acre thereof lying in the old northfield, three roods butting on a close called

Pickin on the South, one rood & half lying betwixt Will: Issott on the East, & the land belonging to Lubsitt on the West, the other rood & half lying betwixt the lands of Mr. Tho. Leek on the West & Katherine Issott on the East, & the other rood butting upon two butts belonging to the said Acre, the lands of Mr. Tho. Leek lying on the West, & the lands of Catherine Issott on the east, one rood lying on a shutt called Crambling Tree butting on a close called Broadleigh, the lands of Willm. Issott lying on the West & Joshua Horners on the East, the said Barbara & Millicent to enter unto the sd. Lands at their respective ages of one & twenty years, Item I give unto Ann my wife, one Acre of land lying in the West field of Horbury on a Shutt called Sheepstie (butting cn a pasture called Addenforth, the lands of Willm. Pollard lying on ye west & Mr. Robt. Leek's on the east) to her own proper use & desposing, & lastly all the rest of my goods, Chattells & personall estate whatsoever unbequeathed I give unto Ann my wife, whome I make sole Executrix of this my last Will & Testament, revoking all other Wills & Testamts. In Wittness whereof I have hereunto sett my hand & seall the day & year above written

Signed: John Rodes  
Witnesses: J. Harrison, F. Rodes.

Inventory, 10 May 1710.

	£	s.	d.
His purse and Apparrell .. .. .	2	10	0
In the Kitchin one Range One Spitt .. .. .	0	4	6
One ffrying pan a paire of Tongs i pott .. .. .	0	2	4
One warming pan three pewter Dishes & plates .. .. .	0	6	0
One Long table one Little table six Chairs and other huslements .. .. .	0	10	6
In ye house i Range i table 6 Chaires & other huslements .. .. .	1	1	6
In the Chamber one [?house] One bed & beding 2 Chaires i Chest Six Stooles One Cabinett .. .. .	2	19	6
In the little Chamber Two beds & beding i Chest two Chaires i Clothes press .. .. .	2	15	0
One pan two tubbs 2 Barrells 2 Kitts .. .. .	0	19	6
In the Upper Chamber three Chests & other huslemnt. .. .. .	0	15	0
Two paire of Sheets One table Cloth two dozen of Napkins and other Linnen .. .. .	1	10	0
Two Cowes and one Calfe .. .. .	4	15	0
	18	8	10

Appraised by: David Coope  
W. Addinson  
Richard Brewer  
Joseph Naylor

APPENDIX III

THE WILL OF FRANCIS RODES, OF HORBURY, 1727 (Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York).

In the Name of God Amen I ffrancis Rodes of Horbury in the County of York being Infirme in body but of pfect Mind and Memory (praised God for the same) And being Mindfull to dispose of that Worldly Estate wherewith it hath pleased Almighty God to blesse Mee do Make Constitute and Appoint this my Last will and Testament in manner and forme following (that is to say)  
ffirst and principally I bequeath my Soule into the hands of Almighty God who gave it mee and my body to the Earth to be Decently buried at the discretion of my Executor herin and hereafter named in sure and Certaine hopes of a Joyfull resurection at the last day And as touching the disposicon of that Worldly Estate wherewith it hath pleased Almighty God to blesse mee my Will and mind is and I do hereby dispose of the same as followeth As for and Concerning the Close Called Dudfleet or as much thereof as is Copyhold I doe hereby Authorize and Impower



my son in Law George Bracebridge and David Cowpe the Elder both of Horbury to sell the same for the paying of my Just debts and funerall Expenses and the Remaindr or Overplus thereof if any therbe I give unto my Executor hereafter named he paying unto my son John Rhodes the sume of ffive shillings in full of what he may or can Claime out of my Estate whethr Reall or psonall Also I give and bequeath unto my grand Daughtr Bridgett Bracebridge the sume of five shillings out of my money at intrest Also unto Hannah Drake Margarett Bracebridge Sarah Mitchell Rachell Bracebridge Elizabeth Senior Mary Bracebridge Godfrey Bracebridge Anne Bracebridge and John Bracebridge Sons and Daughters of the abovesd George Bracebridge And also unto Enoch Cowpe Joseph Cowpe Frances Cowpe and Hannah Cowpe Sons and Daughters of Samuell Cowpe all of them my Grand Children Each of them the sume of three pounds to bee paid to them out of my said money att intrest by my Executor hereafter named within the space of one whole year after the Death of Sarah Bracebridge my Daughter and my will and mind further is that the Interest of my said money due to me upon bond or other security shall be paid unto my Daughter Sarah now wife of the said George Bracebridge for and dureing the Terme of her Naturall Life and then the said sume of three pounds a peice shall be paid unto my said Grand Children above-named as above directed and if any of them shall happen to dye before the time of paymt Shall Come my Will and mind is that the share of him or her so dyeing before the time of paymt come shall be Equally divided amongst the Survivor or Survivors of them Share and Share alike they or such of them as hapen to dye without Issue his or their share to be divided And I do hereby make nominate and appoint my son in Law George Bracebridge of Horbury aforesd Executor of this my last Will and Testament hereby Revokeing and makeing Void all other Wills by me formerly and heretofore made IN WITNESSE whereof I have hereunto sett and put to my hand and seall this Thirtieth day of January in the first year of the Reigne of our Sovraigne Lord George the Second by the grace of God of Great Brittain ffrance and Ireland King Defender of the faith etc Anno Dm 1727.

FRANCIS RODES

Witnesses: Tho: Goodall, Robert Walker (mk.), Thomas Wallis.

*Inventory, 14 December 1729*

							£	s.	d.
Purse and Apparell	..	..	..	..	..	..	0	10	0
Bed and Bedding	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	0	0
One Cupboard	..	..	..	..	..	..	0	4	0
Six Chairs	..	..	..	..	..	..	0	4	0
Two Little Tables	..	..	..	..	..	..	0	2	6
A Range and things belonging to it			..	..	..	..	0	5	0
A Little pot and pan	..	..	..	..	..	..	0	2	0
An Old Warming pan	..	..	..	..	..	..	0	1	0
A Trunk	..	..	..	..	..	..	0	0	6
Sume							2	9	0

Appraisde by: Geo: Broadhead (mk.)  
 John fferrand  
 Joseph Hunt (mk.)  
 Samuel Drake

APPENDIX IV

THE WILL OF JOHN RODES, OF HORBURY, 1745 (Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York).

IN THE NAME OF GOD AMEN I John Rodes late of Barlebrough in the County of Derby but now of Horbury in the County of York Gentleman being very Ill in Body but of a Sound and Disposing Mind and Memory (praised be Almighty God for the same) Do Make and Ordain this my last Will and Testament in Manner and Form



following And first I commend my Soul into the Hands of Almighty God hoping thro' the Meritorious Death and passion of my Blessed Saviour and Redeemer Jesus Christ to obtain full and Free pardon and Remission of All my sins and my Body I commit to the Earth to be decently Buried at the discretion of my Executrix hereinafter-named AND WHEREAS I have by my writing of Surrender bearing even date herewith Surrendered and given up with a Straw into the hands of the Lord of the Mannour of Wakefield in the said County of York ALL and Singular my Copyhold Messuages Cottages Lands Tenements and Hereditaments whatsoever with their and every of their Appurtenances situate Standing lying and being in Horbury aforesaid or elsewhere within the said Mannour in whose Tenures or Occupations soever the same now are or be To all such Uses Intents Limitations and Purposes as I the said John Rodes should in and by my last Will and Testament give devise Limitt and Appoint the same and to and for none Other Use Intent or purpose whatsoever as in and by the said in part recited Writing of surrender Relation being thereunto had Will more fully appear now it is my Will and Mind and I do hereby give devise and bequeath after the Payment of my just Debts and Funeral Expences as well all my Copyhold and Freehold Estate and Estates with All the Hereditaments and Appurtenances to the same belonging situate lying and being at Horbury aforesaid or Elsewhere as also all my Personal Estate unto my Loving Wife Susanna and her Assigns for and during the Term of Her Natural Life if she so long Continues my Widow (except out of my said Real Estate a Certain piece or parcel of Woody ground commonly called the Spring lying in Horbury aforesaid with the Hereditaments and Appurtenances thereunto belonging which I give devise and Bequeath to my three Daughters Anne Susanna and Mellicent Rodes To hold to them their Heirs and Assigns for ever as Tenants in Common and not as Joint Tenants) But it is my Will and Mind and I do expressly Charge that my said loving Wife Susanna shall out of the Rents Issues and profits and proceed and Interest of my said Real and personal Estates pay and Apply so much thereof as will be necessary and sufficient for the Maintenance and Education of my said Three Daughters according to their Rank and Condition until they shall respectively attain their respective ages of Twenty One Years or be respectively Married which shall first happen And from and Immediately after my said loving Wife Susanna's decease or Marriage which shall first happen next after my decease I give Devise and Bequeath All my said Estate and Estates as well Real as personal to her devised as aforesaid with all the Hereditaments and Appurtenances whatsoever to the same belonging (Except such part of my personal Estate as I have hereafter particularly devised) unto my said three Daughters Anne Susannah and Mellicent Rodes To hold to them their Heirs Executors Administrators and Assigns for ever as Tenants in Common and not as Joint Tenants but in Case any of my said Three Daughters shall happen to die after the decease or Marriage of my said loving Wife Susanna which shall first happen next after my decease and before they shall have Attained their respective Ages of Twenty One Years or be respectively Married Then I give devise and Bequeath the Share or Shares of my said Real and personal Estate and Estates of her or them so dying to the Survivour and Survivours of her or Them and the Heirs Executors administrators and assigns of such Survivour and Survivours for ever To hold as Tenants in Common and not as Joint Tenants And in Case All my said Daughters shall happen to Dye after the decease or Marriage of my said loving Wife Susannah which first happens next after my decease and before they shall have Attained their respective ages of Twenty One Years or be respectively Married then I give Devise and Bequeath All my said Real Estate with the Hereditaments thereunto belonging unto my three Sisters Barbara & Mellicent Rodes and Sarah fletcher or Such of them as Shall be living at the death of the Survivour of my said Daughters and to their Assigns for and during the Term of their Natural Lives and the Life of the longer liver of them and from and Immediately after the decease of the Survivour of them I give devise and Bequeath unto my Nephew John Coope All those two Closes called DoveCoat Closes with the Calf Croft thereto adjoining and the Hereditaments and Appurtenances to the same belonging To hold to him his Heirs and Assigns for ever And All the rest and residue of my said Real Estate I give devise and Bequeath the Same with the Hereditaments and Appurtenances thereunto belonging unto my said Nephew John Coope and all the rest of my Heirs at Law To hold to them their Heirs and Assigns for ever as Tenants in Common and not as Joint Tenants But in case my said loving Wife shall happen to marry again then



I give and Bequeath unto her her Executors and Administrators for ever the Sum of One Hundred pounds to be paid out of my said personal Estate And after my said Beloved Wife's Death or Marriage which shall first happen next after my decease and before my said Daughters shall have Attained their respective ages of Twenty One Years or be respectively Married then I give the Care Tuition and guardianship of them unto my said two Sisters Barbara and Mellicent Rodes my Trustees hereafter named paying and allowing them such reasonable Charges and Expences as they shall be put unto AND I do desire that the Reverend Mr. John Scott of Horbury Mr. Ralph Cliffe and my said Nephew John Coope would be Aiding and Assisting to my said loving Wife in the due Execution of this my last Will and Testament and that they the said Mr. John Scott Mr. Ralph Cliffe and my Nephew John Coope upon my said loving Wife's Death or Marriage which shall first happen next after my decease and before my said three Daughters shall have Attained their respective Ages of Twenty One Years or be respectively Married would take upon them the Government and Management of my said Estate and Estates before devised to my said three Daughters But it is my Will and Mind that they shall deduct out of the same all such reasonable Charges and expences as they shall expend and be put unto AND LASTLY I do hereby make Nominate Constitute and Appoint my said loving wife Susanna Sole Executrix of this my last Will and Testament hereby revoking disanulling and Making Void All former and other Wills by me heretofore made IN WITNESS whereof I the said John Rodes have to this my last Will and Testament Contained on three sheets of paper to the ffirst and second sheet sett my hand and to the third & last Sheet sett my hand and Seal this Thirteenth day of June In the Year of Our Lord One Thousand seven Hundred and Forty five

Signed: Jno. Rodes.

Witnesses: John Carter, Thomas Johnson, R: Towne.

*Inventory, 26 July 1745.*

	£	s.	d.
Purse and Apparel .. .. .	2	2	0
In the Kitchen			
Range End Irons Grate and Bow .. .. .	0	15	0
ffire Shovel poker and Tongs .. .. .	0	3	6
3 Spits .. .. .	0	2	6
Chafeing Dish Dripping Pan 2 toasting Jacks 1 pr. of [? baled] Bellows	0	4	0
1 ffrying pan 1 Warming pan 2 Tea Kettles & 2 Coffee Cans ..	0	15	0
1 Box Iron with Heaters & 3 [? baled] Irons .. .. .	0	7	0
1 Tin Oven with the ffurniture & 6 petty pans .. .. .	0	2	0
2 Brass Candlesticks 1 pr. of Brass Snuffers 1 Brass Candle[?stick] ..	0	7	6
One Dresser & pewter Case .. .. .	0	10	6
25 pewter plates & 16 pewter Dishes .. .. .	2	0	0
1 Square Table 1 Ceild Chair & 6 ffamed Chaires .. .. .	0	12	0
One Looking Glass 1 Seve 1 Lantron & 1 Bridle & Saddle .. .. .	0	10	0
One Winter Hedge 1 Stool 1 Iron Merk 1 Cannester 1 Tin Cover 1 Tin Spitting Box & 1 Copper Can .. .. .	0	3	0
In the Back Kitchen			
1 Lead with a Copper Bottom & 1 large set pot .. .. .	2	7	6
3 Brewing Vessels & 1 Soe .. .. .	1	0	0
2 Brass box pans and 2 Copper Sauce pans .. .. .	0	5	0
2 Water Kits 1 flaskit 1 lading pigeon 1 Tunell & one Hanging Iron pot	0	9	0
One old Table and fform 6 Trenchers 1 Wood Bowl & 2 Close Baskets	0	2	0
In the pantry			
1 Churn 1 Milking Kit 1 Bowl 4 Barrels & four pewter Chamber pots	0	12	0





In the ffold							£	s.	d.
1 Bottle Cratch & 4 doz. of Bottles	..	..	..	..	..	..	0	9	0
Chicken Cull ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	0	6	0
One lead Cestern	..	..	..	..	..	..	0	6	0
Linnen									
14 pair of Sheets & 12 pair of pillow Drawers	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	10	0
One Damask Table Cloth 9 Huggaback Table Cloths and two Doz: of	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	10	0
Napkins ..	..	..	..	..	..	..			
							<hr/>		
							68	18	6
							<hr/>		

Appraised by: Rd. Towne  
 Tho: Goodall  
 David Coape  
 Wm. Sunderland

APPENDIX V  
PEDIGREE OF RODES, OF HORBURY

FRANCIS RODES, of Staveley Woodthorpe and Barlborough Hall, Co. Derby, a Justice of the Common Pleas; died 1588. = (1) ELIZABETH, daughter of BRIAN SANDFORD, of Thorp Salvin, Co. York. = (2) MARY, daughter of FRANCIS CHARLTON, of Apsley, Co. Salop.

ANN, daughter of (1) = SIR JOHN RODES, of Barlborough Hall, Co. Derby; died 1639, aged 77. = (2) DOROTHY, daughter of GEORGE SAVILE, of Wakefield. = (3) FRANCES, daughter of MARMADUKE CONSTABLE of Holderness, Co. York, and widow of HENRY CHEEKE. Other Issue A *quo* RODES of Great Houghton Co. York.

JOHN RODES, of Horbury, died 1661. = (1) MARGARET, daughter of HENRY NEVILLE, of Chevet; married 1616. = (2) ALICE . . . . , died 1688/9. A *quo* RODES, of Barlborough.

JOHN RODES, of Horbury; baptized 1637, died 1709/10. = ANN AUDSLEY, married 1671, died 1732/3. SARA, baptized 1640, died 1715. GODFREY, baptized 1644, died 1669. DOROTHY, baptized 1647/8, died 1687. GRACE, baptized 1652, married 1673. = JOHN HAGUE. FRANCIS RODES, of Horbury; baptized 1642, died 1728. = HANNAH THORNES, married 1670/1, died 1695.

JOHN, baptized and died 1679. ANN, baptized 1674, living 1707. MARGARET, baptized 1676, living 1707. ELIZABETH, baptized 1672, married 1693, living 1707 = DAVID COUPE. SARA, baptized 1680, living 1745 = . . . . FLETCHER. ALICE, baptized 1682/3, married 1704 = JOHN ECKLES, of Rastrick. BARBARA, baptized 1685, living 1745. MILLICENT, baptized 1689, buried 1761. JOHN RODES, baptized 1685, living 1727. SARAH, baptized 1671/2, married 1692/3 = GEORGE BRACEBRIDGE. HANNAH, baptized 1674. RACHEL, baptized 1676, died 1683. ABIGAIL, baptized 1679, died 1679/80. RACHEL, baptized 1688, died 1695. MARY, baptized 1680/1, married 1703 = SAMUEL COWPE.

JOHN RODES, of Barlborough and of Northgate in Horbury; baptized 1692, died 1745. = SUSANNA CLIFFE, living 1745.

ANN RODES = THOMAS WRIGHT of Harthill, Co. York. SUSANNA RODES, = JOSEPH WALKER baptized 1736 married 1770. MILLICENT RODES, baptized 1738, died unmarried 1791.

See Appendix VI.





## APPENDIX VI

## PEDIGREE OF WRIGHT, STAVELEY, COLTON-FOX, PENNY and BOUMPHREY, SHOWING THE DESCENT FROM RODES OF HORBURY



THOMAS WRIGHT, of Harthill, = ANNE, daughter of JOHN RODES, of Barlborough  
born 1723, died 1794. and Horbury; born 1734/5, married 1754, died 1806.

WILLIAM = ANN, daughter of FRANCIS STAVELEY, of North Anston; born 1755. A  
JOHN WRIGHT, of Waleswood and Harthill; born 1758, died 1834.  
ELIZABETH, daughter of WILLIAM FOX, of Todwick Grange; born 1763, married 1784, died 1828.  
MILLCENT = JOHN STAVELEY, of Worksop and North Anston; born 1763, died 1797, and buried at Tickhill. 1786.  
HANNAH = EDWARD SHIRT, of Wales, Co. York. born 1771.  
Other Issue, all of whom died young.

JOHN WRIGHT, = HANNAH of Anston. ....  
Other Issue  
MATILDA = JOHN STAVELEY-SHIRT, of Wales and Harthill; born 1793, married 1829, died 1871.  
JOHN STAVELEY-SHIRT, killed at the storming of Badajos, 1812; unmarried.  
WILLIAM STAVELEY, of North Anston; born 1793, died 1832.  
JANE BOWER, born 1797, married 1819, died at Liverpool, 1851.  
JOHN SHIRT, of Wales died unmarried, 1845, and devised his estates to his cousin, JOHN STAVELEY.

ELIZABETH = CHARLES STAVELEY SHIRT, born 1830, married 1867. BOOTH, of Ecclesfield.  
MATILDA STAVELEY = BERNARD PLATTS SHIRT, born 1835, married at Liverpool, 1861. BROOMHEAD-COLTON-FOX, of Wales (j.u.) and of Sheffield, Solicitor; died at Sheffield, 1893.  
FRANCIS STAVELEY, of Liverpool; born at North Anston, 1819, died at Liverpool, 1883.  
ELLEN, daughter of EDWARD JONES, of Tanyrowen, Co. Flint; born there, 1817, married 1844, died 1873.  
JOHN STAVELEY, of Sheffield; born at Anston, 1822, died unmarried 1850.  
WILLIAM STAVELEY, born at Anston, 1824, emigrated to Australia and is thought to have married and had issue there.  
THOMAS CHARLES STAVELEY, of Liverpool, baptized at Anston, 1826, died unmarried 1852.  
GEORGE STAVELEY, baptized at Anston, 1828, died 1829.  
ANNE STAVELEY, died 1822.

JOHN STAVELEY COLTON-FOX, of Todwick Grange, J.P.; born 1865, died 1942. = HELEN AGNES daughter of THOMAS NORTON LONGMAN, of Hemel Hempstead; married 1909.  
GEORGE BROOMHEAD, born 1866.  
MARIAN BROOMHEAD, born 1863.  
FRANCIS STAVELEY, born 1850, died 1852.  
JOHN STAVELEY, of Liverpool; born 1857, died unmarried.  
JANE ELIZABETH STAVELEY, born at Liverpool, 1847, married at Tranmere, Co. Chester, 1870, died at Seasalter, Co. Kent, 1935.  
MATTHIAS BOUMPHREY, of Liverpool and Wallasey, Corn Merchant; born at Liverpool, 1844, died 1914.  
ELLEN ANNE STAVELEY, born 1849, died 1852.  
MATILDA STAVELEY, born 1853, died 1854.

PAMELA COLTON-FOX, = PETER GEORGE 2nd VISCOUNT MARCHWOOD, of the Manor House, Cholderton, Wilts.; born at Singapore, 1912. married 1935.  
FRANCIS CHARLES STAVELEY BOUMPHREY, born 1873, died 1880.  
HAROLD STAVELEY BOUMPHREY = SUSAN EVELYN, daughter of JAMES KNOWLES HOUSDEN, of Hoylake and Heswall, Co. Chester, and of Liverpool, Corn Merchant; born at Hoylake, 1883, married at Liverpool, 1913. Assistant Superintendent Engineer of the White Star Line in Liverpool; born at Liverpool, 1876, died at Bootle, Co. Lancaster, 1920.  
ELINOR STAVELEY = WILLIAM BOUMPHREY, born 1872, died without issue, 1943. VILLIERS RYAN, died without issue.  
MAX STAVELEY BOUMPHREY, S.R.N. born 1884, unmarried.  
JOSEPH STAVELEY BOUMPHREY, = MAUD WEST of Abersoch, North Wales, Consulting Engineer; born at Oxtun, Co. Chester, 1881, died 1951. born 1881, died 1937.

HON. DAVID GEORGE STAVELEY PENNY, born 1936.  
HON. PATRICK GLYN PENNY, born 1939.  
HON. CAROL ANN PENNY, born 1948.  
ROBERT STAVELEY = NAOMI EMELITA, daughter of WILLIAM MACLEAN HOUSDEN, of Antofagasta, Chile, Nitrate Merchant; born at Antofagasta, 1917, married at Liverpool, 1943. M.B.E., M.A., of Durham, formerly of the Colonial Audit Service; born at Bootle, 1916.  
JOHN STAVELEY = (1) PHYLLIS DORA, daughter of JOSEPH CLARKE, of Burton-on-Trent; born 1914, married at Ashted, Co. Surrey, 1940, died at Caterham, Co. Surrey, 1947. M.B.E., M.Sc., of the East African Railways and Harbours; born at Bootle, 1918.  
= (2) ELIZABETH daughter of, GEORGE WILLIAM WILLIAMSON, of Belfast; born at Cleethorpes, Co. Lincoln, 1922, married at Mill Hill, 1951.  
JOAN STAVELEY = RODERICK AYS COUGH FRASER BOUMPHREY, born at Bootle, 1915, married at Liverpool, 1936. FARQUHARSON, A.F.C., of Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, formerly a Tea Planter in Ceylon; born at Haloya, Peradeniya, Ceylon, 1908. (see Burke's Landed Gentry. Farquharson of Langton).  
SYLVIA MAUD = ALBERT WHARTON BOUMPHREY, born at Birkenhead, 1902, married there 1923. Assistant Superintendent Engineer, of the White Star Line in Liverpool; born at Hoole, Co. Chester, 1879.

DAVID STAVELEY BOUMPHREY born at Southwark, 1944.  
ROBERT STAVELEY BOUMPHREY born at Port Stanley, Falkland Islands, 1947.  
JANET STAVELEY BOUMPHREY born at Singapore, 1957.  
FRANCIS ROBERT STAVELEY BOUMPHREY, born at Liverpool, 1943.  
WILLIAM STAVELEY BOUMPHREY, born at Nairobi, Kenya, 1955.  
SUSAN STAVELEY BOUMPHREY, born at London, 1952.  
MICHAEL GEORGE FARQUHARSON, born at Stanwix, Carlisle, Co. Cumberland, 1941.  
GORDON FRASER FARQUHARSON, born at Hatton, Ceylon, 1949.  
GAIL SUSANNE FARQUHARSON, born at Four Marks, Co. Hants, 1946.  
JOSEPH KEITH WHARTON, born at Bootle, 1923.  
LEIGH WHARTON born at Bootle, 1924.





## REVIEWS

*The Excavation of Staple Howe*, by T. C. M. Brewster. The East Riding Archaeological Research Committee, Malton, Yorks., 1963. 35s.

The most comprehensive, lucid, profusely illustrated and interesting excavation report it has been my privilege to read. As an account of the only completely excavated late Hallstatt (Iron Age A) site in Western Europe, it is unique. In addition to 95 figures and 39 plates, it contains four superb colour plates.

Archaeology owes an incalculable debt to Mr. Brewster who, during the last twelve years, while pursuing a full time job as a schoolmaster, has carried out the excavation, undertaken the attendant research and finally written the report, of this remarkable site. Most of the expense of both the excavation and of the publication of this report has been met by Mr. Brewster out of his own pocket. This represents a dedicated and self-sacrificing devotion to scholarship which it would be very difficult to match in this present day and age. The excavation techniques employed, the method of recording the finds, the photography, the plans, drawings of finds and the general presentation of the report constitute models which other archaeologists—professional as well as ‘amateur’—can only hope to equal.

The drawings of the reconstructed defences and of the buildings make the site and the people who made them between two- and three-thousand years ago ‘live’ in a way that few pre-historic excavation reports do. Specialist interests are not neglected and one section which will have a particular appeal to them is that on the pottery. This contains an intriguing account of the techniques employed in the manufacture of the pottery found on the site and brings together for the first time the other Yorkshire, British and European parallels.

This work not only adds a chapter to one of the least known periods of Yorkshire history but adds a major footnote to the history of pre-historic Europe. I predict that it will, before long, rank as a classic.

L. P. WENHAM

*The Wool Trade in Tudor and Stuart England*, by P. J. Bowden. Macmillan, 1962. 35s.

In this scholarly and well-balanced book Dr. Bowden traces the development of the trade in wool during a crucial phase. Using much unpublished evidence he surveys the supply of wool for the cloth industry, marketing and the regulation of the trade. In doing so he illuminates several hitherto dark corners of English regional history and at the same time links his specific theme with the general economic changes—and consequent social problems—of a period in which ‘sheep devoured men’ and in which, therefore, wool trade and cloth manufacture appeared excessively to dominate the commonwealth. Finally one must emphasize that those interested in the history of Yorkshire will find here much new and stimulating material.

G. C. F. FORSTER

*A History of Yorkshire*, ed. P. M. Tillott: *The City of York (The Victoria History of the Counties of England)*, ed. R. B. Pugh: Oxford University Press, for the Institute of Historical Research, University of London, 1961).

The original design of the *Victoria History of the County of York* provided for four sets of volumes. Of these only two were published, the three ‘general’ volumes (geology, industry, religious houses, etc. 1907-13) and the two topographical volumes for the North Riding (1914-23). This design made no proper provision for the city of York; it is fitting, therefore, that the new organization which is



hoping to continue and complete the Victoria History of Yorkshire should devote one whole and very substantial volume to York. This is to be greeted as the first volume of the Victoria Histories on any part of the six northern counties to be published since 1928; and the gain to York by the new scheme may be measured by comparing it with, say, the treatment of the city of Winchester in 1912.

The book is divided into two main sections. Part I gives the general history of the city in six chronological chapters from Roman York to 1959; part II consists of a large number of chapters (not as short as they look for they are printed in double column) on early antiquities, the Minster, charities, schools, public services, transport and so on to the insignia and the seals. Within its terms of reference it is thus comprehensive and certainly authoritative. Since the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments has already published its volume on Roman York, the section on Roman Antiquities has been somewhat abbreviated; in view of the Commission's forthcoming volumes on mediaeval and later York, the architectural descriptions of the Minster, the churches and other buildings are similarly given only in outline. It is a fine and a handsome work, in the revived Victoria History's modern manner, a vast work of reference. If, in parts, a little more discussion and comparison with other places might have been welcome, all the facts about York and its history that any-one but the most specialized specialist could possibly want must surely be here, fully documented, with some fine illustrations as well. The editor must be congratulated on bringing his large team of contributors to the point of publication in such a relatively short time.

J. LE PATOUREL

*A History of Helmsley, Rievaulx and District* by Members of the Helmsley and Area Group of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society (ed. J. McDonnell), Stonegate Press, York, 1963. 45s.

The Helmsley Group are to be congratulated on the production of this admirable work: may it inspire other groups of the Y.A.S. to undertake similar projects! Students of all periods of history will find here much that is new. The archaeological sections made the greatest appeal to me, particularly as this is the first time that an authoritative account of the discoveries in the remarkable Windypits has appeared in print. Mr. R. H. Hayes and his co-workers are to be congratulated on what was clearly an arduous and dangerous examination of these fissures. One of the Windypits (Antofts) was no less than 100 ft. deep! The plotting of the 100 + Bronze Age cairns on Smilesworth Moor around Iron Howe (Fig. v)—made possible by a moor fire in 1961—by Mr. J. G. Rutter and his helpers is yet another example of the feast of new archaeological material available. The printing is excellent, the half-tone plates good, the line drawings fair. To those anxious to bring up to date their knowledge of one Yorkshire region this book is a 'must'.

L. P. WENHAM

*The Viking Century in East Yorkshire* by A. L. Binns. East Yorkshire Local History Society, 1963. 5s.

Those who have been privileged to hear Mr. Binns lecture on various topics connected with the Viking age in Europe will need no incentive to purchase this volume. In it Mr. Binns has instilled scholarship of a very high order, displaying an unrivalled command over the literature, language and art of what is still one of the least known periods of Yorkshire history. This work ranks as the most authoritative yet published on this period. It has an excellent map, five plates and a most useful bibliography. The East Yorkshire Local History Society is to be congratulated on the production of yet another important work in their regional studies.

L. P. WENHAM

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Subventions are gratefully acknowledged towards the costs of two of the articles printed in this *Journal*—from the Sedbergh School Sedgwick Society for the *Two Medieval Sites near Sedbergh* and from the Council of British Archaeology for the *Mesolithic Sites in South-west Yorkshire*.

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## Notice

### INDEX TO THE YORKSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL JOURNAL

An *Analytical Index to the Contents of the Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, vols. xxxi—xl (1934-1962) is now available. It has been compiled by Miss A. G. Foster in the same style as the Index to the first thirty volumes published in 1939 and is issued in stiff paper covers. Price 2/6d. (post-free 2/9d.)

The Society still has a small stock of the *Index* to vols. i—xxx available at the same price. Application should be made to the Librarian, 10 Park Place, Leeds, enclosing remittance.





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THE  
Yorkshire  
Archaeological Journal.

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF  
THE COUNCIL  
OF THE  
Yorkshire Archaeological Society.

PART 162.  
(BEING THE SECOND PART OF VOLUME XLI).  
*[ISSUED TO MEMBERS ONLY].*



PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY BY  
THE WEST YORKSHIRE PRINTING CO. LIMITED, WAKEFIELD.

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THE  
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THE YORKSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY  
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## COMMEMORATION OF THE CENTENARY OF THE SOCIETY (1863-1963)

(Contributed by the President and members of the Society.)

When the Yorkshire Archaeological Society held the celebrations for its seventy-fifth year of life, the record occupied an entire issue of the Journal. If less space is now given to the record of the Centenary, the reasons are not by any means that the occasion is considered less important or memorable. One outstanding reason, and probably the strongest of all, is the enormous rise in the cost of printing, especially during the past few years; while the income of the Society has not increased in anything like the same proportion, the essential charges on its resources have all increased heavily. It was decided therefore, in fixing the form of the record, to concentrate on giving the main commentaries and speeches, while avoiding certain lengthinesses of the 75th anniversary number, and on emphasizing the outstanding feature of the last period of 25 years, which has been the remarkable growth of specialized Sections or Groups and affiliated Societies. To some extent, the whole Journal is a record of the Society's progress and development.

### THE GROWTH OF THE SOCIETY

This year the Yorkshire Archaeological Society looks back to its very beginnings one hundred years ago. It may do so with feelings of real satisfaction and a very justifiable pride, for that century has seen a consistent and often rapid growth from small beginnings to an established position of honour amongst the learned Societies of its own kind in this country and even more widely in the world.

Its origins were undoubtedly small. To go back to the very beginning, we must go to the small private meetings of a few persons in the Huddersfield district who shared an interest in local archaeology. These were: 'The Rev. Thomas James, The Rev. George Lloyd, Mr. H. J. Morehouse, Mr. Dyson, Mr. Dyson Junior, and Mr. Nelson.' These met on 1 April 1863 in Netherthong Parsonage at the invitation of the Rev. Thomas James. Previously they had met at one another's houses for discussion of local archaeological matters, but they evidently felt that the time was ripe for something more regular and more ambitious. So the group met at Netherthong with the definite purpose of forming an 'Archaeological Association' for Huddersfield and its neighbourhood. The meeting went to work in a businesslike way, and elected its officials, with Mr. Lloyd as its first Honorary Secretary; he kept minute books from this very first meeting, which are now of great value. In the first year the group, with a new proposed title of 'The Huddersfield

Archaeological and Topographical Association', had grown to a membership of 48, and on 11 November 1864 held its first General Meeting, which elected a Council and Officers and recorded the names of members then on the roll. Almost from the start it appeared necessary to extend the scope of the new Society; by 1865 the area of its operations and interests had grown from the original Kirkburton and Almondbury to the whole Deanery of Huddersfield and then to the South West area of the County; many interested persons were reluctant to join a Society so restricted as this was at first. The rules therefore were revised before the General Meeting on 3 June 1865, when the membership was approaching 70. The original purpose of the Society is worth quoting at some length; it was declared to be 'the examination and preservation of ancient records by search for ancient charters and documents in every parish, not only among the landed proprietors but also among the working classes . . . . Many documents of public and local interest are lying neglected and going rapidly to decay in the lumber rooms of private families, and a periodical clearance of them is made—some to the waste paper baskets, others sold by a thrifty housekeeper to the family grocer or the neighbouring chandler' . . . . words which are still not altogether out of date. Some horrifying examples of destruction are given:—a solicitor who made it a rule to destroy all documents over sixty years old; a clergyman who acquired the archives of an old family, packed them in sacks and dealt them out as needed to the housemaid for firing; old parchment deeds used to line the underdrawing of a house to keep out rain; a large quantity of deeds relating to Roche Abbey sold at a penny a sheet to make kites for 'the juveniles of that locality.'

Even by this early date the young Society had taken the important step of opening another great branch of its activities, by beginning and carrying out excavations at Slack, and this interest in excavation was maintained and extended. In 1866 we find Mr. H. J. Morehouse, one of the original founders, describing and expanding the objects of the Society as follows: 'examining preserving and illustrating the ancient monuments which exist around us—whether in the form of earthworks, Druidical or Roman remains, ecclesiastical buildings or other ancient edifices; the transcribing of ancient charters, deeds, pedigrees, and other documentary evidences; noting down the ancient customs of our ancestors and all matters bearing upon the ancient history of the parishes within the Rural Deanery of Huddersfield; the whole being intended to supply materials for a complete history of those parishes.' Thus by the end of 1867 the main features and activities of the Society were already established, for in August 1867 the first Excursion was held, to Kirkheaton, Kirkburton and Almondbury, and the first attempts at publications and a Library had begun to take form. Moreover, the Society had acquired a home in New Street, Huddersfield, which continued to be its headquarters until the removal in 1896 to 10 Park Street, Leeds, which it shared with the Thoresby Society. In 1924 10 Park Place, Leeds, was purchased and has continued as the Society's headquarters ever since.



But expansion and development continued to take place; members increased steadily in numbers and were drawn from places more widely distributed in the County, many of them much outside the original limits of the Huddersfield area. In 1870 the membership was almost double that of three years before, and the advisability of a change of name was becoming so obvious that the first step was taken on 31 August 1870, when the Society became 'The Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Society'; fifteen years later the final change was made to the present title. The change was significant; the Society was no longer narrowly local in character, but extended its interests and activities to the whole County, and this wider reference has been carefully preserved against rising difficulties consequent on such a wide-spread field of operations and the vigorous growth of other local archaeological societies with similar aims and activities.

From 1869 onwards, one of the most important and certainly one of the most significant and useful activities of the Society has been the publication of a 'Journal,' which from the beginning has set itself a high standard and has enjoyed a high reputation amongst its kind. For many years two parts a year were published, making a volume of about 500 pages. If a selection may be made of outstanding contributors in the first fifty years, the following names would add lustre to the productions of any Archaeological Society:—Canon J. T. Fowler, Canon James Raine, Mill Stephenson, J. W. Walker, J. T. Micklethwaite, Sir W. H. St. John Hope, John Bilson and H. B. McCall, each an expert in his own line of study, and with a wide range of subjects. In 1884 another great addition was established in the formation of the Record Series. This was designed to publish edited transcripts of more extensive and serious books and other MSS. which could not well be included in the Journal. These volumes are of high value to students and those engaged in research and have added greatly to the reputation of the Society. For example, in recent years complete sets of the Journal and the Record Series have been purchased by Universities in Japan. A further development of this Series has been the 'Extra Series', which is the continuation by Sir Charles Clay, a past President of the Society, of a monumental work on Yorkshire Charters begun for the Society by William Farrer. It is most welcome and timely that the latest volume, on the Percy Fee, is issued simultaneously with our Centenary celebrations.

One only of the activities of the Society has not survived the years, although not entirely restricted to our members. In 1899 'for some time it had been recognized by members of the Society that it would be of great advantage to them to establish a club for social and antiquarian purposes in connection with the Society'. The 'Yorkshire Tykes Club' was therefore formed, to be open to members of Yorkshire Antiquarian Societies only, with the following objects, 'to dine together, to promote antiquarian research, and to promote good fellowship . . . .' all highly estimable purposes. The

Officers were an Archtyke, a Bagman who was in charge of the funds of the Club, a Terrier who collected and displayed exhibits before a meeting, and a Turnspit who was the 'general factotum of the Club, acting as Secretary, ordering dinners and beverages, ringing the bell, and generally attending to the comfort of the members as well as answering for all shortcomings and mishaps.' The Club designed its own facetious coat of arms, and with three meetings a year proved a great success; the number of members, restricted to fifty, was generally full. Alas! it did not survive the First World War.

The change from a small local society to one covering the whole of the County was ambitious and not without its dangers. One of these was the difficulty found in attending meetings by members who were really interested but found the journey to Leeds either inconvenient or beyond their powers. This was met to some extent by the issue of the 'Journal,' although here a difficulty of another kind is the enormous rise in the cost of printing. But with the course of time a growing danger has been competition, although friendly, with a large number of local societies which have been formed much in the same way as our own Society and with the same objects. This might have been expected to affect our membership, but in fact has not done this so seriously as might have been anticipated. Our members continue to be drawn from all parts of the County, and the Council is careful to see that this is encouraged and that there is no narrowing of our interests for local ends. Of recent years there has been a development which seems to go far to answer this problem. This is the formation of a remarkable cluster of separate Sections and of local Groups, either composed chiefly of members of the main Society or affiliated to the Society and so forming to some extent widely dispersed recruiting areas for membership of the parent body. Such Sections and Groups now existing are:—Sections in Prehistory, Roman Antiquities, Local History and Georgian matters, and Groups for Doncaster, Forest of Galtres, Harrogate, Helmsley and area, and Pontefract and District. All are flourishing. In some cases the connection with the parent Society may be somewhat loose, but the system works satisfactorily and mutual relations are happy. Certainly it is a method by which the aims of the Society are brought to a very large part of the County, and the association with the Society has certain advantages for the Groups. All these Groups have their own local activities, and one of them already, the Helmsley Group, has published an ambitious local History which is very creditable to the Group for the richness of the local matter included.

This is no occasion for speculation about the future which may lie still before the Society. But the past history shows ample justification for celebrating the Centenary of a body which from such small beginnings has a record of one hundred years of such eminent service to learning and especially of such untiring and successful efforts to preserve and illuminate the history and antiquities of



Yorkshire, and for looking forward with firm confidence to a future no less distinguished.

## PRINCIPAL OFFICIALS OF THE SOCIETY 1913-1963<sup>1</sup>

### *Presidents.*

Col. John Parker, C.B., F.S.A., (1913-38).

Dr. J. W. Walker, O.B.E., F.R.C.S., F.S.A., (1938-48).

Dr. C. E. Whiting, M.A., D.D., D.C.L., D.Litt., F.S.A., (1948-53).

C. T. Clay (later Sir Charles), C.B., Hon.Litt.D., F.S.A., F.B.A., (1953-56).

Rev. Canon J. S. Purvis, O.B.E., D.D., F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S., (1956- ).

### *Honorary Secretaries.*

E. W. Crossley, (1906-42).

R. J. A. Bunnett, F.S.A., (1942-58).

Miss E. M. Walker, F.S.A., (1958- ).

### *Honorary Editors.*

H. B. McCall, F.S.A., (1906-34).

J. W. Houseman, M.A., (1935-54).

L. P. Wenham, M.A., M.Ed., M.Litt., (1954- ).

## THE SECTIONS AND GROUPS

The Centenary commemorations rightly emphasize the very remarkable feature of the development of specialized Sections (Roman Antiquities Section, Prehistory Research Section, Georgian Section, Local History Study Section and Parish Register Section), and the affiliation of Groups and Societies (Harrogate Group, Doncaster Group, Helmsley Group, The Forest of Galtres Society and The Pontefract and District Archaeological Society), for it is doubtful whether any other County Archaeological Society can show a development equivalent or comparable to this.

The enthusiasm amongst the members of such bodies has brought them through various fortunes from modest beginnings to vigorous life and encouraging prospects. They derive certain benefits from association with the parent Society, especially perhaps during the tender process of formation, they contribute in varied degrees to its many-sided life and strength, and enable it more adequately to cover the interests and to supply the needs of a County so widespread and diverse as Yorkshire. There has been nothing like a process of fragmentation, but rather of the encouragement of more fruit on an old stock. In making this feature a special part of our Centenary celebrations and their record we pay tribute to the enterprise of those who brought into being these Sections and Groups, and to the efforts and sustained enthusiasm of their present members and all who have wished them well, and we affirm our sincere good wishes and hopes for their enduring success in future.

<sup>1</sup> Lists of the officials before 1913 are to be found in *Y.A.J.*, xxiii (1915), p. 45.

## ROMAN ANTIQUITIES SECTION

The Roman Antiquities Committee of the Society was formed in 1910 from the original Roman Antiquities Committee for Yorkshire of the Thoresby Society, the University of Leeds and the Yorkshire Archaeological Society; Sir Nathan Bodington was its first Chairman and Mr. P. M. Ure the first Honorary Secretary. On the death of Sir Nathan in 1911, Col. J. W. R. Parker was elected Chairman and Mr. Dodd succeeded Mr. Ure as Honorary Secretary. The present Chairman is Mr. John La Page, F.S.A., F.R.G.S., F.R.Hist.S., who succeeded Mrs. Derwas Chitty (Miss Mary Kitson Clark) in 1945. There are now 225 members.

A new constitution and the change of name from Roman Antiquities Committee to Roman Antiquities Section were agreed in 1960.

Meetings are held approximately every quarter, a discussion of the business of the Section usually being followed by a lecture; meetings often take the form of a visit to a museum, site or excavation.

*Excavations*

Excavations sponsored by the former Committee or to which substantial financial grants were made have included the following:

Adel	1912
Slack fort	1913-14
Ilkley fort	1919-22
Cawthorn Camps	1923-7
York	1925-6
Bainbridge fort	1926-8
Langton villa	1926, 1930
Crambeck pottery, Castle Howard	1927
Rudston villa	1933-6
Aldborough	1934-8
Almondbury	1939
Catterick	1939, 1952
Well	1938, 1946
Newton Kyme fort	1956-7

*Publications*

In 1926 it was decided to issue a periodical Bulletin to members; on account of the cost of issuing this Bulletin, it was replaced in 1930 by a section on Roman Yorkshire in the Journal of the parent Society; this was later discontinued, but is now to be resumed in the Journal as an annual register of sites and finds, not, however, restricted to the Roman period.

Seven publications have been issued in the Roman Malton and District Series, and one Research Report on excavations at the Roman site of Well, the majority dealing with excavations sponsored by the former Committee. The former series included a *Gazateer of Roman Remains in East Yorkshire* by Mary Kitson Clark, published in 1936. In 1942 the Committee agreed that preparation of a similar



West Yorkshire Gazeteer should be undertaken. Miss Dorothy Greene is now in charge of the preparation of this volume, the section for North-west Yorkshire being compiled by Miss E. M. Walker.

### PREHISTORY RESEARCH SECTION

The Prehistory Research Section was formed in November 1945 with the objects of furthering the study and preservation of prehistoric sites in Yorkshire, arranging for the scheduling of sites by the (then) Office of Works, appointing observers in various parts of the County to report on sites and finds and on threatened damage thereto. The Section wished to co-operate with the Council for British Archaeology in compiling a Survey of Stone Axes and in standardizing the symbols used in map-marking. The Ancient Monuments Department of the Office of Works was asked to consider the erection of plaques on monuments and sites under its care to prevent damage. It was also suggested that the Section might with advantage include research into 'the two lost centuries' after the departure of the Roman Army from Britain.

The Section naturally experienced ups and downs and many of the early ambitions were not in fact achieved, owing mainly to the small number of really interested members.

At the present time the Section is in a strong position, with approximately 130 members and an active programme. Three business meetings, with lectures afterwards, and one excursion are held each year; a Bulletin is published annually; the Section is a member of Group 4 of the Council for British Archaeology and also co-operates with the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments in the compilation of the Yorkshire Archaeological Register, published in the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*.

The Section has made grants towards excavation on a number of occasions and this year is co-operating in an excavation at Skipton directed by Philip Mayes, M.A., extra-mural lecturer, Leeds University. There is also the prospect of the examination of a Mesolithic site by members of the Section under the direction of John Hallam, M.A., Secretary of the Sub-Committee on Pennine Research of the Council for British Archaeology, Groups 4 and 5.

Classes will be held during the coming winter in a much neglected aspect of archaeology—the measuring and drawing of archaeological material.

It is the aim of the Prehistory Research Section to take an active part in research, recording, excavation and the general advancement, at the highest level, of prehistoric archaeology in the County which it serves.

### GEORGIAN SECTION

This Section was formed in 1949 under the chairmanship of the President, Professor C. E. Whiting, Mr. R. J. A. Bunnett acting as convenor. It was concerned with the preservation of buildings of

architectural and historical importance of the period 1700-1820, the conservation of interior features such as staircases and ceilings, the stimulation of interest in Georgian furniture, silver and pottery. It began with a membership of 83, and under the guidance of its Hon. Secretary, Mrs. J. E. Kellett, engaged in a programme of listing Georgian buildings in the West Riding, made representations to the Gower Committee, and arranged a series of useful lectures dealing with the architecture, art and literature of the eighteenth century.

The early Georgian door and surround, formerly at Scarcroft Hall, was a gift to the Section made by the Yorkshire Electricity Board when they were making alterations to the Hall. The Section paid for the stripping and re-polishing of this magnificent door and erected it in the lower Library.

In 1954 Mr. J. C. Scott became Hon. Secretary and the Section was active in the campaign to save Holy Trinity Church, Leeds, from demolition. Mr. J. W. Shaw was able to enlist the active interest of Mr. John Betjeman, who then in conjunction with Lord Rosse successfully developed what was almost a national campaign. A very satisfactory conclusion from the Section's point of view. Then for a year or two interest flagged, but in 1961 a new impetus was given to the Section when, under the Chairmanship of Lord St. Oswald, Mr. Geoffrey Beard was elected Hon. Secretary. He began the distribution of *An Occasional Newsletter*, with items of current 'Georgian' interest and book reviews, but was unable to continue after he became Director of Cannon Hall.

Mr. J. W. Shaw (now Honorary Secretary also) has remained the Hon. Excursions Secretary since the section made its first excursion in 1951 to Bretton Hall, where the magnificent Stable Block had recently been altered greatly to the detriment of its Georgian character. Thanks to his arrangements members have been privileged to visit the finest examples of Georgian architecture in the county, including Harewood House, Sandbeck Park, Womersley Park, Bramham Park, Serlby Hall, Scampston Hall, Heath Hall, Swinton Park and Wentworth Woodhouse. It has always been the object of the Section to visit houses not normally open to the public and which could not otherwise be seen.

### LOCAL HISTORY STUDY SECTION

In the spring of 1953 the Local History Committee (formed in October 1948) was formally constituted a section of its parent body and thenceforth has been known as the Local History Study Section of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society.

Since that time the Section has enjoyed and profited from its participation in, and the promotion of, various activities. On one never-to-be-forgotten occasion members had the good fortune to be invited to examine what must surely have been one of the finest collections in the country of coins minted during the reign of Queen Elizabeth I.



Lecturers from the staffs, both internal and extra-mural, of some of our Yorkshire Universities, of libraries, museums and schools have willingly shared with us their specialized knowledge. One of the fields we have ranged over has been that of Heraldry. Fourteenth century Scottish Raids into Yorkshire; the mediaeval history of towns like Pontefract and Richmond; 'Life in some Yorkshire Boroughs during the Civil War'; 'Recusancy in the West Riding of Yorkshire'; the influence of the Industrial Revolution on the West Riding Wool Textile Industry; the effects of the same Revolution on local home-industries and close-knit community life; all these, and many other topics, have given us food for thought.

We have learned how small villages have grown into fashionable, and then popular, sea-side resorts, coal-mining centres or large industrial towns and cities. Light has been shed on the reasons for the rise and fall of manufacturing families; on the sturdy independence of the 'Little Maisters' of Sheffield and on their stout efforts to resist the encroachment of the neat and tidy mass-production methods of modern 'big-business'. From Romano-British days until recently-modern times, have been traced the methods of mining and smelting the lead obtained from workings in the Yorkshire Pennines.

Members have been shown how documentary evidence for local history may be gleaned from many kinds of records pertaining to state or county, diocese, parish or manor, as well as from those of private families and business concerns of many varieties.

The staffs of several Yorkshire museums have readily given us much useful insight into the methods they themselves employ to stimulate interest in local archaeology and to show young visitors something of the importance and the fascination of local history. Other members have tried to make 'local history' meaningful by the use, where possible, of local material. Primary and Secondary School pupils of all ages, as well as many old students, have been encouraged to observe and to search the ground for artifacts and other evidences of man's activity. Eager and diligent search by Primary School members of one young family has produced archaeological evidence leading to the scientific excavation of at least one important kiln-site where pottery was found to have been produced over a considerable stretch of the mediaeval period.

Small parties of the Section's members have from year to year received much inspiration from their visits to some of the following places of interest: the Educational Museum of the University of Leeds; Cartwright Hall, Bradford; Kirkstall Abbey and its Museum; the Library of the Dean and Chapter of York Minster; Ripon Cathedral; St. John's Parish Church, Leeds; and Pontefract Castle and Museum.

During two consecutive winters, and in collaboration with members of the Swarthmore Educational Settlement at Leeds, some members of the Section have been helped by a most successful series of lectures in palaeography and the use of documents given

at the Parent Society's rooms by its librarian and archivist, Miss A. G. Foster, B.A., A.L.A.

Besides contributing to our lecture meetings from their own researches, members have co-operated in various experimental projects. In 1956-7 appeared one issue of a register of the local history research being carried out by individual members; and in 1960 a synopsis of the previous winter's lectures was issued. A resumé of each of the lectures given during recent winters has been compiled and a copy of this has been placed in the Y.A.S. library.

A Bulletin is in preparation which will appear annually in the future.

Members of the Local History Study Section are deeply grateful for the kindness of certain Directors of Education, news editors, librarians and others in helping to publicise throughout Yorkshire their efforts to further the study of local history, thus enabling them from time to time to welcome as visitors, heads of schools and practising teachers, together with younger students and other searchers especially interested in one or other particular aspect of local history.

### PARISH REGISTER SECTION

The Section came into being on the 29th July 1960, when the Yorkshire Parish Register Society was dissolved and reconstituted as a Section of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society, but the objects of the former Society—the transcribing and printing of Yorkshire parish registers and bishops' transcripts—are unchanged.

The original Society was formed in 1899 by a few members of the Council of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society who were prepared to concentrate on the publication of parish registers. At the end of their first year they could report a membership of 257, a bank balance of £230 and the publication of two registers with five more in the press. At first, two, three, or even four registers were printed in a year, but this rate of issue has not been consistently maintained. In all, 126 volumes of Yorkshire registers have been printed, an average of two volumes a year; a very creditable record considering the inevitably decreased output during two wars, and the present costs of printing.

The Section holds a large collection of unpublished transcripts, and partial transcripts, which are available on microfilm, the microfilms being the gift of American and Canadian members.

It is the aim of the Section to reproduce in printed form, with requisite indexes, all Yorkshire parish registers from the earliest record down to 1837—when civil registration began. Many honorary editors and transcribers have contributed to this end and more are needed if the work is to be completed. Extraneous expenses are very small indeed, and almost the whole of members' subscriptions are devoted to printing. At the moment, the Section's finances are in a healthy state owing to a generous legacy from Mr. E. W. Lazenby,



for many years a member of the old Society, but future publication will depend on the increased support of members.

Though outside the scope of its declared aims, the Section does, in fact, give much assistance to genealogists on various aspects of their work.

### THE HARROGATE GROUP

The Harrogate Group, the first to be formed of the three local Groups of the Y.A.S. was inaugurated in January 1937, largely on the initiative of the late Mr. J. R. Ogden, who became President. Mr. Charles Walker and Mr. W. W. Baxter were respectively the first Hon. Secretary and Hon. Treasurer.

From this date until 1960, meetings had been held at Church House, Harrogate, when, owing to the property coming into the market, we had to vacate. Interest in the Group, which has enjoyed a useful and successful career, has never flagged, and with a present membership of 170, a number of the original members are still on the register. Throughout the 25 years of the Group's existence, lectures, embracing a wide range of relative subjects, have been consistently given, besides excursions taken, under the able direction of Mrs. Rosa Hartley, to places of archaeological, historic, or antiquarian note.

Among a number of excavations arranged by the Group from time to time, the highlight perhaps was the valuable work done at the North Deighton Bronze Age Tumulus in 1941 when important discoveries were made.

On 1st July 1939, a Memorial Pillar with an inscription, the cost of which was borne by the Group and the Cromwell Association in conjunction, was unveiled at Marston Moor on the eve of the 295th anniversary of the battle. Later a further plaque was added, specially commemorating Sir Thomas Fairfax, at the charge of the Fairfax family. The monument was then transferred to the custody of the Long Marston Parish Council. In 1940 Mr. Baxter, being on war duties, was succeeded in the Hon. Treasurership by Mr. R. J. A. Bunnett, an office which he still holds, and he also took over the Hon. Secretaryship which Mr. C. Walker had to relinquish owing to pressure of business. Dr. A. Fulton was elected President in lieu of Mr. J. R. Ogden, resigned.

On the death of Dr. Fulton three years later, Dr. H. P. Thompson became President, to be succeeded in 1946 by Mr. H. J. Stickland. The same year the Group published Mr. E. S. Wood's useful compilation, 'The Ancient Buildings of Harrogate and District'. This has long been out of print, the edition of 500 copies having been sold. On the suggestion of our members, the corporation in 1948 placed a tablet on the Stray, showing the site of the Brunswick Station of the York and North Midland Railway on the occasion of the 100th Anniversary of the extension of the railway to Harrogate.

During 1949, when the future use of the Pump Room was a subject of controversy, our members were strongly advocating the

establishment therein of a Museum to which the Corporation finally agreed. This valuable feature of the town's amenities was formally opened by the late Lord Halifax on 22nd May 1952.

From the outset the Museum's Archaeological section has been the Group's responsibility, under the special control of Mrs. Rosa Hartley and Mr. B. W. J. Kent.

Quite a substantial Group library was collected in course of time with Messrs. H. J. Stickland, Mr. R. O. King, and Mr. E. S. Story as successive Hon. Librarians. As, however, in 1963 this had to be removed from Church House and rehousing proved very difficult, and the Library besides was very little used, the contents and book-cases were most satisfactorily disposed of by sale, though a very large number of books was presented to the Y.A.S.

A sum of £31 odd in 1962 was contributed by members towards the re-erection of the Old Spa Room Pillars in the grounds of the Northern Horticultural Society.

Mr. R. J. A. Bunnett followed Mr. H. J. Stickland as President in 1953 on the latter's resignation, and Mr. W. Haythornwaite was then appointed Hon. Secretary, in consequence. For some time Mrs. F. Buzza has acted as Hon. Press Representative, and Mr. C. E. Hartley has represented the Group on the Y.A.S. Council, and on the Regional Group of the Council for British Archaeology.

Mr. D. L. Dibblee took over the Hon. Secretaryship from Mr. Haythornwaite in 1961; but on his untimely death two years later, Mr. R. J. A. Bunnett undertook the secretarial duties temporarily pending the appointment of a more permanent Hon. Secretary.

### THE DONCASTER GROUP

On 29th May 1948, a meeting of 'teachers and others interested in the Teaching of Local History in Schools' was held at the Society's Headquarters in Leeds, to explore the possibilities of co-operation between teachers and the Society.

As a result of this, Mr. Norman Smedley, M.A. (at that time a member of the Council of the Y.A.S., and Director of the Doncaster Art Gallery and Museum) invited all those teachers in South Yorkshire known to be actively interested in such works, to attend a meeting at Doncaster Museum on 16th June 1948. Ten people attended, and they decided 'to form a group of local teachers interested in Local History, primarily for its use in Schools'. At a subsequent meeting a fortnight later, nineteen people attended and decided to form a group to be known as 'The Doncaster Group' and to seek affiliation with the Yorkshire Archaeological Society and to adopt a constitution similar to that of 'The Harrogate Group'. The first officers and committee were appointed and the late Dr. C. E. Whiting, at that time President of the parent body, became the first Group President and gave most valuable help and encouragement, delivering one of the first winter lectures and conducting the first summer excursion. The Hon. Secretary, Mr. R. J. A. Bunnett, too, gave ready help in those early days in very many



ways. We were also fortunate in that the Doncaster Corporation, through its Museum and Art Gallery Committee's officials, allowed us to use the Art Gallery for our meetings, and also provided necessary equipment such as lanterns and projectors.

At the end of our first year, the membership reached 58. (11 'Group Members', i.e. members of the parent body, and 47 'Associate Members'.)

For the past 10 years we have averaged about 70 members, following a far wider range of occupations than was envisaged at the formation of the Group, which now provides opportunities for all people interest in archaeology, local history and kindred subjects, to meet for discussions, lectures and excursions. These members come from an area from Tickhill to Pontefract and from Mexborough to Goole.

Six monthly lectures are arranged for the Winter Session, and during the Summer a number of full day, half day or evening excursions are organized, August being the only month when members do not meet. The average attendance at both lectures and excursions is usually more than 50% of the total membership.

One of the immediate aims of the Group is to increase the proportion of 'Group Members'. At present about a quarter of our members are also members of the parent body. This we hope to improve.

The fact that the Doncaster Group is now so firmly established and working so vigorously is due, in no small measure, to the support given to it, over the past 15 years, by the President, the Council and Officials of the Parent Society.

### HELMSLEY AND AREA GROUP

The Group was founded in December 1950 thanks to the efforts of Capt. J. C. C. Foote, its first Chairman, Mr. R. J. A. Bunnett, F.S.A., Hon. Secretary of the Parent Society, who became Hon. Secretary and Treasurer of the Group as well, and Mr. W. E. Beecroft, Hon. Local Secretary. The Rt. Hon. the Earl of Feversham was elected President of the Group. Within four months the membership reached 60, and now, 13 years later, has just welcomed its hundredth member.

Programmes of winter lectures and summer excursions were quickly developed. Active archaeological work was carried on by various members, jointly and individually. Mr. Theodore Nicholson, T.D., who succeeded Capt. Foote as Chairman in 1952, was elected Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in 1954. Messrs. R. H. Hayes (Correspondent to the Ministry of Works and the Ordnance Survey), J. Grayson and A. Pacitto played notable parts in the exploration and excavation of the limestone fissures known as 'Windypits' which have proved rich in archaeological content.

The tenth year of the Group's existence brought two deaths of founder-members and valued colleagues. Mr. Beecroft was suc-

ceeded as Local Secretary by Mr. G. W. Allenby, who subsequently became Hon. Secretary and Treasurer on the resignation of Mr. Bunnett after 11 years' much appreciated service. Mr. J. Weatherill, a skilled stonemason and foreman for the Ministry of Works at Rievaulx Abbey, made impressive use of his craftsman's knowledge in articles for the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* and other journals.

In the same year it was decided to undertake the compilation of a detailed *History of Helmsley, Rievaulx and District*, with Mr. J. McDonnell, M.A., B.Litt., as Editor. The formation of a Committee to deal with the administrative side of this project resulted in nearly 500 subscriptions, the raising of considerable funds, and a most satisfactory publishing agreement with the Stonegate Press, York. The whole venture has been a successful example of co-operative effort, with 14 contributors to the actual text, the active support of Group members (chief among them our President, whose estate archives have provided much valuable documentary material), and a friendly interest shown by innumerable local residents and others. One of the particularly successful enterprises organized in connection with the *History*, not merely financially but in terms of interest aroused, was a Local History Exhibition, including documents from Lord Feversham's archives, old photographs, Windypit 'finds', and examples of local rural crafts from the collection of Mr. B. Frank, of Lastingham.

The *History* appeared in the spring of 1963. But the Group, far from resting on any laurels that may accrue from its publication, is now busy following up various lines of research suggested by its work on the book. Chief among these are further investigations into the site of the Rievaulx Abbey Woolhouse and into the 18th century artificial watercourses surveyed and cut by Joseph Foord of Kirkby Moorside, and (another co-operative enterprise on a larger scale, involving collaboration with other local organizations, including W.E.A. classes, in Cleveland, Scarborough and elsewhere) a survey of the mediaeval road-system of North-East Yorkshire between Malton and the Tees.

It is also hoped to collaborate with the Ministry of Works in the establishment of a museum in Helmsley Castle. And at last, after long delays owing to the difficulty of finding a home for it, the Group has acquired its own library, thanks to the generous donation of books and periodicals by Canon H. E. Newton.

In all its activities, the Group owes a great debt to its Parent Society, and especially to the Editor of the *Journal*, the Librarian, and the Hon. Secretary of the Local History Study Section.

### THE FOREST OF GALTRES SOCIETY

The Society had its origin in a conversation over a garden fence between the Vicar of Easingwold (the Rev. R. S. Hawkins) and the late Mr. T. McGowan, a well-known surgeon who resided at Easingwold. They both felt that something should be done to preserve the amenities and encourage the study of local history and archaeology



in Easingwold and the surrounding district and they decided to call a meeting with that end in view. The meeting was well attended and it was unanimously decided to form a Society for the above-mentioned purposes and that it should be called 'The Forest of Galtres Society', the greater part of the district having formed part of the mediaeval forest.

Mr. McGowan left the district shortly afterwards and died a few years later, but the Vicar of Easingwold is still a valued member of the Committee.

The first Annual General Meeting of the Society was held in February 1955, when it was decided to become affiliated to the Y.A.S. and Mr. G. R. Drake was elected Chairman, with Col. T. H. Twigg as Vice-Chairman, Mr. W. H. Farmer as Honorary Treasurer, and Mrs. J. C. Warner and Dr. R. G. Balf as Joint Honorary Secretaries. All five still continue to hold the same offices.

During the following summer, excursions were made to a number of places of historical and archaeological interest in the vicinity and lectures were arranged during the winter months. The same pattern has been followed in subsequent years.

In 1958 it was decided to give an annual prize for work on local history by pupils of Easingwold Grammar/Modern School. It is felt that this has done something to stimulate interest in the subject among the younger generation and some very creditable entries have been received for the competitions.

The membership of the Society, which was originally about 70 has increased slowly but steadily over the years and now amounts to 115.

### PONTEFRACT AND DISTRICT ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

This society was founded in 1957, the founder members being the nucleus of a W.E.A. class in archaeology under the instruction of a tutor from the Department of Adult Education and Extra Mural Studies of the University of Leeds, Mr. C. V. Bellamy.

Very soon other local people became interested and before long the Society had a membership of about forty. First experience of excavation was obtained on the Priory of Saint John at Pontefract under Mr. Bellamy and before long the Society began to look for other sites where it could gain further experience. At this time a new 'bus station and clinic were being built in the town and for the first time, the Society was asked to investigate various remains which turned up. The result was a very hurried emergency dig during which the Society gained itself local prestige by the careful way in which the investigations were carried out.

Pontefract Corporation were contacted soon after the Society was founded, with regard to the state into which the castle had fallen. Since then, every year, members have worked in the castle and museum cleaning and restoring. A library of records and photo-

graphs was begun which is still expanding, covering all aspects of local history and archaeology.

In 1960 the first Annual Journal and Report was published containing reports of digs on local sites and also investigations made by members into local history. Each year the Journal expands in content and becomes more widely known.

Now the Society is in a position to sponsor digs, members work on widely scattered sites, and have acquired a very useful fund of knowledge and experience.

### THE PRESIDENTS

(Contributed by Mr. R. J. A. Bunnett.)

It has been my privilege and pleasure to have held the offices of Hon. Treasurer and Hon. Secretary of the Y.A.S. under four distinguished Presidents, Dr. J. W. Walker, Professor C. E. Whiting, Sir Charles Clay and Canon J. S. Purvis. My association with each of them, extending over a period of 21 years, and the never failing co-operation and consideration which I received from all of them, remain among the happiest experiences of a long and active life.

When I became, in 1938, Assistant Hon. Treasurer of the Society, in order to help the late Mr. Herbert Chapman, whose health was failing, Dr. J. W. Walker, O.B.E., F.R.C.S., F.S.A., had recently been elected President on the sudden death of his predecessor, Colonel Parker, which had occurred on 23rd February, the day before the Annual Meeting. The late Mr. E. W. Crossley was the Hon. Secretary and exercised very rigid control over the Society's general affairs.

It is interesting to record, in view of the Centenary Celebrations, that in the same year the 75th anniversary of the foundation of the Y.A.S. was commemorated by a Dinner in Leeds. A most important event of the Society's history, which I well remember, was the purchase of No. 9 Park Place, together with 37 St. Paul's Street (the latter property was later most advantageously sold). As a result we were enabled to have a second strong room constructed, and more space made available for the library at No. 10.

Mr. William Hebditch at this stage was appointed the first salaried Librarian and on his death on active service, his widow, now Mrs. P. Stanley Price, took his place.

In 1939 the Harrogate Group, which had been formed two years earlier, presented the Society with an official President's badge, which Dr. J. W. Walker was the first to wear.

Owing to the war, excursions and lectures had to remain in abeyance for the time being (an air raid on Leeds in 1943 did some damage, fortunately only slight, to our premises). The President, I recollect, was, however, most resolute that the Y.A.S. should continue to function as far as possible. In 1942, on the decease of Mr. Crossley, I had taken over the Hon. Secretaryship, and at the same time remained as Hon. Treasurer.



An Exhibition of documents, books, etc., was held in 1944 at 10 Park Place, which was remarkably well attended by many teachers and schoolchildren. Similar events were arranged in 1949 and 1952 respectively.

Owing to the disastrous destruction of a considerable part of the Guildhall Library in London, in an air attack, the Society presented it with a complete set of the journals, and a large number of Record Series volumes, to replace those lost.

In 1945 the Prehistory Research Section was formed—the second of these valuable additions to the activities of the Y.A.S.—and excursions and lectures were resumed.

Two years later the President and I carried through all local arrangements for the most successful Conference of the Council for British Archaeology, at York.

After a ten-year tenure of office, through a most difficult period, at the Annual Meeting on 23rd April 1948, to the deep regret of all and mine personally, Dr. Walker, on medical advice, resigned office, as he was moving south. Five years later he died, on 17th February 1953.

Dr. Walker was succeeded by the Revd. Professor C. E. Whiting, M.A., D.D., D.C.L., D.Litt., F.S.A., an eminent scholar, and under his Presidency the Society continued to make progress, with an increasing membership. Finance was not at this time a major problem! Again I found a very ready supporter in any proposition which I put forward, and which I considered to be for the benefit and advancement of the Y.A.S., the interest of which I always had so much at heart.

In 1948 the Doncaster Group came into being, and next year both the Georgian and Local History Sections were inaugurated on my initiative, and with Professor Whiting's full support. At the same time new Articles of Association replaced the original ones, as these in a number of particulars had become obsolete. Also the Society raised a special fund for replacing the glass in one of the nave windows of York Minster.

1951 saw the beginning of the very flourishing Helmsley Group.

During the next two years I recollect that increasing deafness was proving a serious handicap to the President, and though his health besides was becoming precarious he never faltered in his devotion to the Society. He died in office on 24th March 1953, only a month before the Annual Meeting.

The next President was Mr. C. T. Clay, C.B., M.A., Hon.Litt.D., F.S.A., F.B.A.—later to become Sir Charles, who had long been associated with the production and issue of the invaluable Record Series, and he brought a new vigour into the general purposes and atmosphere of the Society, which still continued to move forward. I have personally the happiest recollections of the most friendly relations which existed between us.

During the President's term of office, Group 4 for Yorkshire of the Council for British Archaeology began to function. In 1955 the Society was feeling some financial anxiety as to rising costs on all sides, and the subscription was therefore raised to £1 for new members.

As I had begun to find the work entailed by holding the dual offices of Hon. Secretary and Hon. Treasurer somewhat onerous, and moreover regarded it really inexpedient for them both to be held by one individual, I resigned in 1954 from the latter. On Sir Charles' initiative a complimentary dinner in my honour was given at the Hotel Metropole, Leeds, a mark of distinction I very greatly appreciated.

I think that Sir Charles Clay had always found that his living in London was a disadvantage in holding the Presidency, and in 1956 he resigned from the office to everybody's regret.

The Revd. Canon J. S. Purvis, O.B.E., D.D., F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S., then followed in the Presidency. Though our connection was for a shorter term than in the case of his predecessors, I have the most cordial remembrance of this period. Finance was now becoming an anxious problem.

At the end of 1957, acting on medical advice, and also as I had several local interests, and not wanting to carry on until compelled for one reason or another to give up, very reluctantly I resigned the Hon. Secretaryship after having held the office for 15 active years, though until the end of 1959, and I was then 80 years of age, I continued to act as Hon. Lecture Secretary, in order to relieve my successor, Miss E. M. Walker, F.S.A., of some of the responsibility at the outset.

In the course of 21 years I had seen very many changes in the personnel of the Council and most extensive developments in the size and usefulness of the Y.A.S., and in the growth and expansion of the Library under the able control of Miss A. G. Foster.

In 1963 the *Journal*, besides being issued to the 800 individual subscribers of the Society, was received by 176 Institutional Members (i.e. bought by institutions such as universities, libraries, &c.), 131 of which were British and 45 Commonwealth and foreign, covering the following seven countries—Australia (1), Canada (1), Denmark (1), Japan (3), Sweden (2), West Germany (1) and U.S.A. (36), and by 63 Corresponding Members (i.e. societies with whom we exchange publications, involving no payment on either side, 43 of which were British and 20 Commonwealth and foreign, covering the following ten countries—Belgium (2), Eire (2), France (2), Italy (1), Netherlands (1), Norway (1), Spain (2), Sweden (2), West Germany (6) and U.S.A. (1).

## THE CELEBRATIONS

These took the form of a luncheon on 12th October 1963 in the



Merchant Adventurers Hall in York and two public lectures:—

‘Northern Schools of Illumination’, delivered in St. Anthony’s Hall, York, at 3.30 p.m., after the luncheon, by Professor Francis Wormald, M.A., Litt.D., F.B.A., F.S.A., Director of the Institute of Historical Research, University of London; and

‘The King’s Works in Wales, 1277-1327: an Episode in Medieval Building History,’ delivered in the Arts Lecture Theatre, University of Leeds, on the 14th November, by Mr. A. J. Taylor, M.A., F.S.A., Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments, Ministry of Works.

The Toast List at the luncheon was as follows:—

HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN

THE PRESIDENT

THE YORKSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY  
AND THE PRESIDENT

PROFESSOR BROOK, of the University of Liverpool, substituting for  
MISS JOAN EVANS, D.Litt., LL.D.,

*President of the Society of Antiquaries of London*

REVD. CANON J. S. PURVIS, O.B.E., D.D., F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S.

THE GUESTS

THE RT. HON. THE EARL OF SCARBROUGH, K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O.  
HIS GRACE THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF YORK, D.D.

The President (Rev. Canon J. S. Purvis) delivered this speech:—

Your Royal Highness, My Lord Mayor, My Lady Mayoress, Mr. Sheriff, Sheriff’s Lady, Your Grace, My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen:

My first and pleasant duty on this occasion is obviously to make certain expressions of welcome, without trenching too much on a later speech. There can be no question that the first of these must go to H.R.H. The Princess Royal, who has honoured this celebration of our Centenary with her gracious presence and with that kindly interest which she ever gives so generously to causes in Yorkshire which aim to provide any form of public benefit. Yorkshire has a profound sense of gratitude for the unfailing readiness of Your Royal Highness, in an extremely busy life of public engagements of many kinds, to give the encouragement of your presence to worthy causes, and our Yorkshire Archaeological Society, counting itself a not unworthy cause, is deeply conscious of the favour which Your Royal Highness gives us as our Royal Patron today.

It has become a tradition that when our Society celebrates one of the landmarks of its history the health of the Society shall be proposed by the President of the Society of Antiquaries of London. The President of this year had accepted our invitation for the present occasion, and it is therefore a great disappointment to us all that only three days ago Dr. Evans had to tell us that owing to illness she cannot be here. But she has sent me a copy of the speech which she intended to give, and I propose to read a short extract from it by way of message from her and her Society. She says: . . . ‘Your Society came into being at a time when archaeology was stirring and growing. It was quite admirable that the impulse at the heart of archaeology—of necessity international—should spread into the arteries and veins of Yorkshire. And I think it would please the social historian that its beginnings were not at York but near Huddersfield . . . . I particularly appreciate—as I know Professor Wormald will—your Society’s early emphasis on documents. “It is the agreeable task”, your predecessors said, “of the archaeologist to rescue these interesting documents from destruction.” I need not say that later you included excavation among your activities; but at least you knew from the start that archaeology included more than excavation. And, I think, you can claim to be pioneers, in that the

illustrations of the first volume of your *Journal*, published in 1870, include hand-coloured plates of stained glass prepared from Indian ink tracings of the glass itself, reproduced by the new Photographic Process of Engraving.' She goes on to make an all too flattering reference to myself, with special commendation for my work on the Mystery Plays, but I spare you that.

In this most unfortunate situation Professor Christopher Brook came valiantly to our rescue, and at this extremely short notice made us very grateful to him by undertaking to propose this toast. On our 50th Anniversary the speaker was Sir Frederick Kenyon; on the 75th it was Sir Hercules Read; it is a pleasure to recall that for some years in my school-days I had with him and his family a valued acquaintance. The massive bill of fare on that occasion, by the way, might have some nostalgic interest for old-fashioned people, but on the other hand the toast list involved no less than fourteen weighty speeches which did at least full justice to their respective subjects. I have also a reason for gratitude to the father of Dr. Joan Evans, for it was one of his books which in my quite early school-days first roused in me an interest in archaeology, and although it is true that I have since declined from the pure delights of prehistory to the study of archives, I am not insensible to that early debt of inspiration. This very Hall of the Merchant Adventurers has its memories also, for it recalls my acquaintance with Dr. Maud Sellers, who for many years was Archivist to the Merchant Adventurers. I well remember that once she told me here of her early knowledge of those archives, when she picked up one day a crumpled and neglected piece of old paper, where the first words which met her eyes were 'two devils' heads.' It was in fact a 15th Century list of properties for the Mercers' Mystery Play.

If you will permit me, I will interpose here a few messages which have been received from those unable to be here with us. One which will give the Society much gratification is from Mr. P. W. Filby, of the Peabody Institute of Baltimore, who sends 'his good wishes and congratulations on the splendid work achieved in the past hundred years,' and adds, 'Libraries all over the world, and particularly in America, have good reason to be thankful for the existence of the Society.' Our Patrons who have sent kind messages include the Bishop of Wakefield, Bishop Chase, the Bishop of Ripon, who today is back in Rome for his duties with the Vatican Council, and Lord Rosse. The Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland has sent us a very kind message of congratulations and good wishes, and I have had a delightful letter from Mr. Bunnett, who says 'I look back upon my close association with the Society over a lengthy period as one of the happiest episodes of my life.' We miss him today, but he is evidently still active.

It is not my intention to inflict on you any lengthy account of the progress of our Society from those first movements which grew out of the private meetings of a little band of Yorkshire enthusiasts who were our first Founders one hundred years ago. This is recorded already quite sufficiently in various places, especially in our *Journal*. In saying this, I feel a little like the author of a certain memorial inscription in York Minster, which after enumerating at some length the varied virtues of the deceased lady proceeds. 'For her character and other particulars, see the Gentleman's Magazine for May 1812.'

Our Society has a history of which it has no need whatever to be ashamed, and a record of a great variety of activities worthily pursued. Prominent amongst these are its publications, which now are distributed world-wide. In this connection it is a special pleasure to refer to the volume by our former President, Sir Charles Clay, which has appeared in such a timely manner. This is his latest addition, on the Percy Fee, to the ranks of distinguished works which he has built up to form the Extra Series of our Record Series. Any Society might well be proud, as we are, to produce works of high scholarship which show the knowledge and the tireless care that we have come to associate with the name of Sir Charles Clay, and he has placed students of history greatly in his debt.

One only of the activities of the Society has not survived the years. In 1899 (I quote) 'for some time it had been recognized by members of the



Society that it would be of great advantage to them to establish a club for social and antiquarian purposes in connection with the Society. The "Yorkshire Tykes' Club" was therefore formed, to be open to members of Yorkshire Antiquarian Societies only, with the following objects: to dine together, to promote antiquarian research, and to promote good fellowship.' All highly estimable purposes. The Club designed its own coat of arms, which were not without a certain naive and *recherché* humour. Vert, three Yorkshire tykes argent sejant bendwise and at random; in sinister chief, the glorious sun of York in his splendour or; in dexter base, the white rose of York in its freshness and purity argent. When these arms shall have been approved by Garter, each member who has a coat may bear the arms over his coat *en surtout*. The Officers were an Archtyke, a Bagman or Treasurer, a Terrier who arranged exhibits before a meeting, and a Turnspit, who was 'the general Factotum of the Club, acting as Secretary, ordering dinners and beverages, ringing the bell, and generally attending to the comfort of the members as well as answering for all shortcomings and mishaps'. I note that John William Clay held the office of Archtyke in 1901 and that Edwin Kitson Clark was then Turnspit. Alas! the Club was a casualty of the First World War, but still—that there is no longer any likelihood that your President may find himself described as Archtyke gives me, I must admit, a certain sense of relief.

While by no means belittling any part of our past achievement or the great names of old, I propose to limit myself briefly to the events of quite recent years.

As a century has flowed by, the world has not stood still, including that part of it which devotes an interest to archaeology. This has produced not only an astonishing increase in discovery of all kinds but also a healthy growth of Societies of all grades and qualities, with what I may call not disparagingly a thick undergrowth of small local Societies. This has had sometimes the effect that unless a large number of members join each a large number of Societies, the total available members for each Society, especially those more widely based, must decline. Our Society, as a County Society, has no doubt felt the effect of this tendency, but I believe that it has met this danger in a satisfactory manner and with every sign of vitality and a sufficient fund of vigour. For other difficulties, I will name only the formidable danger to our publications of the still rising cost of printing.

But we have found one feature which arises from this multiplicity of Societies, a feature of such importance and possibilities that I wish to stress it. That is, the building up into our Society of a system of Sections and associated groups which has formed itself in recent years. If you compare the back cover of one of our *Journals* of, say, thirty years ago with that of today, you will notice a remarkable change. The later *Journal* will show a marked increase of Sections of the Society which devote themselves to a particular study. The Prehistory Section dates from 1940 if not earlier, by which year a Roman Antiquities Section was already established, and now we have Sections for Local History, Georgian Studies, Ancient Monuments, Excursions and Lectures . . . . it makes a lively list. To it must now be added a Section for Parish Registers, which is the former Parish Register Society under a new constitution, and will continue so its services to a host of genealogists. But there has been another and distinct development. In addition to these closely associated Sections there have been formed various local Groups connected more or less completely with the Society. The first of these to be formed was the Harrogate Group in 1937, which probably provided something of a model for the later Groups of Doncaster, Helmsley, Forest of Galtres and Pontefract. It was the Harrogate Group which presented the President's badge which I now wear. These Groups contain a good proportion of full members of the parent Society; they all hold their own independent meetings under their own officials and have their own lectures and excursions independently, and of course are in a privileged position towards the parent Society. The Helmsley Group has even gone into publication lately in an ambitious and praiseworthy way, with a local history.



All this may be seen as evidence that the centenarian Society is playing its part as a County Society; it may be taken also as proof of a truly healthy and flourishing state; no doubt it evokes our sincere wishes that this may continue and increase. It may be rash to peer too far into the future, but at least our hope is not without some confidence, that our Society, with its daughters and friends, will advance to make progress and to do service to the cause of learning and mutual enjoyment.

On behalf of the Society, I am happy to offer sincere thanks for this Toast, and for myself also, with an assurance that we have done and shall continue to do something to deserve what has been said about us.

On the occasion of previous celebrations connected with the history of the Society the tradition was created of inviting the President of the Society of Antiquaries of London to propose the health of the Yorkshire Society. Dr. Joan Evans, the London President, was at a very late hour, unable to fulfil the engagement owing to indisposition. The speech which she had prepared is printed here:—

Your Royal Highness, My Lord Mayor, Your Grace, My Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is a great privilege for me, as President of the Society of Antiquaries, to propose the health of your Society and its President in this its centenary year. Ever since its foundation in 1707 my Society has been in friendly association with the archaeological societies of the provinces; our full title indeed is the Society of Antiquaries of London, and it is because London is the first of cities that we are *prima inter pares*. We started as a group of friends drinking claret round a coffee house table; and our oldest provincial brethren, the Gentlemen's Society of Spalding, started in like fashion, with the literary excuse of a shared subscription to the *Spectator*. I think your Society had as friendly but a less convivial beginning.

Soon after the foundation of the London Society the Grand Tour and the Age of Taste set in; William Stukeley was succeeded by Sir Horace Walpole. The Antiquaries of London were riven by the dissension between the Two Cultures of Taste and Antiquarianism; the Society of Dilettanti and the Royal Academy were founded; but we survived and even achieved a Royal Charter and quarters at Somerset House.

The French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars did a great deal for English archaeology—much as I hate revolutions I have to admit it. Travel on the Continent became impossible; Classical Taste an expensive and hardly reputable luxury like caviare nowadays; and for want of opportunity to study the monuments of Rome, men turned to the excavation of a Roman villa in Britain or the observation of a mediaeval church in their own county. Archaeology in our country profited enormously by this return to the local interests of its pioneers.

A hundred years ago: 1863, a time that is still a little dim to us; it has grown rather foggy in family reminiscence and has hardly yet acquired the lapidary solidity of history. It was the time, I think, when English culture profited by the institution of Honours Schools at the Universities at the beginning of the century. They were rather slow in making their way, and it was only by the middle of the century that their first graduates in any number reached full maturity. That meant that the doctors, the lawyers, the parsons, the schoolmasters, the more intelligent landowners, the more cultivated manufacturers of any county had submitted themselves to, and had profited by, a reasonably severe intellectual discipline; and it is to this that basically I attribute the considerable growth of learned societies in the provinces about a century ago.

In 1863 the London Society of Antiquaries was emerging from a not very brilliant epoch. It had only decided in 1850 that a paper might be read to the Society by its author, and not by the Secretary; our Fellowship had only just acquired a good working President in Lord Stanhope, who brought fresh air into its atmosphere and solvency into its finances. I am not, I



think, presumptuous when I say that healthy life in the London Society encouraged the antiquaries in the provinces.

Most important of all, discoveries were being made, and new vistas opened. Prehistory had just become a recognized part of archaeology; you will forgive me for reminding you that it was only in 1859 that Joseph Prestwich and my father, John Evans, authenticated the existence of palaeolithic man in the valley of the Somme, and the authentication had echoes from Torquay to the Dordogne. The Neolithic age, as a consequence, became recognized as a separate epoch. Lake-dwellings were investigated from the Terramare to Ireland. Excavations at Halstatt made late Celtic art credible. Charles Newton was excavating in Ionia and English archaeologists were beginning to investigate our Roman sites. John Ruskin was beginning to pontificate about mediaeval architecture. The first archaeological photographs were being taken.

Your Society thus came into being at a time when archaeology was stirring and growing. It was quite admirable that the impulse at the heart or archaeology—of necessity international—should spread into the arteries and veins of Yorkshire. And I think it would please the social historian that its beginnings were not at York but near Huddersfield. I have always noticed that the best schools of landscape painting have their homes in the dreariest country, like Norfolk and the neighbourhood of Pekin; and it rather looks as if archaeological societies did not grow up by first intention in the most historic cities.

I particularly appreciate—as I know Professor Wormald will—your Society's early emphasis on documents. 'It is the agreeable task', your predecessors said, 'of the archaeologist to rescue these interesting documents from destruction'. I need not say that later you included excavation among your activities; but at least you knew from the start that archaeology included more than excavation. And, I think, you can claim to be pioneers, in that the illustrations of the first volume of your *Journal*, published in 1870, include hand-coloured plates of stained glass prepared from Indian ink tracings of the glass itself, reproduced by the new Photographic Process of Engraving.

The archaeologist is always backward-looking; but today I must look forward for a little. York promises to be one of the most humane of the Universities; a University that recognizes history and architecture and the past, as well as the fission bomb and the future. I greatly hope that your Society may play its part in making York (and Huddersfield and the other Yorkshire cities) true centres of archaeology and of the humanistic approach to history.

Today the toast of your Society is rightly associated with the name of your President, Canon Purvis. It is not easy for an outsider like myself to speak of someone whom you all know better than I do; but I think today's gathering is a sufficient testimony to what he has done for your Society. For myself, speaking as one interested in the imagery of mediaeval art I am even more conscious of what he has done for the study of the mediaeval drama on which no small part of the art of the Middle Ages is based. I look forward, as I am sure you do, to the fruits of the years ahead in which he will be free to devote himself to this study—and to watch the brilliant progress of your Society.

Your Royal Highness, My Lord Mayor, Your Grace, My Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen, I give you the toast of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society, coupled with the name of its distinguished President, Canon Purvis.

Professor Brook, Head of the Department of Mediaeval History, University of Liverpool, deputed for Dr. Evans at very short notice and spoke as follows:—

Your Royal Highness, Mr. President, My Lord Mayor, Lady Mayoress, Your Grace, My Lord, Mr. Sheriff, Sheriff's Lady, Ladies and Gentlemen.

I must confess I find it somewhat anxious work being an impostor. True, it is not a new experience. A few years ago, very soon after I was appointed to my Chair in Liverpool, I was asked to give away the prizes at a Grammar



School in another part of England. The local press reported my speech with great fidelity, except for one phrase. I had somewhat portentously used the expression 'we university teachers'. This appeared as 'we university students'. The reporter had evidently decided that I was a hoax. But I must admit that among all the roles in which I have visualized myself, I never imagined before a few days ago that I should impersonate the President of the Society of Antiquaries. None the less, my sense of peril is mingled with a strong sense of privilege and pleasure. A little of my pleasure is on Dr. Evans's account. It will be a matter of great regret to her to be missing this happy occasion. I am no substitute for her; but I have had much kindness from that fine scholar and generous lady, and it is very pleasant to be able to discharge a small part of my debt to her.

On Thursday morning a parcel was delivered at our door, containing the 11th volume of the *Early Yorkshire Charters*, and a delightful vista opened: I might be able to tell Sir Charles Clay what I thought of the *Early Yorkshire Charters* without his being able to answer back. For surely you could not celebrate your centenary more suitably or more handsomely than with this book. Some years ago he and the Yorkshire Archaeological Society gave us volume 10, and he firmly declared that this would be his last. This news was greeted by his friends with sorrow, not unmixed with scepticism. Time passed, and he told me that he was turning over the materials for another volume; and not long after, our sorrow, like the Psalmist's, was turned to gladness (and our scepticism, I may say, fully justified) by the news that another volume was on the way.

When my eldest son was four, he had, as many children have, an imaginary companion. He went everywhere with us and did everything the boy wished him to do; and his name was Percy. I was reminded of this when in the course of last year I received a letter from Sir Charles telling me that Percy would shortly arrive, or begin to arrive. It has been my singular privilege to read the proofs of the later volumes of the *Early Yorkshire Charters*. The task is not onerous: after proofs have been prepared by the expert printers and passed through Sir Charles Clay's hands, one is lucky to find a missing comma or a broken letter. But to be asked by a man of his standards to do such a job is one of the nicest compliments that I have had. My friendship with the editor undoubtedly enhances my pleasure in having on my shelves a complete set of *Early Yorkshire Charters*. But it would be something of special value on the shelves of any mediaevalist, or of anyone who values the study of historical records. The later volumes are indeed the personal achievement of a distinguished scholar; but I am sure the editor would be the first to agree that they also reflect the enterprise, courage and generosity of the Society which has issued them. And it is a fitting tribute to the tradition and achievement of this society that it should have commanded the services as successive Presidents of two such men as Sir Charles Clay and Canon Purvis.

Last year I made a stupid mistake—one of many. I was writing a book and referring to the work of a well-known scholar, and assumed that she was no longer with us. Imagine my astonishment when I learnt (fortunately before the book was published) that she was just about to celebrate her hundredth birthday. There is certainly no danger of anyone making this mistake about the Yorkshire Archaeological Society. This is not one of those anniversaries when folk gather solely to relive their memories and see in the dismal present the decaying image of the happier past. Your Society has indeed every reason to be proud of its past, but its history has been one of constant and constantly developing achievement. There has been a remarkable continuity in its history: my namesake Sir Thomas Brooke (no relative, I fear), your first Treasurer, soon became President and held that office for over forty years; when he died J. W. Walker was already an active member and remained so well into the memory of many here; above all, the apostolic succession of the Clays, father and son, has covered more than four-fifths of the Society's history.

Some years ago, in an incautious moment, I told my second son that I was nearly 112 years old. Soon after, he saw my wife preparing my birthday cake and covering it with roasted almonds. When every space had been



covered he reported with great indignation that they were sixteen short—there were only ninety-six; and so sixteen more had to be added. My eldest son then joined in the argument and by cunning use of documentary evidence established with fearful precision my actual age. But perhaps I may be allowed for a few moments to assume the fantasy of my official age and take you back to reminiscences of events, so to speak, of my first childhood.

On 1 April 1863 the Huddersfield Archaeological and Topographical Association was born. It grew slowly. At a strenuous meeting in the Gymnasium Hall on 8 July 1864 the first President, Dr. Turnbull, enlarged on the virtues of hill dwellers and mountaineers. Much of the best work of the Society has been done among the dales and on the moors; but the society spread and the mountaineers soon invaded the plains. It is perhaps significant that in 1874 G. T. Clark addressed the Society in this city on the defences of York. Already in 1870, Yorkshire had replaced Huddersfield in the title; and in 1869 the Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Journal (as it then was) had been born. Sixteen years later came the first volume of the Record Series, in 1885. The Record Series (including the Extra Series) amounts to 135 volumes, only 18 short of the miraculous draft of fishes. The Record Series and the volumes of the *Journal* represent a monumental achievement; but they do not represent the whole of the Society's work. An outsider's view must inevitably be superficial; I know a little of how varied are your activities and achievements—the Library and the great collection of documents (a vital pioneer achievement in the preservation of records); the many excavations sponsored or helped by the Society; the diffusion of interest in monuments and records in many parts of the country—setting an example and breeding an enthusiasm which have spilled over your frontiers to every corner of the land, even into Lancashire.

How can one summarize this achievement? How can one do justice to its meaning in a few sentences? I have mentioned a few names; it would be wrong for an outsider to try to assess further which of the many who have served this Society should be specially recorded today. When the history of this Society is written it will not only tell of those who have been members. Roger Dodsworth died 200 years too soon to be enrolled, but he has contributed lavishly to the *Early Yorkshire Charters*; Joseph Hunter died nearly 20 years too soon, and is more particularly the property of a sister Society, but he made notable contributions (posthumously) to the *Journal*. Above all it will be a record of a slice of English History. It will tell how in the days of reform and of change of the late 19th and 20th centuries the heritage of the past and its records was saved by the efforts of the members of numerous local societies, and not just preserved, but brought to public notice, published and made precious to hundreds and thousands of people who would otherwise have known nothing of them. In Liverpool University Library the Record Series is in the main Library building, the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* is segregated in the library of the School of Archaeology. And when my colleagues and I fought a great battle to reunite this broken family, we were defeated by the insistence that the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* was one of a group of journals which our archaeological colleagues needed constantly by them for their teaching. There is a good side to this: it shows how the *Journal* is valued; but it is a false and vile schism none the less—and not only because it compels me to creep into the School of Archaeology in pursuit of the Deans and the Precentors and the Chancellors of York.

The achievement of the society is one and indivisible, and a vital part of the education and the satisfaction of the world in which we live, and in which our children and grandchildren will live. Especially significant in recent years has been the way in which the relics of the past have been made available to all sorts and conditions of men, and not only to professional historians and expert antiquaries; and made to give them pleasure in all sorts of ways. And of this your President is, if I may say so, a very fitting epitome. In his work for this Society, in his editing and other books, in the Borthwick Institute, its documents, its courses, its admirable pamphlets, he has done an astonishing work of preserving, of publishing and

disseminating the past. Nor do I forget, to coin a phrase, that he is a man of Mystery and Drama. A number of my students and colleagues hired a bus and enjoyed a visit to the Festival this summer. Unfortunately they took the precaution of writing a great number of examination scripts and sitting me down to read them before they left, so that I could not go with them. But I know how much the Mystery Plays have come to mean in York and far beyond it. As head of a department which is heir to the School of Local History in which William Farrer once taught, and of a department in which local archivists are trained (as is not unknown in the city of York), and as one who from boyhood has admired the work of your Society, it is indeed a very special privilege and delight to join in this commemoration; and in spite of my imposture it is with warm sincerity that I speak to you.



## YORKSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL REGISTER

### 1963

The register, with slight exceptions, follows the same plan that was used for 1962, and also includes some references for that year. The compiler wishes to thank all those who contributed information for the register. Some entries have had to be abridged and he hopes no inaccuracies have crept in.

As last year, sites are listed under the name of the parish or nearest village, but this year, in addition to the initials of the Ridings, the number of the relevant 1 inch O.S. map has also been included. The numbers of the 6 or 2½ inch O.S. maps can of course be deduced from the map references which are given to the National Grid. The index which follows this preface classifies the entries partly by subject as well as period.

This year the register is larger than last but is still far from complete. More than half the entries are from the North Riding but it is difficult to believe that half the archaeological work in Yorkshire is done in that Riding. Please send delayed entries for 1963 and entries for 1964 to H. G. Ramm, 146 Stockton Lane, York.

The compiler has hesitated to reject entries but has felt bound to exclude some. While it is perhaps a matter of interest and indeed praiseworthy that many common objects familiar in our youth are now included in museum collections, yet their find spots, particularly where it happens to be a rubbish tip, have surely no relevance to this register. It may be felt that some of the entries included for earlier periods have equally only a marginal relevance. Known Roman sites for example under the plough or in process of erosion will obviously continue to produce pottery and other artifacts. If as is hoped the register continues to grow in size stricter standards of relevance will have to be introduced.

Besides brief notes of excavations and casual finds the Register includes notices of field-work on sites, whether earthwork or foundation, which survive above ground. Much can be learnt from the analysis of surface remains and reference to new interpretations or surveys is clearly justified. A difficulty arises however with sites listed as new discoveries. What is new to one fieldworker may have been known for a long while to another. The compiler himself has not the detailed knowledge of the topography of every area of Yorkshire to decide what is and what is not a new discovery and must rely on the good sense of correspondents. Broadly speaking if a site is not shown on the 6 ins. O.S. maps, nor recorded in the obvious literature then it is worth including here even if the contributor is not the first ever to have observed the site.

Another weakness in the register is a lack of uniformity in the terminology used to describe similar objects. The compiler cannot impose uniformity and attempt to re-describe objects he has not in most cases even seen. Since most of the diversity is amongst the prehistorians perhaps the Prehistoric Research Section could undertake the task of getting agreement amongst Yorkshire archaeologists over the terms they use.

### *Prehistoric:*

*Excavations:* Barrows, Easington and Totley; Boat, North Ferriby; Iron age settlements, Great Ayton, Kildale, Levisham and possibly Stirton with Thorlby.

*Earthworks surveyed or noted:* Barrows or cairns, Allerston, Bilsdale West, Hawnby, and Kirkby Moorside; Linear works, Battersby and Hawnby; Enclosures and settlements, Allerston, Bainbridge, Bishopdale, Buckden, High Abbotside, and Liverton; Cultivations, Bilsdale West, Danby, and Westerdale.

*Finds:* Flints (excluding polished axes), Bainbridge, Baysdale, Bransdale, Cowling, Dore, Gargrave, Glaisdale, Goathland, Grinton, Hawnby, High and Low Bishopside, Hutton Buscel, Hutton-le-Hole, Ilkley, Ingleby Greenhow, Kildale, Kirkby Moorside, Liverton, Marsden, Moorsholm, Pickering, Rishworth, Seamer, Spaunton, Spaunton Moor, Stirton with Thorlby, Totley, Urra Moor, Westerdale, Woolley, Wykeham, and York; Polished stone and flint axes, Allerston, Bewerley, Bridlington, Crayke, Easington, Easingwold, Filey, Gillamoor, Huby, Hutton-on-Hole, Ingleby Greenhow, Pocklington, Seamer, Stanghow, Westerdale and Wykeham; Stone axe hammers, Kirkby Hall, Otley, Raskelf, Ravensworth and Wilton; Bronze rapier, Pickering; Jets, Danby and Easington; Pottery, (neolithic) Spaunton, (beaker) Easington, (iron age) Great Atyon and Levisham; Cup-marked stones, Appletreewick, Baysdale, Flasby and Kildale.

### *Prehistoric and Roman:*

*Querns:* Saddle, Kildale; Beehive, Danby, Ingleby Greenhow, Spaunton and Westerdale; Rotary, Spaunton.

### *Roman:*

*Excavations:* Forts, Bainbridge and Slack; Buildings, Brough, Drax, Rudston and Spaunton; Roads, Birkinshaw, Cleckheaton, Halifax, Menston and York.

*Finds:* Pottery, Allerston, Brough, Collingham, Kirkby Moorside, Sancton and Scarborough; Kilns, Broomfleet and Holme on Spalding Moor; Coins, Acaster Malbis, Batley, Fadmoor, Huddersfield and Norton; Brooch, Kilham.

### *Mediaeval:*

*Excavations:* Moats, Goldsborough and Sherburn-in-Elmet; Manorial, Allerston; Granges, Brimham (and see also Westerdale); Town building, Scarborough; Villages, Scarborough and Wharram Percy; Churches, Wharram Percy and York; Kilns, Potterton and Snaith and Cowick; Bloomeries, Baysdale, Glaisdale and Ingleby.

*Finds:* Anglian crosses, York; Pottery, Allerston (Anglian), Birstall, Farndale, Kirkby Moorside, Liverton, Seamer (Anglian), and York; Coin, York.

### *Post-Mediaeval:*

Allerston, Totley, and York.

### *List of Contributors:*

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 Y.A.S.R.A.S. Roman Antiquities Section of the Yorks. Arch. Soc.  
 The Yorkshire Museum (Keeper G. F. Willmot), York.

### *Acaster Malbis, W.R. (97)*

SE.592457. Further investigation by E. C. Waight has shown that the coin reported in last year's register [Y.A.J., pt. 161 (1963), 2] from this spot had probably been brought to Acaster Malbis with debris from elsewhere and the find spot is therefore without significance.

### *Allerston, N.R. (92)*

(1) Givendale. A massive waisted stone axe of polished greenstone with groove for handle.  $7\frac{1}{2}$  ins. long,  $3\frac{1}{4}$  ins. wide,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  ins. thick. Found by and in the keeping of Mr. Craggs, Ebberston. Cf. *Antiquity*, no. 113, 35.

R. H. Hayes.

(2) Manor House site. SE.878830. Excavations by Scarborough and District Arch. Soc. directed by F. C. Rimington continued during 1963. The site of a small 14th century hall with later (17th century) industrial annexe has been completely investigated. There are surface indications of many other foundations nearby, and the work continues in these areas, which have already revealed a circular structure, possibly a dovecote. The discovery of early Anglian and Romano-British sherds may prove fortuitous.

J. G. Rutter.

(3) Thompson's Rigg. SE.8892. A complex of barrows, cairns and ancient banks and walling to the S.E. of Blakey Topping was surveyed by members of the Scarborough and District Arch. Soc. directed by R. H. Hayes and J. G. Rutter in 1963.

### *Appletreewick, W.R. (90)*

Cup-marked stones noted as a result of fieldwork by S. W. Feather, 1962-3. All the rocks are gritstones (in some cases erratics on underlying limestone). They occur in close proximity to mineral veins. The distribution pattern is of three small clusters of carved rocks with two slightly isolated rocks both of large size and prominently situated near the other rocks. All are

within an area of one square mile and range in altitude from 975 to 1,225 ft. O.D., just on the Wharfedale side of the Wharfe-Washburn watershed. The first three are in Thrusscross parish the remainder in Appletreewick.

SE.09046150. Three cup marks with a possible *phallus* alongside one cup.

SE.08986148. Cluster of small cups, other cups and long channels.

SE.08966148. Cups.

SE.08096151. Cups, some conjoined with channels.

SE.07926176. Cups, channels, single-ringed cups and double-ringed cup.

SE.07786182. Large number of cups, several with single rings, channel.

SE.07766174. Cups.

SE.07696172. Cups with three conjoined.

SE.07666176. Cups.

SE.07716231. Cups.

SE.07466255. Cups.

SE.07396254. Cups with two groups of conjoined cups.

SE.07376253. Cups.

*S. W. Feather.*

### *Bainbridge, N.R. (90)*

(1) SD.937902. Roman fort. The annual excavations by the Department of Latin, Leeds University, were concerned mainly with the buildings in the area east of the main fort. It was found that these were timber buildings with stone floors contemporary with the Severan extension of the fort (*Proc. Leeds Phil. & Lit. Soc.*, IX, pt. iii, 110 ff.). These were destroyed by fire during the third century and later replaced by stone buildings, probably civilian and contemporary with the stone walled annexe.

*B. R. Hartley.*

(2) Semerwater. Similar finds to those made in 1937 on the N.W. shore when the level of the lake was lowered, have been made recently by David Hall of Countersett, Askrigg. In 1961 flints and bones were found where the Bain leaves the lake, SD.920872; in 1962 microliths were found on both sides of the lake, and on the shore line at Beckend, SD.921876, two B. and T. arrowheads, a leaf-shaped arrowhead, and a *petit tranchet* derivative class D; and in 1963 another *petit tranchet* derivative on the clay bed of the lake at SD.918874.

(3) Cragdale. SD.920846. Above the Stake road is a long string of huts and enclosures of iron age type, whilst below the road the huts are scattered all over the Shaw side particularly down by Silka Beck and the junction of Silka and Cragdale becks.

(2) and (3) both reported to Mrs. R. Hartley by D. Hall.

### *Batley, W.R. (96)*

Hanging Heaton. SE.257230. Coin, Augustus (27 B.C.—14 A.D.).

Obv: within wreath AVGVSTVS TRIBVNIC POTES.

Rev: s c surrounded by (Q.F.)M.SANQVINVS. Found in 1962 in digging on waste land, now in Bagshaw Museum, Batley. *Bagshaw Museum.*

### *Battersby, N.R. (86)*

Battersby Moor, NZ.607067-610068. Cross-ridge dyke, running N.W. to S.E., with a sharp drop at the N.W. end to Cleveland, a bank 10 ft. wide, 3-4 ft. high, and a ditch 6 ft. wide. Not marked on O.S. maps. Shown to R. Hayes by R. Close. *R. Hayes.*

### *Baysdale, N.R. (86)*

(1) NZ.632068. Cup-marked stone. Flat stone in the moor marked with two deep cups and incised lines forming an intricate pattern. Photographed by R. Close.

(2)—(4) are flint implements.

(2) NZ.624065 Leaf-shaped neolithic type point.

(3). NZ.632066 Small leaf-shaped with 5 B. and T. arrowheads.

(4) N.Z.629074. Large discoidal knife-scraper  $2\frac{3}{4}$  ins. by  $1\frac{7}{8}$  ins. The edges are broken but where intact the edge is bevelled. The flint is a dull



grey, highly polished and flaked. Found in a ploughed field near Baysdale Beck. (See fig. 1, no. 5).

(5) Hobhole. Mediaeval bloomery, iron slag heaps and furnace, excavated by R. Close. Stone lined furnace and flue with 13th century pottery. Guisborough and Baysdale Priory workings.

(1)—(5) *all R. H. Hayes.*



FIG. 1.

1. Hutton-le-Hole, Stone socketed axe.
2. Spaunton, neolithic pottery.
3. Goathland, flint razor.
4. Bradfield, bone plate.
5. Baysdale, discoidal knife-scraper.
6. Urra Moor, flint knife-scraper.
7. Great Ayton, vessel from Ryehill Farm.

*Bewerley, W.R. (91)*

SE.153650. Two polished neolithic axes found at Calf Haugh Farm in the 19th century have now been given to Harrogate Museum. *Mrs. R. Hartley.*

*Bilsdale West, N.R. (92)*

Bumper Moor. SE.5592. An extensive cairn group associated with an ancient field system near Bumper Castle was surveyed by members of the Scarborough and District Arch. Soc. and others directed by R. H. Hayes and J. G. Rutter in 1963. *J. G. Rutter.*

*Birkenshaw, W.R. (96)*

(1) Kittle Point Wood. SE.211284. The embankment bridge approaches which Dr. Villy interpreted as part of the Slack to York Roman road

(*Bradford Antiquary* VIII, 19), were excavated by Batley Grammar School Arch. Soc. in Nov. 1963 and proved to be of modern, probably 18th century, date (see also Cleckheaton). *Y.A.S.R.A.S.*

(2) Neolithic porcellanite axe head found during the above excavation, now in the Bagshaw Museum, Batley. *Bagshaw Museum.*

*Birstall, W.R.* (96)

SE.226273 and 201279. Sherds of Upper Heaton ware found.

*Bagshaw Museum.*

*Bishopdale, W.R.* (90)

Kidstones Scar, SD. 945809, Iron age huts and enclosures at edge of crag at W. end of scar, rather faint on the ground. Huts against a low rocky outcrop.

*Reported by D. Hall to Mrs. R. Hartley.*

*Bradfield, W.R.* (102)

Mickleden Edge, SK.193984. Bone plate. A surface find recovered from an erosion patch by F. Hepworth; a flat rectangular plate 6.2 by 2.6 by 0.2 cm. with vertical edges, rounded corners, and a slightly convex ground down surface, with one hour glass perforation hole at one end (the other end broken), of white decalcified bone. ? pendant or archer's wrist guard. (See fig. 1, no. 4).

*J. Radley.*

*Bransdale, N.R.* (92)

(1) SE.607973. Leaf-shaped and 5 B. and T. flint arrowheads found after fire in 1961.

(2) SE.603967. Large B. and T. flint arrowhead. (1) and (2) *R. Hayes.*

(3) Bloworth Slack, Bransdale Moor. Surface find (1963) of flint leaf-shaped arrowhead presented to the Scarborough Museum. *J. G. Rutter.*

*Bridlington, E.R.* (93)

Sewerby, Home Farm, TA.205689. Fragment partly polished flint axe, grey black, 38 by 41 by 15 cm., also a rough-cut axe of grey black flint worked on both sides, 56 by 45 by 21 cm., both found by J. R. Earnshaw, 19 Holyrood Avenue, Bridlington.

*Reported by D. Hall to Mrs. R. Hartley.*

*Brimham, W.R.* (91)

Brimham Hall, SE.222629, formerly a grange and hunting lodge of Fountains Abbey. Trial excavations, weekends May-July 1963. Stone foundations located and partially explored in the meadow immediately south of the present buildings. Glazed floor tile and pottery, mainly 15th century.

*C. Platt, D. G. Wild.*

*Broomfleet, E.R.* (98)

Weighton Lock, SE.87402565. Sherds R.-B pottery, kiln sagger and oyster shell from the Humber foreshore. In Hull Museum. *Hull Museums.*

*Brough, E.R.* (99)

(1) SE.93832709. Complete mortarium (late 4th century). Found in the garden at 17 Haven Avenue. In Hull Museum. *Hull Museums.*

(2) SE.93862685. Corner of building, 5 The Burrs, Coins (Gallienus—Carausius), R.-B. pottery and wall plaster. In Hull Museum. *Hull Museums.*

*Buckden, W.R.* (90)

SD.940809. 20 yds. right of Stake road when approached from the Wharfedale side, a small collection of enclosures from 2-20 yds. across, the site is similar to many others in the area.

*Mrs. R. Hartley.*

*Cleckheaton, W.R.* (96)

Hartshead Moor Top. SE.169248. Dr. Villy's suggested line of Roman road from Slack to York [*Bradford Antiquary*, VIII (NS VI), 19] was cut



at its point of intersection with the A649 road by the trench for a natural gas pipe line, and this trench was carefully examined by D. Haigh, a master at Bradford Grammar School, for a good distance N. and S. of the intersection (SE.168242 to 170250) without finding any trace of the road. For another negative result on this supposed line see also Birkenshaw. *D. Haigh.*

*Collingham, W.R. (97)*

Dalton Parlours. SE.403445. The site of the Roman villa is still producing roofing tile, *tesserae*, burnt stone and a few sherds on ploughing.

*Mrs. Winifred Lodge.*

*Cowling, W.R. (95)*

Ickornshaw Moor SE. 961406. Mesolithic site under about 2 ft. of blanket bog peat, discovered 1962 and excavated 1962-4. Numerous artifacts (mainly chert) and organic matter (sent for C.14 dating). *J. Davies.*

*Crayke, N.R. (92)*

Swallow's Nest Farm, SE.559724. Rough greenstone neolithic axe of Bridlington type, 6 ins. long, 1½ ins. wide, 2¼ ins. at blade, worn. Shown to R. Hayes by Mrs. Knowles of Crayke. *R. H. Hayes.*

*Danby, N.R. (86)*

(1) Danby High Moor. NZ.710065. Prehistoric field system surveyed 1963 by F. A. Aberg. *F. A. Aberg.*

(2) Danby Dale. S. of Falcon Farm. NZ.699039. Beehive quern ploughed up. Upper stone with two handle holes, 7½-8 ins. high, 13 cm. diameter. Lower stone truncated. Seen by R. H. Hayes. *R. H. Hayes.*

(3) Danby Dale, N.W. of Botton Hall. Beehive quern. Upper stone kept in garden. *R. H. Hayes (informed by F. Weatherill of Danby).*

(4) Fryup Head peat cutting. NZ.702014. Horncase of *bos primigenus* ? worked at tip. About half survived, 26 cm. long, under 6 ft. of peat. A conical jet button with V perforation, 1½ ins. diameter, was found in a block of peat from the same section. (The cutting lies ¼ mile from Loose Howe where an E.B.A. boat burial was found in 1938.) Dr. Dimbleby hopes to take samples from the site in 1964. *R. H. Hayes [as for (3)].*

*Dore, W.R. (111)*

Houndkirk. SK.277810. A large broken lanceolate arrowhead and a large *petit tranchet* derivative (type D), about 3 ins. apart on a burnt moor surface. Apparently they were in the possession of one person. Found in Aug. 1963 by Paul Mellars and in his possession. *J. Radley.*

*Drax, W.R. (98)*

The Stannels. SE.690261. Romano-British stone building. Excavation begun in 1961 was continued in 1963. So far an approximately 'L'-shaped building has been uncovered with the main wing 78 ft. by 27 ft. overall. Parallel with the long axis of this building are two long narrow buildings end on with an 8 ft. gap between them. These are later than the post holes of a timber structure but their relationship to the main building is not clear. Building debris and pottery were found 150 ft. E.S.E. of the main building, and timber buildings of two different periods 200 ft. to the N.W. of it, of which only the earlier was certainly Roman. R.-B. pottery found on the site dates from the 2nd to the 4th centuries. *K. Wilson. (Summarized).*

*Easington, E.R. (105)*

TA.409182. Bronze age round barrow exavated by R. W. Mackey, 1962-3, continuing. Grave goods include an undecorated beaker and a jet button with V perforation. Timber structures were also found under the barrow but need further interpretation. A fractured polished stone axe was also found. *R. W. Mackey.*

*Easingwold, N.R.* (92)

S.W. of Rookery House, SE.549705. 9 ins. long stone axe now at Easingwold Grammar School. *R. H. Hayes (informed by Mrs. Knowles).*

*Fadmoor, N.R.* (92)

SE.666894. Worn Roman coin of Nero (without reverse) found on ploughed land with a few sherds (mediaeval, although one may be Roman grey ware), flint chippings and a scraper. *R. H. Hayes (informed by J. Sawley).*

*Farndale, N.R.* (92)

Olive House (Worffitt Hall 1783), SE.673943. Late 13th century large ribbed jug handle with trace of green glaze dug up by the builder.

*R. H. Hayes.*

*Filey, E.R.* (93)

Muston Rd. TA.113807. Polished stone axe (3 ins. long) found July 1963. *Bradford Arch. Group Bulletin, VIII, 9.*

*Flasby with Winterburn, W.R.* (95)

Scarnber plantation. SD.942573. Cup-marked boulder built into the base of a limestone wall 100 yds. N. of the plantation. 7 cup marks, 2-4 ins. in diameter. *Mrs. R. Hartley (informed by L. Atkinson).*

*Gargrave, W.R.* (95)

(1) The Bungalow, Skipton Rd. SD.936542. Mesolithic flints, surface finds in garden. 6 microlithic points, micro-burin, serrated flake, large broad flake and 15 waste flakes.

(2) Neville Rd., SD.930542, mesolithic flints, surface finds, microlithic point, chert blade, small core and waste flake.

(3) Raybridge Farm, SD.940544, 3 cores, 1 core trimming flake, 2 waste flakes, and 1 fragmentary blade.

(1)-(3) *Mrs. R. Hartley (informed by L. Atkinson).*

*Gillamoor, N.R.* (92)

Lowna, Mill field. SE.685906. A fine neolithic polished stone axe, with crescentic cutting edge showing wear and a thin rounded butt,  $4\frac{1}{10}$  ins. long,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ins. wide blade,  $1\frac{1}{8}$  ins. thick. Great Langdale Ash (petrological examination by Russel Cope, Birmingham). Found by J. Flintoff on side of hedge with flint knife and flake, 1958. Given to the Ryedale Museum, 1964. *R. H. Hayes.*

*Glaisdale, N.R.* (86)

(1) Glaisdale Rigg. NZ.758049. Surface finds mesolithic and neolithic scrapers and utilized blades in quantity; also a *tranchet* arrowhead. Found by Mrs. G. Stainthorpe, Wesley Cottage, Glaisdale. Identified by G. W. Dodds, Durham University.

(2) Postgate Hill, NZ.759046. Mediaeval bloomery. Worked by Guisborough Priory 1200-6 A.D. (Guisb. Cartulary). Stone-lined oval pit, 8-9 ft. long, 3 ft. wide,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  ft. deep to base from surface. A mass of ironstone and slag was firmly embedded in the base. Excavated by G. Harland. Pottery 13-14th century. (See fig. 2).

(3) Cock Heads. Flint axe in the collection of the late J. Patterson, Goathland, published by Elgee, *Arch. of Yorks.* (1932), pl. I, p. 36. Listed as mesolithic, Y.A.J., XL (1962), 213. Submitted by R. H. Hayes to W. F. Rankine who does not think it to be mesolithic, and says that 'definitely it is not a tranchet or transversely sharpened axe like the type we find in S. England. I should say it is late from the colour of the flint and the careful retouching on the upper surface. There is no recent fracture so Elgee could not have broken it'. (1)-(3) *R. H. Hayes.*

*Goathland, N.R.* (86)

Simon Howe. The microlithic site N.W. of the howes, revealed by the 1947 fire which produced many thousands of waste flakes and chippings



(Whitby Naturalists 1947-60: A. Smith Collection, partly drawn by R. H. Hayes). Rods, scalene triangles, steeply and obliquely pointed rods and scrapers. Proportion of implements to wasters 20 to 2000. Early finds (1948) dated by L. Armstrong as early mesolithic-Aurignacian survivals: probably they are the same date as those of White Gill (Dimbleby, *Antiquity*, XXXV, 138). Rectangular flint knife or razor?  $2\frac{3}{8}$  ins. by  $\frac{7}{8}$  ins. by  $\frac{1}{16}$  ins. thick, highly polished all over with very sharp bevelled edges. (cf. one found with the primary burial at Duggleby Howe. J. Mortimer, *Forty Years &c*, Pl. VII, fig. 58, p. 28, and fig. 160.) Found in two pieces at different times. (A. Smith Collection 1963), Neolithic. (See fig. 1, no. 3).  
R. H. Hayes.

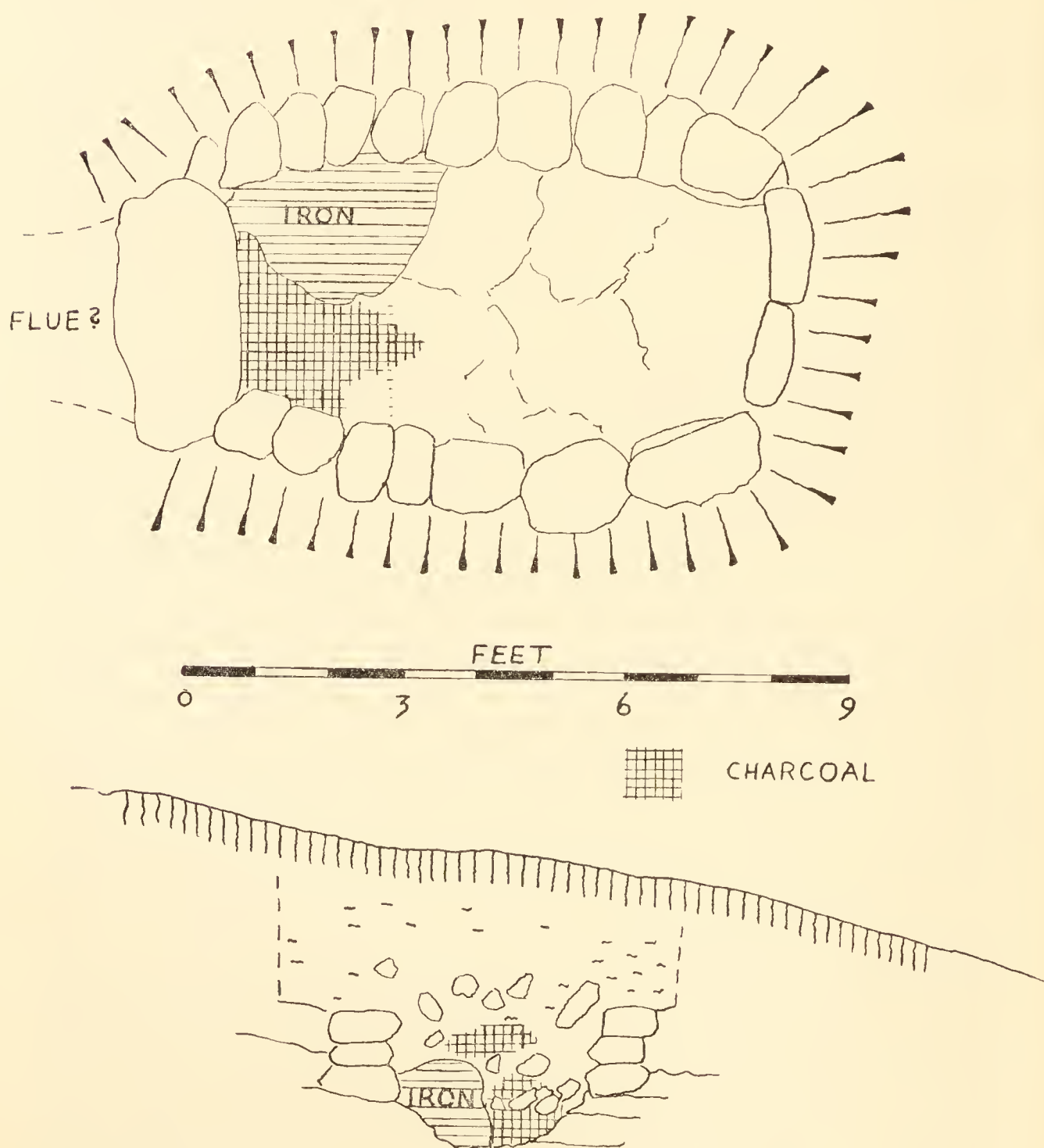


FIG. 2.

Glaisdale, mediaeval bloomery at Postgate Hill.

### Goldsborough, W.R. (96)

SE.379559. Moated site. The Harrogate Group of the Y.A.S. continued emergency excavations with a grant from the Ministry of Public Building and Works. On the 90 ft. by 60 ft. moated area were found: a timber hall, 38 ft. by 30 ft. (of which the traces were partly post-holes, partly low

walls for sill beams) with eaves-drip gulley; apparently separate kitchens with two stone built ovens and a hearth; two smaller buildings; and a roughly cobbled yard. Pottery and small finds from the 13th to late 15th or early 16th century were found. *P. V. Addyman, C. E. Hartley.*

### *Great Ayton, N.R. (86)*

(1) Ryehill Farm. NZ.573112. Flask with handle at the top stamped  $\Gamma$ CO and remains of a flaked graffito ending . . . A, a small spout or nipple on one shoulder, and a filling hole slightly higher up on the other shoulder. In a hard smooth grey ware, the vessel has a girth groove and a footring, and is 9 ins. high with 7 ins. maximum diameter. Found by Maurice Close at a depth of 4 ft. during excavation for a pylon. Kept by R. Close at Baysdale. (See fig. 1, no. 7). *R. Hayes.*

R. Hayes suggested the possibility of a Roman date for this vessel. The flask is, however, identical in form with the traditional Spanish *botijo* still in use today, a clay vessel with a large belly, a handle for a strap to pass through, an opening for filling with liquid, and a spout for drinking from. (Information from J. H. Harvey and G. F. Willmot.) If a recent import (and the fact that Middlesbrough is one of the few ports in England with direct regular sailings to Spain must raise this suspicion), then the depth at which the vessel was found requires some explanation.

(2) Great Ayton Moor. NZ.599114. Quadrangular earthwork with internal ditch. Excavations by B. N. Tinkler (Cleveland Field Naturalists) continued. A rock-cut ditch  $3\frac{1}{2}$  ft. deep, 8 ft. wide, with a paved area inside. Iron age 'B' pot-sherds. Silo pit. Pollen analysis by Dr. Dimbleby shows that the forest land had vanished apart from scrub, and that extensive cultivation and grassland prevailed. *R. H. Hayes.*

### *Grinton, N.R. (90)*

Grinton Moor. SE.036967 *Petit tranchet* derivative arrowhead lying in disturbed peat where post-holes had been dug in making a wooden fence on the moor. *Bradford Arch. Group Bulletin VIII, (1963), 120.*

### *Halifax, W.R. (96)*

Ogden SE.064313. Roman road excavated summer 1963 by Ovenden Secondary Modern School and Halifax Antiquarian Society. Well preserved road surface exposed, no small finds. A concrete retaining wall has now been built round the exposed section. *Halifax Antiquarian Society.*

### *Hawnby, N.R. (92)*

(1) High Thwaites. SE.54689519 and 54839520. Surface finds of mesolithic flints in great quantity in an area affected by recent fires and water erosion. Two marked concentrations were noticed which may represent chipping floors, just outside the enclosures to the N. of and belonging to the now derelict High Thwaites. Small cores, numerous waste flakes, and some implements all microlithic in character, long rods and trapezoidal predominating amongst the latter. *D. P. Dymond.*

(2) Hawnby Moor. SE.5393. Cairn group associated with fragments of ancient walling and a linear earthwork near Low Thwaites was surveyed by R. H. Hayes and J. G. Rutter in 1963. *J. G. Rutter.*

### *High Abbotside, N.R. (90)*

SD.842929. Faint traces of a robbed iron age site much hidden by bracken. *Reported by D. Hall to Mrs. R. Hartley.*

### *High and Low Bishopside, N.R. (91)*

Pateley Moor.  $\frac{1}{4}$  mile radius of SE.167673. B. and T. arrowhead, dark greenish-brown flint, perfect condition,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  ins. by 1 in. by  $\frac{1}{16}$  in. Found 1881, has now been given to Harrogate Museum by Miss Ingleby, The Mount, Pateley Bridge. *Mrs. R. Hartley.*

### *Holme on Spalding Moor, E.R. (98)*

(1) Haseholme Hall Farm: SE.82253275. Kiln site, sherds of Romano-British coarse ware and kiln furniture.



(2) Burse Farm: SE.81353384. Kiln site, sherds of Romano-British coarse ware and 'calcite gritted' ware, also kiln furniture.

(3) Throlam B: SE.83303581. Kiln site, sherds of Romano-British pottery.  
*Hull Museums.*

*Huby, N.R.* (92)

Hollin Hill SE.56645 polished flint axe about 6 ins. long. *R. H. Hayes.*

*Huddersfield, W.R.* (102)

(1) Bradley SE.164199. Two coins acquired by the Tolson Memorial Museum, Huddersfield. Greek AE ZEUGITANA and a third brass of Claudius Gothicus, part of a group of about 7 coins found together after ploughing a field beside Bradley Gate Wood about 1956. The site is now built over.

(2) Slack Roman Fort. SE.804174. Excavation by the Tolson Memorial Museum and Heath Grammar School, Halifax. A 100 ft. long section was excavated S. of the E. gate of the fort across the defences from the interior of the fort, and across the pitched area to the E. of the fort. Three phases of construction were indicated by alterations to the intervallum road and its ditches. A cookhouse site was located in the back of the rampart during the second phase of the fort c. 100-125 A.D. Trenches on the E. side of a natural gulley formerly believed to mark the E. limit of Roman occupation revealed pitching with pottery of 2nd century date, glass beads, and a glass counter.  
(1) and (2) *T. G. Manby.*

*Hutton Buscel, N.R.* (92)

(1) Hutton Field. SE.969854. Surface finds (1963) of a greenstone polished axe, a leaf-shaped and two B. and T. flint arrowheads presented to Scarborough Museum.  
*J. G. Rutter.*

(2) Ancat Farm. SE.963865. Surface finds (1963) of a ground stone axe and two leaf-shaped flint arrowheads presented to Scarborough Museum.  
*J. G. Rutter.*

*Hutton-le-Hole, N.R.* (92)

(1) Water Swallows Farm. SE.710879. Field S. of farm. Fine polished neolithic axe (? Langdale Ash).  $5\frac{3}{4}$  ins. long,  $2\frac{3}{8}$  ins. wide at the blade. Facetted sides, pointed butt, rounded cutting edge. Found and kept by Edgar Dawson.

(2) Intake Field, E. of Spring Wood. SE.718874.  $\frac{1}{2}$  a mile S.E. of (1). Leslie Davison, farmer of Oxclose Farm, found the blade of a beautifully polished flint axe,  $2\frac{1}{4}$  ins. diameter,  $\frac{3}{4}$  ins. thick, very sharp. Further search did not produce the rest although several chippings and cores of flint were found. Now in the Ryedale Museum, Hutton-le-Hole.

(3) Spaunton Moor. SE.697927. Part of a neolithic flint axe of white (? burnt) flint, with re-sharpened blade, flat sides. Other chippings and flakes were nearby. Found by Norman Headley after the felling of a plantation by woodmen, 1962. Now in the Ryedale Museum.

(4) Douthwaite Dale. Grouse Hall Fields (probably). Polished axe (? of Langdale Ash) with groove on the waist, facetted edges and a socket, presumably imitating a socketed bronze axe. 6 ins. long, 3 ins. wide,  $2\frac{1}{8}$  ins. thick, sharp blade. Found by Joe Barnes (died 1955) and shown to R. H. Hayes by J. Gray of Thornton-le-Dale in 1962. (See fig. 1, no. 1).

(5) Barmoor. SE.699907 (a) Large core scraper,  $1\frac{3}{4}$  ins. diameter by  $\frac{3}{4}$  ins. thick. Found when widening the Gillamoor road junction. Ryedale Museum. (b) Several cores, core scrapers and round scrapers, very well worked, and two B. & T. arrowheads found in front of the house on ploughland by Robert Strickland, also coins George I and III. 1962-3.

(1)-(5) *R. H. Hayes.*

*Ilkley, W.R.* (96)

(1) Cow and Calf Rock (50 yards distant) SE.130468. *Petit tranchet* arrowhead, type H, brown flint 1.8 ins. long retouched on both sides. Found by A. N. Handley, Lea Green, Mirfield. Now at the Tolson Memorial

Museum. Bradford Arch. Group Bulletin VII (1962), 44. *Mrs. R. Hartley.*

(2) SE.139457. Cup-marked rock. S. W. Feather and M. J. Walker, 18 July 1963. Ground level surface with cup marks and a distant pecked channel. *S. W. Feather.*

*Ingleby Greenhow, N.R.* (86)

(1) Greenhow Moor. NZ.601027. Worn polished Neolithic axe with yellow patina, thin squarish butt, worn cutting edge, faceted edges. Found and kept by J. N. Grayson, Helmsley.

(2) Ingleby Bank. NZ.599054. Small B. & T. flint arrowhead, found by J. W. Featherstone, Battersby.

(3) Westwood Farm. NZ.578043. Upper stone of a beehive quern found 5 ft. down by an old drain and given to R. Close, 1962; also a small whetstone perforated for suspension.

(4) Midnight House. Greenhow Botton. NZ.586034. Plane Hill. Iron slag heap. Trial trench showed part of rounded, paved, and burnt furnace. Mediaeval sherds, 13th-14th centuries. A 9 ft. causeway of flat slabs was traced from close by the farmhouse past the bloomery to Cloggers Hall (on old foundations). In the nearby forestry plantation an 8 ft. pannier way was sectioned and a 15th century footing from a beaker was found under the stones, R. Close, R. H. Hayes, and W. Cowley, 1962. Another slagheap at NZ.594029. *R. H. Hayes.*

*Kildale, N.R.* (86)

(1) Near Park Nab. NZ.613085 Cup-marked stone, upright 2 ft. high by 1½ ft. wide set on the bank of park dyke at its junction with an earlier bank and ditch. Good cups with deep ring and one ring below without cup. Shown to R. H. Hayes by R. Close, 1963. *R. H. Hayes.*

(2) Percy Rigg. NZ.610115. Excavations by R. Close continued. 5 sections cut into the early ditch to N.E. which appears to be overlaid by two of the huts. The ditch, still visible at the N.E. corner, has an average width of 7-8 ft. and a depth in the centre usually 4 ft. below the present turf level. Three of the sections were half full of large boulders, many of them burnt heavily. A layer of iron pan at 1-1½ ft. deep sealed well flaked flint scraper knife, 2 ft. down. The only other find was a saddle quern. No pottery. Dr. Dimbleby identified charcoal as hazel and poplar. *R. H. Hayes.*

*Kilham, E.R.* (93)

The Grange. TA.07496647. Surface find Roman bronze and enamel brooch, Collingwood type S. iii. Now in Hull Museum. *Hull Museums.*

*Kirkby Hall, N.R.* (85)

Churchyard. NZ.140065. Half of a stone axe hammer (early bronze age) 2-3 ft. deep. On loan to Bradford Museum from E. Cooper.

*Bradford Arch. Group Bulletin. VIII (1963), 108.*

*Kirkby Moorside, N.R.* (92)

Low Park. SE.698883-698884. Quantity of flints picked up 1940-50 by T. Frank and R. Trenholme of Hutton-le-Hole and in 1964 by T. Frank. Four leaf-shaped arrowheads (2 broken), two B. & T. arrowheads (broken), several scrapers, plano-convex knife scrapers, end scrapers, and some 140 flakes and cores, almost all neolithic and bronze age. Buckland recorded skeletons in a fissure at the back of Parks. The remains of two ploughed down barrows are visible to W. of the farmhouse. A worn rim of R.-B. pottery, signal station type 26, late 4th century, and mediaeval sherds were also found. *R. H. Hayes.*

*Langsett, W.R.* (102)

Near Fiddlers Green on the Little Don River SK.154997. Mesolithic surface site found by F. Hepworth, 1962, and yielded numerous blades, cores, waste, and microliths. In the possession of J. Radley. *J. Radley.*



*Levisham, N.R.* (92)

Levisham Moor Earthworks. SE.831924. The Scarborough and Dist. Arch. Soc. under the direction of F. C. Rimington continued excavations on Enclosure B during 1963. Traces of a large circular hut were disclosed and a considerable quantity of pottery of an Iron Age character obtained. Work on this site will continue in 1964. *J. G. Rutter.*

*Liverton, N.R.* (86)

NZ.714148. Square earthwork, outlined on an air photograph taken in 1946 examined. The work was on hill 850 O.D. facing to the coast. No surface signs were visible in ploughland but mediaeval sherds and flint chippings were found. A beehive quern found by the farmer on this land given to F. Weatherill, Danby, 1963. *R. H. Hayes.*

*Marsden, W.R.* (102)

Rocher Moss. SE.032089. 1350 ft. O.D. on the hillside N. of Black Moss reservoir, a B. & T. arrowhead, brown flint, marginal retouch on both faces,  $\frac{7}{8}$  ins. long. At Tolson Memorial Museum, Huddersfield.

*Mrs. R. Hartley (informed by T. G. Manby).*

*Menston, W.R.* (96)

Homesteads Estate. SE.14175444. Oct. 1963. A large sewer trench was laid in the avenue of the estate which forms its N.E. boundary (parallel and with access to the Burley-Menston road), and a section of the Roman road which can be located on the Chevin, Otley and near the Highfields Hotel, Ilkley, was cut through. Angular sandstone blocks up to 15 ins. at their greatest length, mixed with quarry scribbling, above blue clay into which piles had been driven at 18 ins. intervals, the piles of one row staggered with those of the next. These piles were tree branches up to three inches thick or split sections of small tree trunks. Observed by E. T. Cowling. *Y.A.S.R.A.S.*

*Moorsholm, N.R.* (86)

NZ.689136. (1) Flint axe,  $4\frac{1}{4}$  ins. long,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ins. blade, flat sides, neolithic type, yellow-brown flint from local glacial drift. (2) Stone axe,  $5\frac{1}{8}$  ins. long, 2 ins. wide near blade, green stone from local drift. (3) 40 yards from (1) and (2). Smooth round stone with worked hollow in centre,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  ins. wide. The stone is  $4\frac{3}{4}$  ins. diameter, by 1.7 ins. thick. Neolithic. All three were found by F. Tindell of Moorsholm, and seen and drawn by R. H. Hayes on information from F. Weatherill of Danby. *R. H. Hayes.*

*North Ferriby, E.R.* (98)

SE.989252. Fragment of a third prehistoric sewn boat lifted Easter 1963 and moved to Hull Museums from the Humber foreshore. The boat had been adzed with a bronze adze, sewn with yew withies, and caulked with hair moss. This fragment, unlike the earlier Hull Museums' boats, had no cleats. A rope of lime bast was found.

*Norton, E.R.* (92)

SE.795713. 39 silver *denarii* on premises of Bright Steels, Ltd., Beverley Road, Norton. No container. Earliest Mark Antony latest Antoninus Pius. Declared treasure trove and purchased by public subscription, 1963 for the Roman Malton Museum. *Sir Edward Whitley.*

*Otley, W.R.* (96)

The Bungalow, Burras Lane, SE.198450. Large axe hammer from the garden, soft fine-grained sandstone, length  $10\frac{1}{2}$  ins., width 4 ins., thickness  $3\frac{1}{2}$  ins., hourglass perforation. Now in Otley Museum.

*Mrs. R. Hartley, informed by E. T. Cowling.*

*Pickering, N.R.* (92)

(1) Saintoft, sand quarry. SE.791891. Remains of a bronze dagger or rapier, 6 ins. long, 1.1 in. wide, thin, slightly concave and tapered, point

broken, slightly raised midrib. Cf. example from Flotmanby at Scarborough Museum. Other bronze daggers have been found at Cawthorn  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile N.W. of Saintoft and at Pickering itself 3 miles to S. Found by workman who kept it after allowing Robert Slack of Pickering to show R. H. Hayes. Flint flake scraper was found near the dagger. *R. H. Hayes.*

(2) Stape. Intake W. of Mauley Cross. Transverse arrowhead of light grey flint worked to a very sharp edge by large flakes, unpolished, late mesolithic to early neolithic. Harvey Collection now in Ryedale Museum. From the microlithic site which was ploughed by the Forestry Commission, 1954-5. *R. H. Hayes.*

*Pocklington, E.R.* (98)

Pocklington School (2nd field to S.W. of), SE.799485. Polished neolithic axe of grey green stone 14.0 cm. long, by 6.5 cm. wide near crescentic cutting edge, 2.5 cm. thick. Found when picking potatoes. Now in Yorkshire Museum. *Yorks. Museum.*

*Potterton, W.R.* (97)

Potterton Grange Farm, front garden. SE.403387. Pottery Kiln of c. 1500 A.D., excavated spring-summer 1963, Leeds University Dept. of Extra-Mural Studies. The basic product 'cistercian ware' type vessels in a variety of fabrics and glazes. Finds to Leeds City Museum. *P. Mayes.*

*Raskelf, N.R.* (91, 92)

Crowtrees Farm. Field S.E. of farmhouse. Part of a perforated ? hammer or ? mace head,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  ins. diameter,  $1\frac{1}{4}$  ins. thick, hole 1.7 ins. diameter, broken off at hole. Pitted gritty stone, ? glacial drift. Found by Mr. Cross the farmer and shown to R. H. Hayes 1963. *R. H. Hayes.*

*Ravensworth, N.R.* (85)

Stone axe hammer found near Ravensworth. Now in the Yorks. Museum. *Yorks. Museum.*

*Rishworth, W.R.* (102)

Dog Hill. SE.003170. Plano-convex knife of brown flint picked up on a peat bank 5 ins. above the mineral soil by J. L. Turner. Now in the Tolson Memorial Museum, Huddersfield. *T. G. Manby.*

*Rudston, E.R.* (93)

Roman Villa. TA.088667 the small house with mosaics was completely excavated. A farm building (not domestic) under the house. The Venus pavement had subsided into a 9 ft. deep ditch. *I. M. Stead.*

*Sancton, E.R.* (98)

SE.901391. Surface find of samian base (Drag. 83), mark MAIOR II. Now in Hull Museum. *Hull Museums.*

*Scarborough, N.R.* (93)

(1) 22 St. Mary's Street. TA.047889. In Jan.-March 1963 P. Farmer conducted trial excavations on this site. Evidence of four structures were discovered, dateable from pottery finds to periods ranging from the 13th to the 17th century. Further excavations to be undertaken. *J. G. Rutter.*

(2) Osgodby. TA.057827. Excavations on shrunken village site by P. Farmer during June to August 1963 revealed traces of at least five habitations dated between *circa* 1300 and 1550. *J. G. Rutter.*

(3) TA.129807. Roman finds including pottery, jet, and bones from the site of the Roman Signal Station. Found by and in possession of C. S. Briggs of Batley. *Bagshaw Museum.*

*Seamer, N.R.* (93)

(1) Crossgates Gravel Pit. TA.030834. Excavations by G. R. Pye continued on the settlement site exposed by gravel workings during May 1963.



The plan of an Anglian hut was obtained, together with a substantial amount of pottery of the 5th-6th century, now in Scarborough Museum.

*J. G. Rutter.*

(2) Pasture Lane. TA.026826. Surface finds (1963) of two fragmentary greenstone polished axes and a flint knife, scrapers and an awl presented to Scarborough Museum.

*J. G. Rutter.*

*Sherburn-in-Elmet, W.R. (97)*

Manor Garth, Rest Park. SE.542336 Archbishop's fortified Manor House excavated on behalf of the Ministry of Public Building and Works. A fourteenth century manor house with subsidiary buildings enclosing a courtyard and placed within a double moat. A plan of the building that succeeded Alexander Neville's licence to crenelate (1383) was largely recovered together with details of earlier buildings and subsequent additions. Both moats were sectioned. Finds, which were relatively few, included coins, pottery, metalwork and glass.

*Mrs. H. E. J. le Patourel.*

*Snaith and Cowick, W.R. (97)*

West Cowick. SE.648216. Mediaeval kiln site. Excavated 1963, Leeds University Dept. of Extra-Mural Studies (Archaeology Classes). Four superimposed kilns, each with at least four major rebuilds. The lower kiln may be tentatively dated to the late 13th or early 14th century and the upper to the mid 16th. Finds in Doncaster Museum.

*P. Mayes.*

*Spaunton, N.R. (92)*

(1) SE.725910, under the site of the mediaeval hall excavated 1960-3; neolithic pot, part of the base and side fragments of a vessel (akin to grooved ware) with incised linear decoration,  $\frac{5}{16}$  in. thick, dull grey flaky ware (see fig. 1, no 2): flints, scalene triangle of microlithic type, several flints and chippings under wall: axe hammer (? of ironstone), well used, waisted in profile,  $5\frac{3}{4}$  ins. long, 2 ins. wide, hour glass perforation,  $\frac{3}{4}$  in. diameter. Found by R. K. Whitaker, 1962. Now in the Ryedale Museum.

*R. H. Hayes.*

(2) Old Pasture. SE.721893. Romano-British site. Excavations continued, directed by R. K. Whitaker of Leeds. The footings of the S. wall were exposed from under masses of fallen limestone slabs. Six feet within the wall was a line of massive postholes approximately 1 ft. square and  $6\frac{1}{2}$  ft. apart. Four to five were found in the area examined. A kind of quarry pit in the oolitic limestone at least 15 ft. by 6 ft. in area and 5 ft. deep below the present surface had been filled in with boulders and slabs, some burnt, pieces of bee-hive querns, a loom weight, an iron gouge (?), much ash or charcoal, and two sherds of pottery of indefinite date. Above this was a floor of limestone rubble or in places natural rock. On this were 5 flat rotary querns, the lower stones of two *in situ*, one with a metal spindle (?) still in the centre; pottery of 3rd-4th century A.D., a bronze bracelet, and a late 3rd century coin (Allectus). A cross wall was also found and part of what may have been a corn-drying kiln, and an incised spindle whorl of chalk (or limestone).

*A. H. Whitaker and R. H. Hayes.*

*Spaunton Moor, N.R. (92)*

(See also Hutton-le-Hole).

Near Stony Cairn group. A transverse arrowhead, light grey brown flint, very sharp, large flaked, with retouching, was found by N. Headley, 1960, and given to the Ryedale Museum, 1963.

*R. H. Hayes.*

*Stanghow, N.R. (86)*

Charltons. NZ.651149. Aysdale Gate farm. Polished greenstone axe, ploughed up near the house. Thin rounded almost pointed butt, pointed oval section, 5 ins. long, 2 ins. broad near the blade,  $\frac{7}{8}$  in. thick. Given to S. V. Morris, seen by R. H. Hayes.

*R. H. Hayes.*

*Stirton with Thorlby, W.R.* (95)

- (1) Sharphaw Crag. SD.960546. Another of the small (supposed hut) circles was excavated without positive result.
- (2) Sharphaw Crag. SD.961547. Surface finds of a few mesolithic flints and wasters in erosion patches of sand, retained by the finder, L. Atkinson. (1) and (2) *Mrs. R. Hartley, informed by L. Atkinson.*

*Thrusscross, W.R.* see *Appletreewick.**Totley, W.R.* (111)

- (1) Totley Moor. SK.287786. Mesolithic site found summer 1963 (numbered Totley 5a). Over 100 black chert blades, flakes, and wasters together with a core and 8 microliths, found by F. Hepworth and J. Radley and in the latter's keeping.
- (2) Brown Edge, Totley. Ringbank barrow. SK.289791. Noted in 1929 as a pit-dwelling, rediscovered 1960 and excavated 1963 by J. Radley and others, yielding 5 cremations and many surface flints, report forthcoming, remains in Sheffield City Museum.
- (3) SK.291791 B. and T. arrowhead and broken lozenge-shaped arrowhead. Surface finds on burnt moor, June 1963 by J. Radley and in his keeping.
- (4) Totley Moss. SK.283789. A series of broken shale fragments including pieces of shale bracelets with pecked holes and abraded edges, apparently made on the site. J. B. Calkin says that they compare favourably with Kimmeridge bracelets from the Isle of Purbeck of Iron Age A-C date. Found Jan. 1963 by G. Marshall and J. Radley, and now in the Sheffield City Museum.
- (5) Totley Moss. All over this burnt moor are fragments of many clay pipes: over 50 bowls have been recovered but none with the maker's mark. In the keeping of J. Radley. Also a large plate of 18th century Bolsterstone ware, feather patterned, found 1962 by Mr. and Mrs. G. Marshall and in their possession. SK.289794. (1)-(5) *J. Radley.*

*Urra Moor, N.R.* (92)

- (1) NZ.600013. Tranchet in white flint (weathered) and two broken B. & T. arrowheads found by W. Thornley, 1960.
- (2) Round Hill area: leaf-shaped arrowheads and single barb, of very good workmanship, neolithic, found by R. Close.
- (3) NZ.593015. Large flint flake scraper, plano-convex, highly polished, found near (2) by R. Close. (See fig 1, no. 6).
- (4) Microliths found on peaty and grey sand in the area. (1)-(4) surface finds. *R. H. Hayes.*

*Westerdale, N.R.* (86)

- (1) White Gill. Surface find of a small flint axe, light grey, well polished, with a good cutting edge, found and kept by A. Smith, Whitby, 1963.
- (2) Dale Head Farm. NZ.677044 to 677045. A collection of flints found by F. Cook in the fields from S.W. to W. of the farm. 2 leaf-shaped arrowheads, one birch leaf type and one willow leaf (broken); 5 B. & T. arrowheads, one rechipped and smaller than the others; one large scraper 2½ by 1½ ins. could be a reused axe; 2-3 end scrapers, 1 small round scraper, a knife and a shaft shaping tool. The knife-like flake shows much lustre on one side. Kept by F. Cook.
- (3) Esklets. NZ.656016. Upper stone of a bee-hive quern ploughed up by J. Stanforth. Part of another in the ruins of an old building.
- (4) Esklets. NZ.658014. Foundations of a monastic grange. Rigg and furrow to the N.W. To the E. on the side of Rowantree Gill are square Celtic type fields.
- (5) NZ.678074. Part of the upper stone of a bee-hive quern, 13 ins. diameter, 4 ins. high, 2½ ins. handle hole, found in the bank of an enclosure by G. N. Duck of Castleton. cf. Y.A.J. Pt. 161 (1963), 13. (1)-(5) *R. H. Hayes.*



*Wharram Percy, E.R.* (98)

SE.858646. Deserted village excavations by the Deserted Mediaeval Village Research Group.

(1) The fourth season on house 6 took place for a month in July 1963. The earliest period of the long-house 80 ft. by 20 ft. was uncovered. During the 14th and 15th centuries this stone house was rebuilt on the same foundations at least three times. In its final period, shortly before the desertion of the village in the early 16th century, the long-house was shortened by 12 ft. and was only 15 ft. wide at its upper end. Earlier timber buildings and chalk quarries remain to be excavated underneath.

*J. G. Hurst and R. E. Glasscock.*

(2) Excavations in 1962 and 1963 at the east end of St. Martin's church showed that there was a sequence of 8 building periods in 10 ft. of deposit. In the 11th century the church was 80 ft. long but lengthened to 100 ft., with a square east end soon afterwards. In the last quarter of the 12th century the Percies shortened the chancel by 10 ft. and gave it an apsidal east end. Later the chancel was again lengthened with a square end and then finally in the 19th century it was shortened to its 11th century size.

*D. G. Hurst.*

*Wilton, N.R.* (92)

Wilton Heights. Part of an axe hammer in yellow brown sandstone, broken off at the hole. Butt end  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ins. long,  $1\frac{3}{4}$  ins. wide. Hole  $\frac{3}{4}$  in. diameter, straight perforation. Found by Mr. Dennison and now in the possession of J. Gray, Thornton-le-Dale, 1963.

*R. H. Hayes.*

*Woolley, W.R.* (102)

Woolley Edge. SE.308148 Mesolithic flints collected by the Rev. L. T. Johnson, flakes a microlith and a microburin now in the Tolson Memorial Museum.

*T. G. Manby.*

*Wykeham, N.R.* (93)

(1) Wykeham Grange. SE.9585. Surface finds (1963) of two flint leaf-shaped arrowheads from fields near Wykeham Grange presented to Scarborough Museum.

(2) Langdale End. SE.9391. Partially polished flint axe found by Forestry Commission worker in early 1963. Retained by finder. (1)-(2) *J. G. Rutter.*

*York* (97)

(1) Bootham. SE.59875243. A workman's trench revealed well-set cobbling, almost certainly of the Roman road, outside the entrance to Bootham Hospital at a depth of 6 ft. A higher cobbled layer at a depth of 4 ft. was not so well laid or so distinctive, but since only Roman pottery was found between the two layers, might conceivably have been a later Roman road surface.

*L. P. Wenham.*

(2) The Mount. SE.59495122. The main *Eboracum* to *Calcaria* Roman road was sectioned. It was 31 ft. wide, had no ditches, consisted of clay/cobbles/gravel and had every appearance of having been abandoned and robbed in the Roman period. There was an abundance of pottery and 40 coins lying on it. Most of the former was post-Severan and most of the coins were 3rd century. 20 sherds of Romano-Saxon pottery were found. In the gravel of the road metallurgical worked flints and chippings of the mesolithic period were found.

*L. P. Wenham.*

(3) All Saints Church, Pavement. SE.604517. During the removal of the organ chamber of the church traces were found of the S. transept of an earlier church whose flooring was of tiles with relief decoration of opposed birds heads, geometric patterns and architectural detail of romanesque type. They are unlikely to be later than 1200 A.D. Now in the Yorkshire Museum.

*E. A. Gee.*

(4) St. Mary's Church, Bishophill Senior. SE.602514. The church was demolished during 1963 and during this work two worked stones were disclosed built into the fabric. They were fragments of a Saxon cross shaft in Yorkshire gritstone of 10th century date. The two fragments fitted together and when joined were  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ft. high, of square section, tapering from  $9\frac{1}{2}$  ins. to 8 ins. wide. The decoration is of an interlace pattern on three faces, with on the fourth a fully robed figure full face with a halo about the crude head—the arms hang down. Below the chest is a large brooch panel or tablet with pellet decoration within the rectangular border. The legs and feet of a second figure (in profile) appear above the halo. To all four angles of the shaft a cable mould.

This shaft will be set up in the new church of the Holy Redeemer, Borough-bridge Road, Acomb, York, into which are being incorporated the most interesting architectural features of St. Mary's church. *J. E. Williams.*

(5) Newgate—Patrick Pool corner. SE.604519. During the demolition of old rubble walling prior to rebuilding on the site, a fragment of a limestone Saxon cross shaft was disclosed and identified by Dr. E. A. Gee and J. E. Williams. The stone is approximately 25 ins. high by 13 ins. wide of almost square section. Shallow bas-relief decoration of interlace work with animal and serpent forms. To the upper angles of the stone, angels with outstretched arms, and displayed wings terminating in volutes.

The fragment was presented to the Yorkshire Museum, where it is now displayed. *J. E. Williams.*

(6) Museum Gardens 600522. Excavations continued under G. F. Willmot on the site of the late Roman building overlying the fill of the 4th century ditch. The main feature excavated was a 17th century brick kiln.

*Yorkshire Museum.*

(7) Kings Manor. A large quantity of 14th century mediaeval pottery, now in the Yorkshire Museum.

*Yorkshire Museum.*

(8) The Yorkshire Museum has acquired by purchase a rare penny of Henry I, B.M.C. type VII, York Mint. The moneyer, HERMAN -ON EBOR, has a name not yet recorded for this mint. The use of the mint signature, EBOR, in the middle of this reign is for the first time since the reign of Athelstan. The coin is snicked at the edges as is usual in this type.

*Yorkshire Museum.*



## NOTES ON ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDS

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### FOUR PREHISTORIC IMPLEMENTS FROM THE VALE OF YORK

By D. P. DYMOND

The four implements which form the subject of this paper are all comparatively recent finds and hitherto unpublished. They have been recorded by the writer as part of a general survey of prehistoric material from the Vale of York, which is to be published elsewhere. Each of the implements was found by chance, with little or no stratigraphical record. For permission to publish, the writer is indebted to Mr. H. Garside of Goole and Mr. G. F. Willmot, Keeper of the Yorkshire Museum.

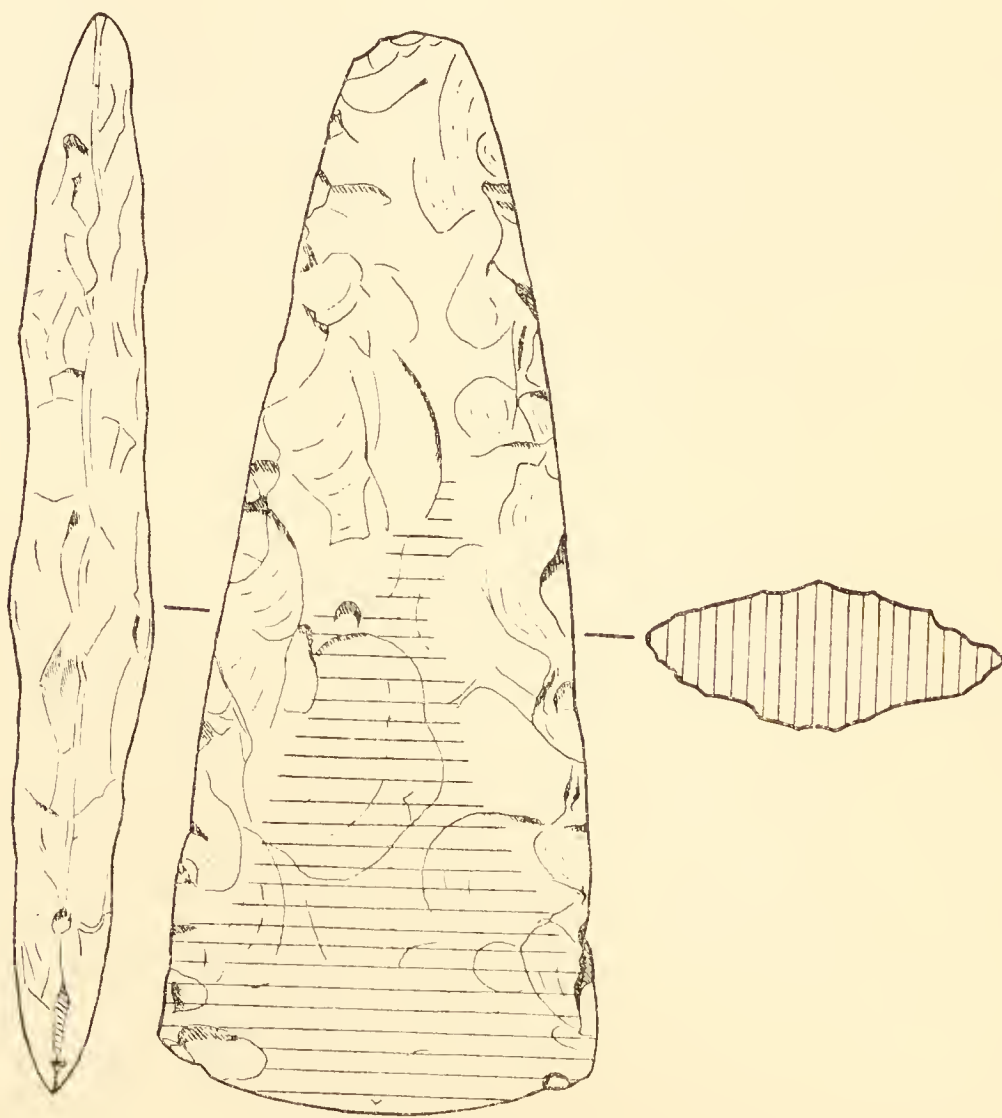


FIG. 1.

Polished flint axe from Goole, found 1949; the polished areas are hatched. ( $\frac{1}{2}$ ).

1. *Polished Flint Axe (Fig. 1) from Goole, W. Yorks.*

This axe was found at the junction of Woodland Avenue and Nab Drive, Goole (Grid Ref. SE 74562473). It was found on 22nd May 1949 in the upcast from a builders' trench, and is now in the possession of Mr. H. Garside. The depth of the axe was not recorded, but as the trench showed an 8 ins. layer of peat below  $3\frac{1}{2}$  ft. of 'warp' (water-borne silt), it is probable that the axe was at least below the silt. A geological and palaeobotanical analysis of a section exposed in a nearby drain-trench in 1952 (at the corner of Western Rd. and Nab Drive) suggests that the peat formed in Romano-British times.<sup>1</sup> The find spot lies within a bend of the R. Ouse,  $1\frac{3}{4}$  miles S.E. of the confluence of the rivers Ouse and Aire.

The axe is a handsome, well-flaked and symmetrical implement. The material is a grey flint with a few white flaws. The form is almost triangular with a thin, near-pointed butt, a crescentic cutting-edge and slightly convex sides. In section, it is moderately thin.

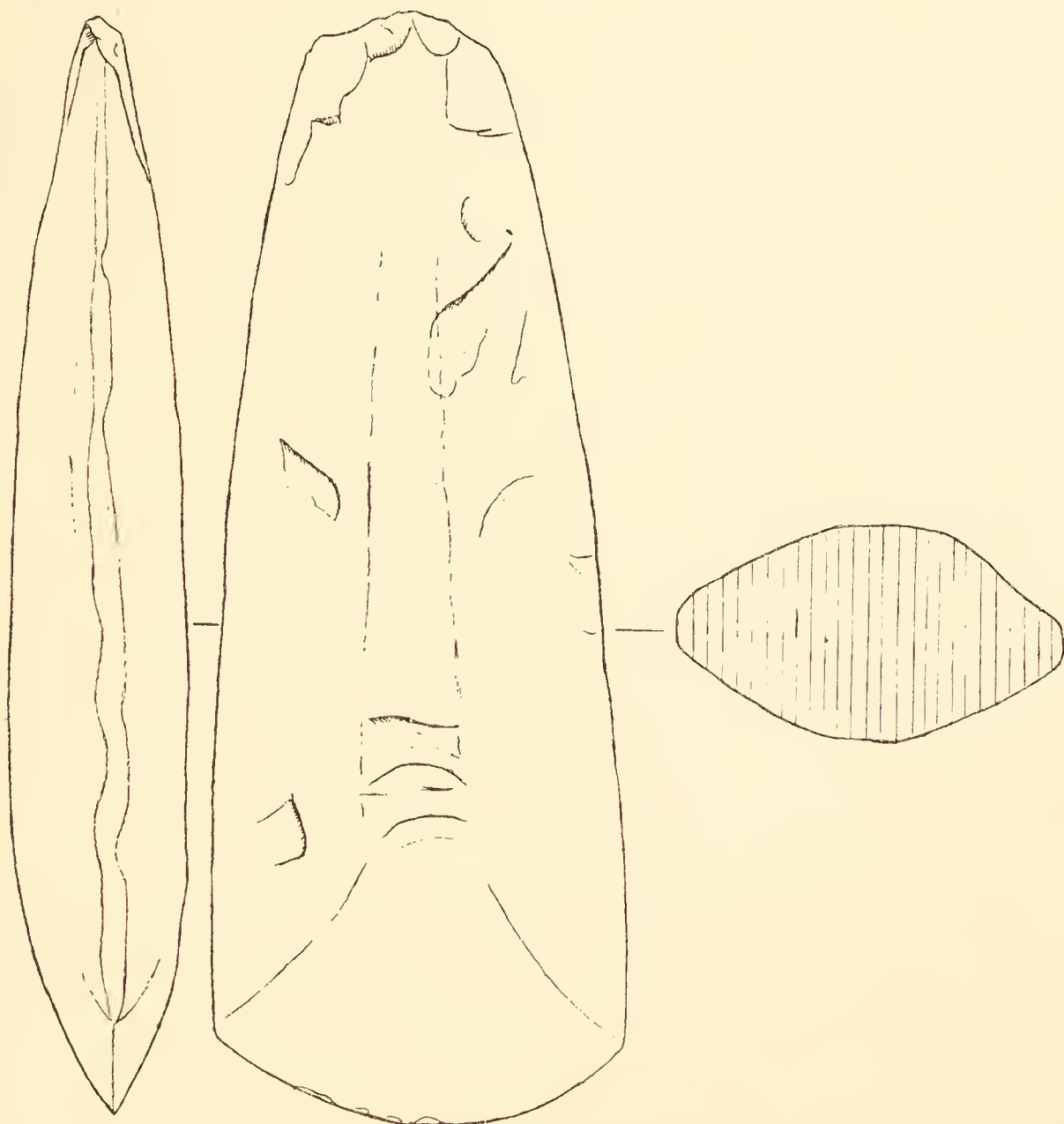


FIG. 2.

Polished stone axe from Saxton. ( $\frac{1}{2}$ ).

<sup>1</sup> A. G. Smith, *Post-Glacial Deposits in S. Yorkshire and N. Lincs.*, The New Phytologist, Vol. 57, No. 1 (1958), 41.



It has been lightly ground all over, but more heavily ground and polished on the front half of each face towards the cutting-edge (marked by horizontal hatching in Fig. 1). Flake scars have been reduced all over, and particularly towards the cutting-edge. The implement was also ground slightly at the edges, leaving a small intermittent facet. There are marked angles between the cutting-edge and long edges. Apart from a small original chip, and a larger one received after discovery, the cutting-edge is unmarked.

NOTE. Prehistoric flint axes, polished and unpolished, are by no means uncommon in the Vale of York. Generally, they have been found on the moraines and better-drained patches of higher ground, rather than on low, river-side sites.<sup>1</sup> Two other flint axes have been found in Hatfield Chase, on Thorne Marsh and Lindholme, Hatfield Chase.<sup>2</sup> Palaeobotanical analysis at Lindholme suggests primitive slash-and-burn clearance and agriculture in Early Neolithic times;<sup>3</sup> these axes may well be connected with this activity. There is evidence that polished flint axes were in use from the Early Neolithic to the Early Bronze Age.<sup>4</sup>

2. *Polished Stone Axe (Fig. 2) from Saxton, near Tadcaster, W. Yorks.*

This axe was found at SE 47503762,<sup>5</sup> and presented in January 1959 to the Yorkshire Museum by Mr. A. Jackson of Church Farm, Saxton. (Yorkshire Museum number 1959.1.1.) It is  $7\frac{3}{4}$  ins. long, 2.9 ins. at its widest and 1.3 ins. thick. The butt is thin and crudely rounded, the cutting-edge crescentic and the sides markedly convex. There is a clear angle between the cutting-edge and long edges. The cutting-edge is minutely chipped. The butt is crudely chipped and unpolished, and has probably suffered later damage. In section the axe has faceted edges and also slightly faceted faces. The axe has been ground and polished all over, except for the butt-end. A few flake-scars are still visible on each face. The material is a hard, grey-green rock, probably of Cumbrian origin.

3. *Polished Stone Axe (Fig. 3) from Skipton-on-Swale, N. Yorks.*

This large, heavy axe was found c. 1955 by I. W. Smith of Newby Wiske and presented to the Yorkshire Museum by J. & M. Marshall. (Yorkshire Museum number 1959.3.) The exact provenance is unknown. It is  $11\frac{1}{2}$  ins. long,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ins. at its widest and  $1\frac{3}{4}$  ins. thick. The butt is thin and rounded. The cutting-edge is crescentic with rounded rather than pointed shoulders, and shows no sign of wear.

<sup>1</sup> Examples of flint axes, polished and unpolished, in the Yorkshire Museum are from Barton-le-Willows, E. Cottingwith, Dalton (Thirsk), Elvington, Fulford, Heslington, Holme-on-Spalding Moor (2), Skipton-on-Swale, Skipwith, Pollington (Snaith), Tholthorp, Thornton-le-Clay, York (several in a hoard). See N. Thomas, *Polished flint axe-head from Thornborough, Y.A.J.*, Pt. 161, 14-15.

<sup>2</sup> In the Sturges Collection, British Museum. I am indebted to Mr. T. G. Manby for this information, and for the loan of an unpublished paper, 'The Prehistoric Occupation in the Vale of York'.

<sup>3</sup> A. G. Smith, *op. cit.*, 21-7; for finds in the peat, including felled trees, bodies and vegetable objects, see J. Tomlinson, *Hatfield Chase* (1882), 75.

<sup>4</sup> N. Thomas, *op. cit.*, 15.

<sup>5</sup> In tracking down this reference, I am indebted to Mr. E. Waight of the Ordnance Survey.

The section is pointed-oval. The axe has been ground and polished over all; a few flake-scars are visible on each face. The material is a hard, light grey rock, probably of Cumbrian origin.

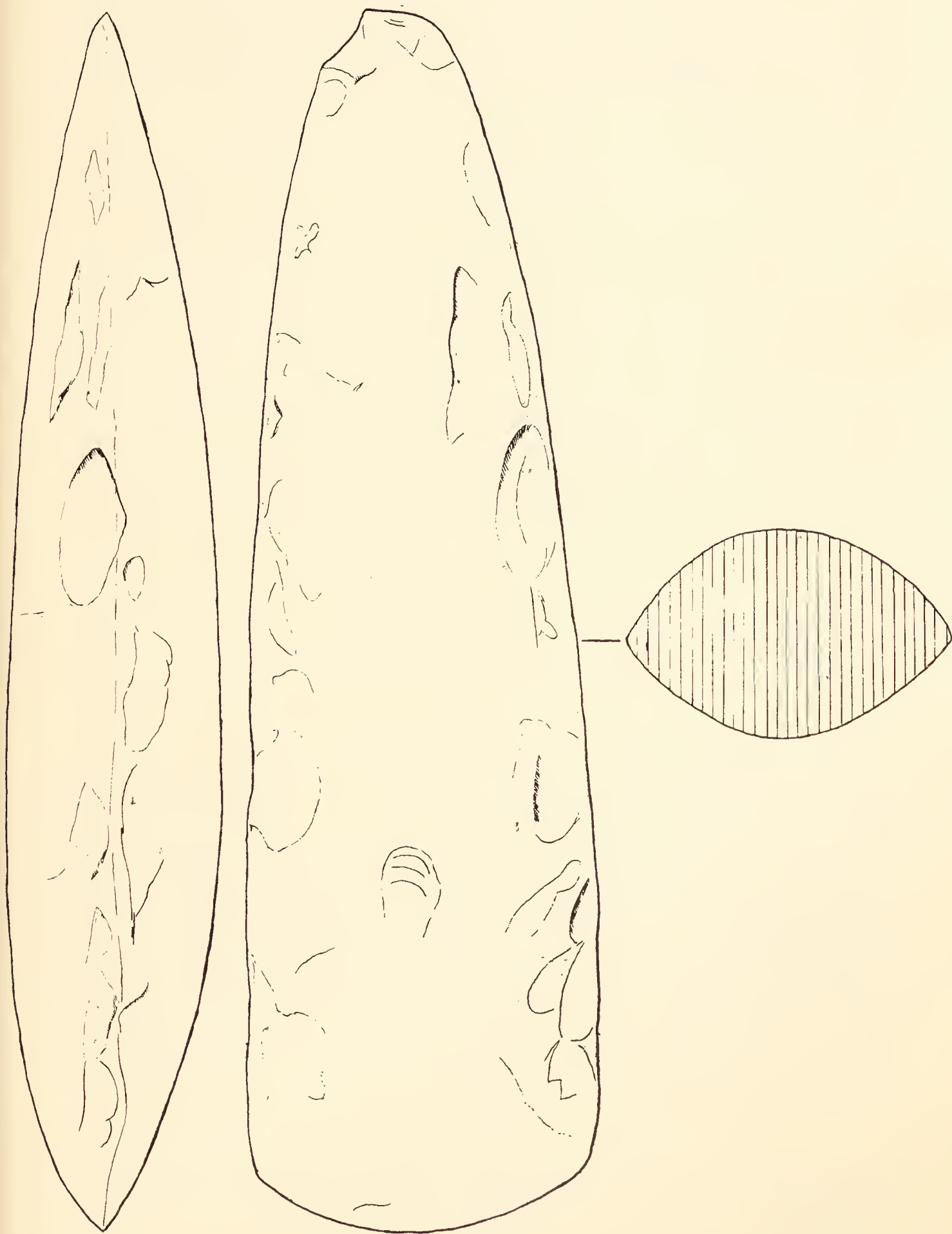


FIG. 3.  
Polished stone axe from Skipton-on-Swale. ( $\frac{1}{2}$ ).



NOTE. Though in detail there are differences between them, both the Saxton and Skipton-on-Swale axes are typical products of the Langdale-Scafell axe factories in the Lake District.<sup>1</sup> The products of these axe-factories were roughed-out on high mountain slopes, and are generally thought to have been finished on the edges of the Lake District, where sandstone for grinding was available. They were then exported widely, following marked trade-routes, and are found dispersed between Wessex and Scotland.<sup>2</sup> Their occurrence in Yorkshire, often re-chipped, is common.

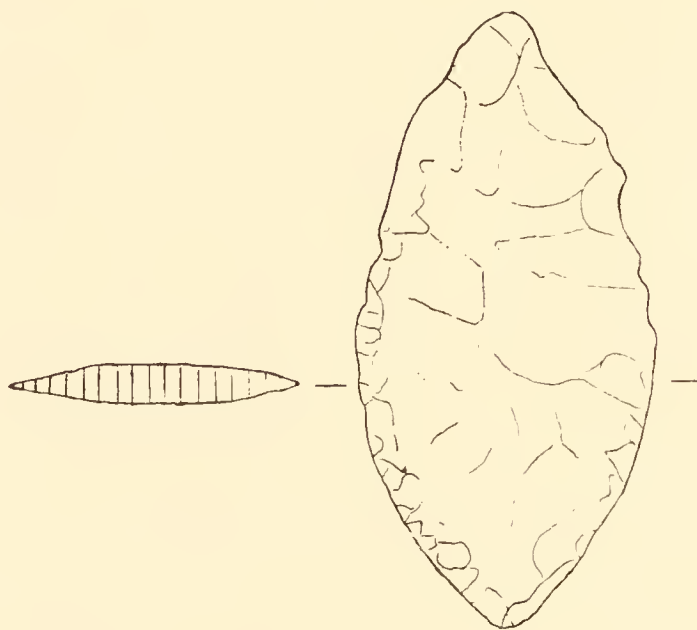


FIG. 4.  
Flint dagger from Tollerton. ( $\frac{1}{2}$ ).

4. *Flint Dagger (Fig. 4) from Tollerton, N. Yorks.*

This implement has no exact provenance, and was purchased in 1960 by the Yorkshire Museum from Miss Long of Tollerton. (Yorkshire Museum number, 1960.1.) It measures  $3\frac{3}{4}$  ins. by  $1\frac{7}{8}$  ins., and is of good, brown flint. It is a thin blade with both faces worked. The flaking at the dagger end is of a finer standard than at the haft, where the edges are roughly notched (probably to facilitate hafting). A small piece accidentally broken off from the haft has been restored.

NOTE. This flint is a small example of a well-known class of Early Bronze Age knife/dagger.<sup>3</sup> Several examples of this and related types have been recorded from Yorkshire, mainly from the Wolds. A flint and stone hoard found in York in 1868 contained knives of related laurel-leaf form.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> B. Bunch and C. Fell, *P.P.S.* (1949), I; R. G. Plint, *C. & W. Ant. & Arch. Soc.*, LXII N.S. (1962), I; S. Piggott, *Neolithic Cultures of the Brit. Isles* (1954), 293.

<sup>2</sup> For a recent survey of the trade-routes in N. England and S. Scotland, see T. G. Manby, *Bradford, A. G. Bulletin*, Vol. 8, No. 6 (June 1963), 54.

<sup>3</sup> W. F. Grimes, *P.P.S.E.A.*, VI, 340.

<sup>4</sup> *Report Yorks. Phil. Soc.* (1905), 49-50; Plates I & II,

## A FLINT WORKING SITE FROM ILKLEY CRAGS

By M. J. WALKER

The site occurs on Cranshaw Thorn Hill to the south of Ilkley Crag 250 yds. south-west of the cairn, N.G.R. SE(44) 12054610 at approximately 1,125 ft. above sea-level. A foot-path from the cairn leading south-west meets at right angles a foot-path from the western end of Ilkley Crag running towards Gill Head. It appears to cross the latter path, but after fifty yards or so peters out. Before petering out an erosion patch is encountered. Here, in 1957, I found a few microliths, and with the assistance of Messrs. S. A. Craven and M. R. Benson of Ben Rhydding, Ilkley the whole erosion patch, some fifteen feet long by up to five feet wide was trowelled carefully.

The sandy patch yielded in all 113 fragments, of which rather more than half were chippings. About 80% came from one small area of the patch about twelve inches square and six inches deep. Although no particularly large stone which might have been an anvil or seat occurs nearby, several small blocks lie in the patch, and it seems that this highly concentrated group of flints was the result of a relatively small-scale working. The absence of any cores suggests, moreover, that the site was in production for a very short time indeed, perhaps only a matter of hours.

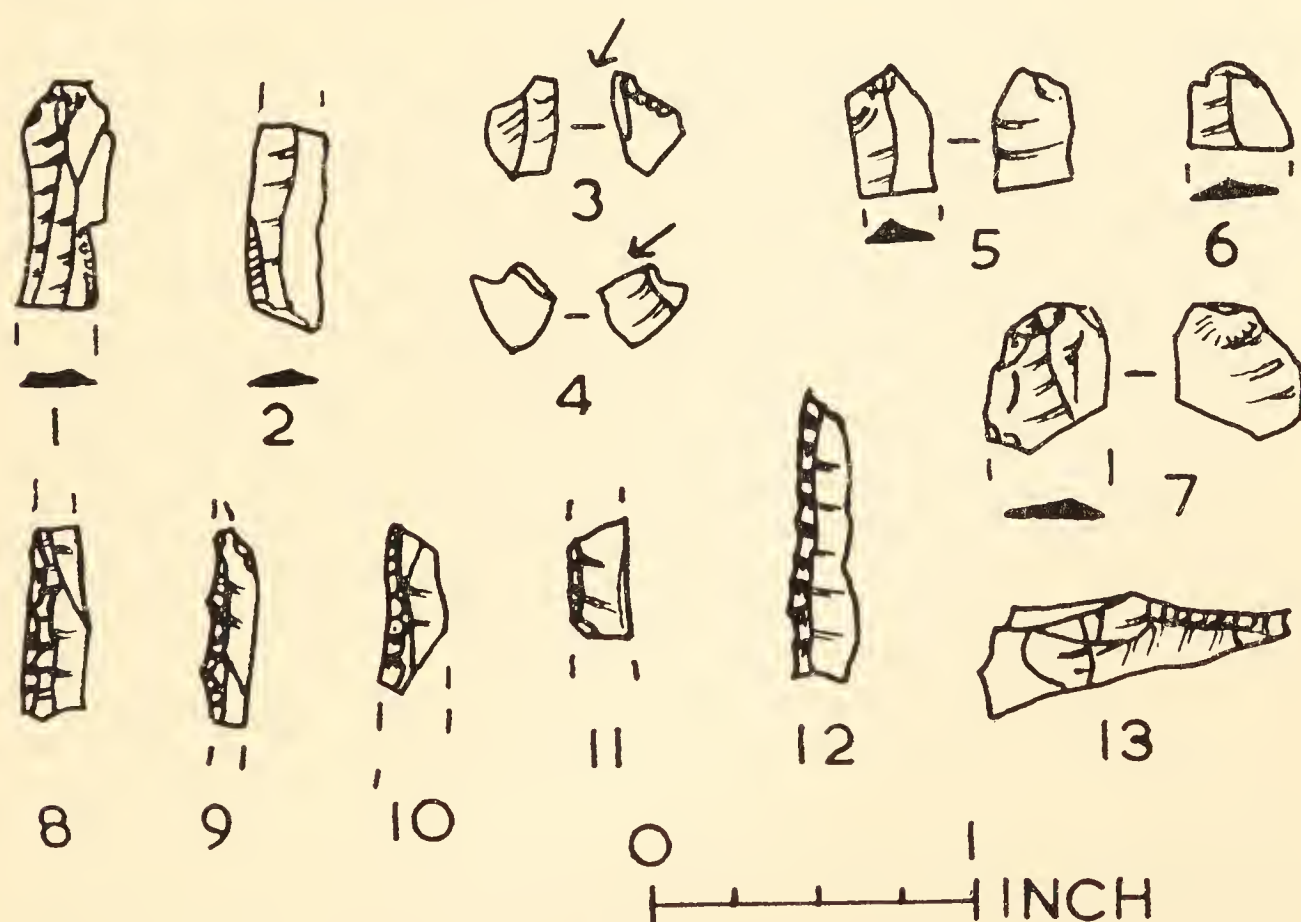


FIG. 1.

Microliths from Ilkley Moor.

Other mesolithic sites from Ilkley Moor show a similar contour distribution, and occur in at least four regions according to the



distribution map published in 1946 by E. T. Cowling,<sup>1</sup> viz. High Crag (c. 1,100 ft). Shepherd's Hill (c. 1,280 ft.), Green Cragg Slack (950-1,000 ft.) and on Green Bank (c. 1,000 ft). The present site occupies a geographical position between the first two and the last two of the above list. However, if the absence of cores indicates that even so many as 113 fragments are no more than a few hours' work on the part of one mesolithic craftsman, it would seem that this addition to the distribution map tells us little about the mesolithic settlement of the Rombald's Moor area except that it was virtually non-existent.

Mr. T. G. Manby of the Tolson Memorial Museum, Huddersfield has drawn 13 of the flints (Fig. 1) and classified them as follows:

*Raw Material.* Either translucent brown flint retaining patches of a brown nodular skin or brown mottled flint with bands and spots, patinates greyish. Both varieties are in equal proportions, in origin they are likely to have been obtained from the East Yorkshire Glacial deposits.

*Flakes.* 8 flakes all of small size, the largest is 1 in. long.

*Blades.* 7 fragments of micro-blades,  $\frac{1}{8}$ — $\frac{1}{4}$  in. wide. (Nos. 1 & 2).

*Chippings.* (Pieces less than  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. long) 58, the smallest pieces are only  $\frac{1}{8}$  in. across.

*By-products.* 2 small micro-burins from blade tips, right-hand notches. (Nos. 3 & 4).

11 bulbar ends of blades snapped across. (Nos. 5-7).

1 core rejuvenation flake, class C, struck off diagonally to platform. (No. 13).

*Microliths.* 6 fragments of which 2 join to form a complete microlith, all are batterback points. (Nos. 8-12).

This small assemblage shows that this site was devoted to the manufacture of microliths. Two cores were used at the very least, this is indicated by the two varieties of flint. The cores must have been taken away after working when only one rejuvenation flake had been struck off. The aim of the worker was to produce micro-blades represented by discarded fragments. The bulbs of the blades were simply snapped off and only two tips were notched and struck off by the micro-burin process. After the removal of the bulb the blades were converted into batterback points by secondary working along one edge. The ratio of bulbs to microliths is 11 to 5 indicating a failure rate of about half.

A similar small concentrated patch of small chippings like this one was found by Francis Buckley on Warcock Hill, Marsden. On site 4 was a small concentrated patch of small chippings with 2 micro-burins and two microliths. This was remote by several yards from other flint concentrations. (*Buckley Drawing Book* No. 7, p. 7.)

The microliths produced on this site are the small narrow batterbacks of the Pennine Mesolithic Geometric Industry.

I am very grateful to the assistance of Mr. Manby in preparing this note on this new flint working site from Ilkley Moor.

## A LATE BRONZE AGE VESSEL FROM FLAXBY

By P. V. ADDYMAN, J. M. COLES and C. E. HARTLEY

### *Discovery*

The vessel described below was found during gravel extraction in the Ten Low Hill area of Flaxby, W.R. (SE 397583). Ten Low Hill, one of numerous morainic knolls on the west side of the Plain of York, has for some years been quarried for sand and gravel by the Farnley Sand and Gravel Co.

<sup>1</sup> *Rombald's Way*.

The O.S. 6 ins. map (1907) shows in the area an oval flat-topped hill and a linear feature, possibly a bank and ditch or two terraces. Verbal accounts refer to a 'valley' between the two. An account of the oval hill was given by Hargrove<sup>1</sup> who described it as 'an eminence, called TEN-LOW; its circumference, at the base, is nearly 600 ft., and the height of the slope, about 90 ft. On the summit is a circular area, 12 ft. in diameter. The situation, and wide extent of country seen from this place, seem to point out this hill as a very proper place for a *castrum exploratorium*.' No record has been traced of the linear feature.

Both these features had already been quarried away when the site was visited (in 1960) by Mr. C. E. Hartley in connection with his work as Honorary Correspondent to the Ordnance Survey. He was informed by the foreman, Mr. Mason, that parts of two urns had been found in 1956. These had subsequently been lost, but were described as having been of rough pottery, red inside, black outside, 'like a sandwich'. Some months later the discovery was reported of a further 'urn', part of which had been left in situ for examination. The vessel had been noticed by the operator of a drag-line excavator engaged in stripping topsoil from the top of the hill prior to extension of the quarry. His attention was caught by a dark patch in the underlying sand and, on finding potsherds, he avoided the area until an examination could be made. The imminent threat of destruction made the examination of necessity very cursory.

#### *Excavation*

The area, already stripped to a depth of 2 ft. to expose the underlying sand, was scraped and an oval patch of dark grey-brown sandy soil about 4 ft. 6 ins. long was defined (Fig. 1). The patch was excavated in quadrants: it proved to be lying in one quarter only of a larger feature, a circular depression dug in the sand, roughly lined at the centre with morainic stones and cobbles and filled first with dirty red-yellow sand, then with the grey-brown sand first noticed. A pocket of the latter, 6 ins. in diameter, penetrated the lower layer and looked much like a post hole. The diameter of the main depression at the depth skimmed was about 6 ft. 6 ins., though it was probably over 10 ft. at the surface. The finds, limited to the patch of dark grey-brown sand, consisted solely of a few animal bones and sherds from the upper part of one vessel. The vessel may have been inverted and its base destroyed by the drag-line excavator.

#### *Interpretation*

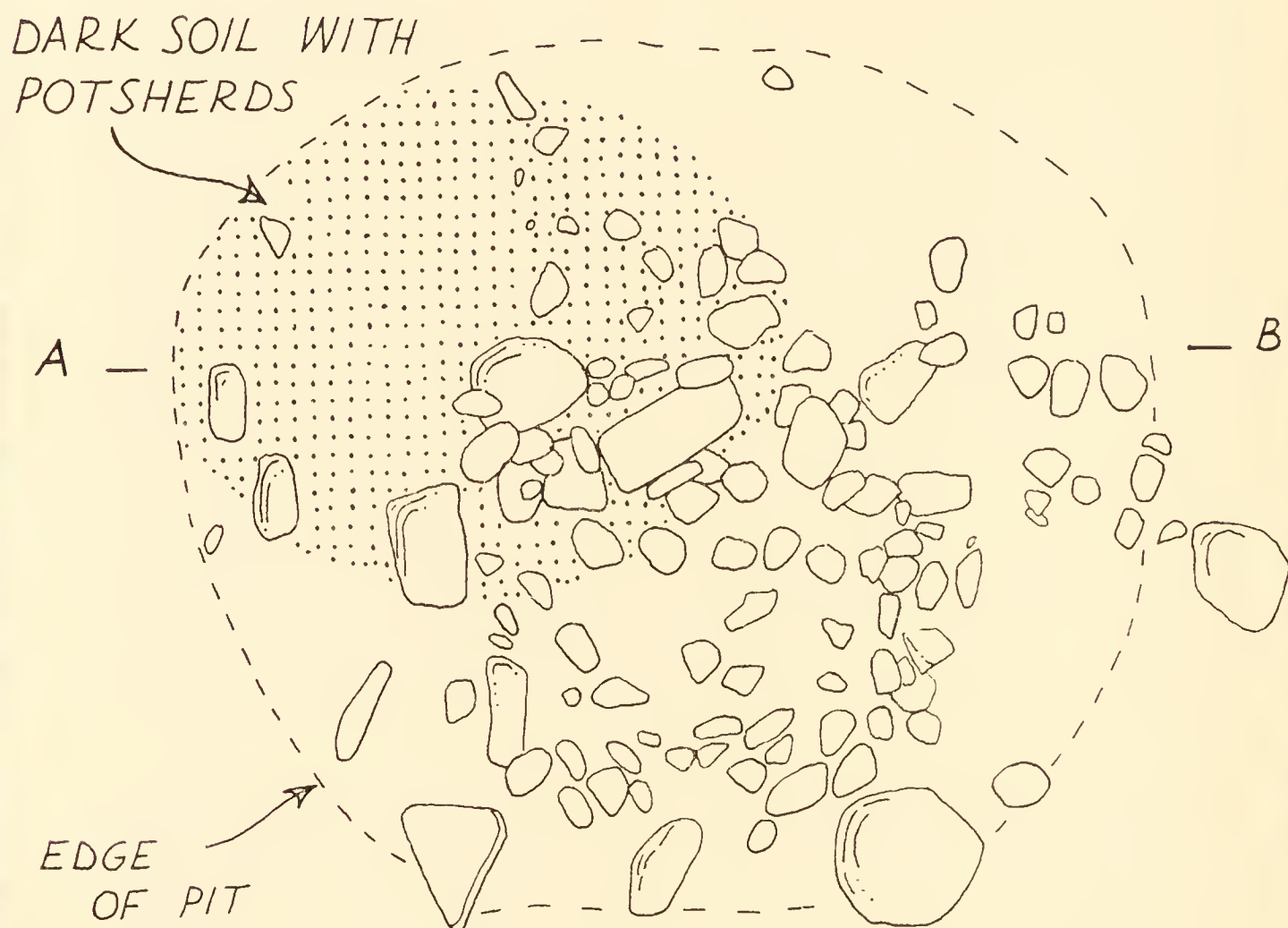
The purpose of the structure remains obscure. The suggestive name of the area initially tempted the explanation that it was the centre of a barrow. A careful though vain search was made for surrounding ditches; nor did the quarry workers recall a barrow-like mound here or, indeed, anywhere in the area. If the name Ten

<sup>1</sup> Hargrove, *The History of the Castle, Town and Forest of Knaresborough* 7th edition, 1832, 283.

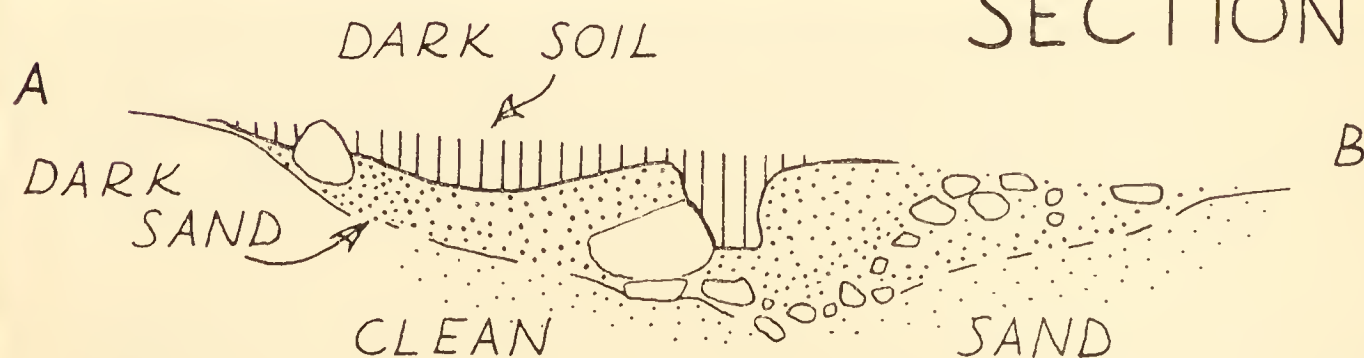


# TENLOW HILL, FLAXBY

## AREA AFTER SKIMMING



## SECTION



P.V.A.'60

Scale 1 0 1 2 3 4 5 Feet

FIG. 1.  
The findspot of the Flaxby vessel—plan and section.

Low does relate to a barrow cemetery, all traces have disappeared, removed perhaps by ploughing, of which heavy ridge and furrow bears witness. In the absence of a ditch, mound or burial, it is possible that the structure and the earlier finds are part of a settlement rather than a cemetery. Though the first find was near the linear feature, there is no evidence that the two were connected. Indeed, both the linear feature and the flat-topped hill may have been morainic, though perhaps artificially scarped.

### *Finds*

#### **Bones**

The few animal bones found in the dark grey-brown sand have been identified by Mr. E. S. Higgs (Faculty of Archaeology, Cambridge) as:

Bos: 1 cuboid navicular	— small animal
1 ulna fragment	— small animal
1 metapodial	— small animal

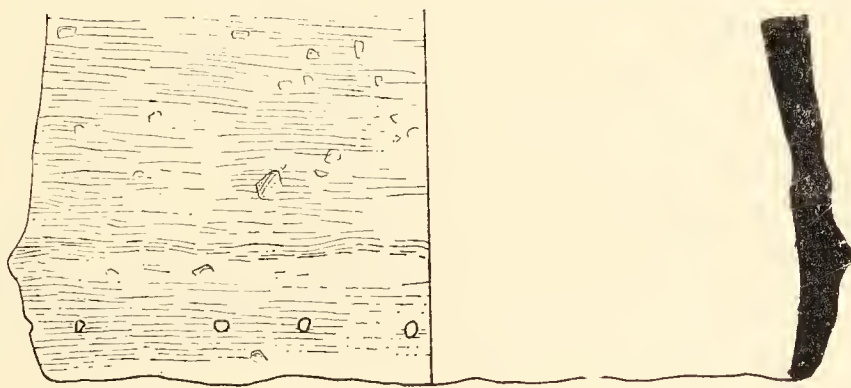


FIG. 2.

Late Bronze Age—Early Iron Age vessel from Flaxby ( $\frac{1}{4}$ ).

#### **Pottery (Fig. 2).**

Straight-sided vessel in rough ware, yellowish-brown outside and dark blue-grey within, with grits of shaley stone up to 1.7 cm. The fabric was quite hard though its unevenness caused it to fragment. The vessel was decorated with a slight cordon 4 cm. below the rim and a row of pierced holes, on average 3.5 cm. apart, about 2 cm. below the rim. Some of the holes did not penetrate completely and can hardly have held thongs.

P.V.A., C.E.H.

This pottery, in form and fabric, seems to fall within the class commonly termed 'Flat-Rimmed Ware',<sup>1</sup> or within this class to the so-called 'Late Bronze Age—Early Iron Age overlap ware'. The Flat-Rimmed family has grown from its inception in 1931<sup>2</sup> to

<sup>1</sup> C. F. C. Hawkes and M. A. Smith, *Ant. J.* XXXVII 1957, 159-60. S. Piggott, in *The Problem of the Picts* 1955, 56 ff. H. Hencken, *P.R.I.A.* xlvii, C, 1942.

<sup>2</sup> S. Benton, *P.S.A.S.* lxv, 1930-31, 177 ff. V. G. Childe, *The Prehistory of Scotland* (1935) 170 ff.



enormous proportions<sup>1</sup> and is only now beginning to be subdivided regionally, using as many typological features as are present<sup>2</sup>; while the study of Flat-Rimmed pottery is far from complete, some general comments and analogies to the Flaxby urn may be made.

Vessels which can be compared with the Flaxby urn in overall form and fabric come from sites at Walney Island, Lancashire, and Garrochar, Kirkcudbrightshire. The Walney Island pottery includes a large bucket-shaped vessel, with large-sized grits and with perforations below the rim. The finds were made in a mound of iron slag at Site IV, North End, Walney Island<sup>3</sup> and comparable pieces were recovered from Site VII, a cooking-site apparently. Some of the pottery from this site has, in addition to perforations below the rim, a slight finger-pinched cordon below the perforation row, more or less as seen in the Flaxby urn.<sup>4</sup>

The pot from Garrocher<sup>5</sup> is also bucket-shaped and has a row of perforations below the rim; in form and general approach to pottery-making it is similar to the Walney Island finds. Comparable urns are also known from Ballintoy, Co. Antrim, and Mullaghmore.<sup>6</sup> Other western finds of bucket-urns with perforations below the rim include vessels from the Culver Hole Cave, Glamorgan<sup>7</sup> and Llanarth, Cards.<sup>8</sup> Savory considers that the diagonal slashing of the upper part of vessels as seen at the Culver Hole Cave and at Ogof-yr-esgryn, Breckn., suggests that this pottery should be treated as a local development of his Late Bronze Age II-III.<sup>9</sup> Coarse-fabriced pottery from Coalhill Fort, Ayrshire, also has perforations below the rim although the finger-cordon is not present;<sup>10</sup> associations here include perforated discs of clay and slate. An applied cordon below the rim occurs on some pottery from Ballintoy Harbour, Co. Antrim; other sherds from this site have traces of finger grooving producing false cordons, while a single row of perforations is also seen on some of these vessels. Single cordons occur on other pots from Ireland, including those from Carrowjames, Co. Mayo, Portstewart, Co. Londonderry<sup>11</sup> and the Giants Grave, Co. Tyrone.<sup>12</sup> The associations for pottery from these sites include iron slag at Portstewart, while the Giants Grave dating is certainly much earlier.

In eastern Britain comparable material is not as well-known. There is, however, a series of probable Late Bronze-Early Iron Age

<sup>1</sup> General summaries in V. B. Proudfoot, *Ulster J.A.* XIX 1956, 24 ff. W. E. Griffiths, *Arch. Camb.* CVIII 1959, 117 ff.

<sup>2</sup> J. M. Coles, *P.S.A.S.* XCIII 1959-60, 43-44.

<sup>3</sup> *T. Cumb. and West. A. and A.S.* n.s. lv 1956, 1-16.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* fig. 5.

<sup>5</sup> *Dumf. and Gall. Trans.* XXIII 1940-44, 158.

<sup>6</sup> *Ulster J.A.* xix 1956, 18, fig. 4, from ring-barrow of indeterminate age; note that analogies for this pottery extend back to Lough Gur Class II ware.

<sup>7</sup> *Arch. Camb.* CVII 1958, 45, fig. 4, 8 and 10.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* fig. 4, 14.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* 51 for comparison with Hawkes' Late Bronze Age scheme, for which see *Antiquity* XXXV 1961, 64.

<sup>10</sup> Nat. Mus. Ant. Soc. HH 337A/B 1931 712A/B.

<sup>11</sup> Nat. Mus. Ireland.

<sup>12</sup> Ulster Museum, Belfast, *Ulster J.A.* II 1939 254 ff.

ware from east-central Scotland that partake of finger-pinched cordon decoration, comparable in many respects to the Flaxby sherds.<sup>1</sup> The sites include Traprain Law (East Lothian), Braco (Perthshire), Tents Muir (Fife) and Dalnaglar (Perthshire) and their dating is suggested by association at the Law, and, less reliably, by pollen analysis at Dalnaglar, to be sometime in the closing centuries B.C. The urn found at Sandy Road, Scone<sup>2</sup> may also be related chronologically to the Flaxby pot. At Scone, the urn had been placed in a small circle of eight stones in a small hole dug in the clay-sand. A cremation was contained in the vessel, which was plain but well fired with a slight shoulder below the rim. The pot does not relate to any well-established Bronze Age grouping,<sup>3</sup> but it is probable that it belongs to one of the several series of Late Bronze Age/Iron Age ware that seems to be distinguishable in Scotland. The stone circle setting for this burial is an early tradition continued down to this period at other sites such as Old Kieg and Loanhead of Daviot, Aberdeenshire, where existing monuments were utilized by 7th-6th century groups.<sup>4</sup> At Loanhead of Daviot, comparable pottery was recovered from a bloomery.<sup>5</sup>

In the north of England much remains to be done on bucket urns and related vessels. The best-known sherds belonging to the Flat-Rimmed family come from the Heathery Burn Cave in Co. Durham, the surviving pieces recently published by Hawkes and Smith.<sup>6</sup> While one of the rim sherds has traces of two perforations, these are different from the sometimes incomplete Flaxby holes, and the form of other vessels, with strong carination, as well as the harder nature of the pottery, suggests that this Heathery Burn ware has little to do with the Flaxby urn. The Early Iron Age settlement at Scarborough, Yorkshire, yielded a large series of vessels, some of which seem to belong to what might be called Late Bronze Age forms, others certainly novel and Iron Age.<sup>7</sup> The 'earlier' pottery includes buckets and barrels, some with applied cordons with finger-impressions, and are generally thick and coarse. They, in common with much Yorkshire pottery, are corky in texture, presumably because the grits in the clay burst upon firing, leaving a pitted appearance. The 'later' pottery has analogies in the Low Countries, of Hallstatt C and D date. There is really little here that can be closely compared with the Flaxby urn, other than the presence of the cordon. Staple Howe, a fortified homestead, and probably contemporary with the Scarborough settlement on the basis of Hallstatt C metal forms,<sup>8</sup> has plain coarse pottery, some with

<sup>1</sup> *P.S.A.S.* XCV forthcoming—report on Dalnaglar.

<sup>2</sup> *Disc. and Excav. Scotland* 1961, 41.

<sup>3</sup> Such as Cordoned Urns, for which see S. Piggott, *The Prehistoric Peoples of Scotland*, 1962, 90.

<sup>4</sup> Coles, *op. cit.*, 43.

<sup>5</sup> *P.S.A.S.* lxxi 1936-37, 401.

<sup>6</sup> Hawkes and Smith, *op. cit.*, 1957, fig. 6, p. 159.

<sup>7</sup> *Archaeologia* lxxvii 1927, 179-200.

<sup>8</sup> U.L.I.A. Occ. Pap. 11.



applied cordons, but in general this too cannot be certainly related to the Flaxby urn.

There is, however, a group, rather heterogeneous at present, of urns from northern England that may be related to Flaxby, but the associations of which are not entirely conclusive. Walney Island, Lancashire, has already been noted as providing comparable material, and Yorkshire too has a number of vessels that relate to Flaxby; this includes urns from Givendale Head, Robin Hood's Bay and Lastingham,<sup>1</sup> a vessel from Cawthorn Stackyard with hollow moulding below the rim,<sup>2</sup> and a recent find from Kilnsea near Hornsea, a coarse flat-rimmed pot with shallow finger-grooves on the upper part of the vessel<sup>3</sup> claimed as Late Bronze Age or Early Iron Age, and perhaps contemporary with another coarse-gritted urn with carinated shoulder, in general form like some sherds at Heathery Burn, but assigned to the Early Iron Age.<sup>4</sup> One should not, however, neglect the series of bucket urns with single cordon or rib running below the rim, which are known from southern England at sites such as the Colbury barrow, Hants.<sup>5</sup> Hawkes draws analogies with these late Middle Bronze Age urns of Lastingham, Yorks., and bucket urns from Belton, Cleatham and Frieston, Lincolnshire.<sup>6</sup>

In general, a date for the Flaxby urn of Late Bronze Age—Early Iron Age is suggested, the pot then perhaps representing a derivation from late Collared or Cordoned Urns, with barrel-like shape but without the common twisted-cord impression or jab decoration; this, however, must remain only a tentative assignation until further study has been made on the north English series of Flat-Rimmed pottery, in which the only dominant feature is the general absence of a flattened rim!

J.M.C.

<sup>1</sup> The Yorkshire Museum; Elgee, *Early Man in north-east Yorkshire* 1930, 85, fig. 30.

<sup>2</sup> Elgee, *op. cit.*, 1930, 85.

<sup>3</sup> *Yorks. A.J.* xl 1960, 310, fig. 9b.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* fig. 9a, p. 313.

<sup>5</sup> *Ant. J.*, XIII 1933, 414 ff., fig. 5.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 454.

# EXCAVATIONS AT BEACON HILL FLAMBOROUGH HEAD, EAST YORKSHIRE

By JOHN W. MOORE.

## A. INTRODUCTION

The excavations described in this paper were made at the Beacon Hill sand and gravel quarry situated upon the coast near Flamborough village. Beacon Hill is a prominent feature in the glacial moraine which caps the cliff section from Reighton Gap to Sewerby. The quarternary geology of the region continues to arouse interest, the most recent work being that of Mitchell and Farrington.<sup>1</sup>

Beacon Hill (*Ord. Survey, Yorkshire, East Riding, Sheet cxxviii 16*), features in local history as being a prominent landmark suitable for the lighting of beacon fires. Small finds from the hilltop suggest that some form of Roman occupation took place, but the main evidence for this period has no doubt been claimed by the sea.

A beacon fire was lighted here during the Accession celebrations of H.M. King George VI. Shortly after this event commercial sand and gravel quarrying began. The slopes of Beacon Hill now conceal a larger crater and it is but a matter of time before this controversial morainic deposit ceases to exist. The sands and gravels have not yielded palaeoliths, and faunal remains appear, at the time of writing, to have been restricted to one fragmentary tusk of *Elephas sp.* which is in the possession of the British Museum. The important Sewerby fauna recorded by Lamplugh<sup>2</sup> provides a constant incentive to field researches.

Apart from the excavation and field survey here recorded the most recent archaeological work was that carried out by Burchell.<sup>3</sup> A commentary on the claims for the supposed occurrence of upper palaeolithic artifacts at Flamborough Head is afforded by Sheppard.<sup>4</sup> I have found it both necessary and instructive to preface the short account of Beacon Hill with a description of the surface industries.

I am much indebted to Mr. T. G. Manby for his contribution on the potsherds recovered from Beacon Hill; and for the petrographical record provided by Mrs. J. E. Morey from her analyses of axe fragments also recovered from Beacon Hill.

Grateful acknowledgements are made to the proprietors of the Flamborough Sand and Gravel Co. Ltd., Mr. G. Robson and his wife, for permission to dig and for their permission to transfer the ownership of the archaeological material to Scarborough Museum.

<sup>1</sup> A. Farrington and G. F. Mitchell, *Proc. Geol. Assoc.* XLII (1951).

<sup>2</sup> G. W. Lamplough, *Report Brit. Assoc.* 1889, p. 328.

<sup>3</sup> J. P. T. Burchell, *Antiq. J.* X (1930); *P.P.S.E.A.* VI (1930, 1931).

<sup>4</sup> T. Sheppard. *Trans. Hull Geol. Soc.* VII, part iv (1931-33).



Mr. C. Pilling, of Bridlington and Mr. T. C. M. Brewster are owed thanks for giving help at the site on numerous occasions.

#### B. DISTRIBUTION OF SURFACE INDUSTRIES

No part of the Flamborough region lacks its scatter of flint implements, but strong knapping sites are restricted to localities where the beach is accessible from the cliffs. Speeton cliff, the terminal gully of Danes Dyke, and South Landing are just such places. The products of these knapping sites may commonly be met with at depths of 4 ft. and above, and in these instances the thickness of the soil deposit may be seen to be due to gravitational flow; this having originated as much from recent farming activities as, in some cases, from the interference with natural drainage provoked by de-afforestation during Neolithic times and after.

#### C. MORPHOLOGY OF THE SURFACE FLINT INDUSTRIES

Upon Flamborough Head, from Reighton Gap to Sewerby, the vast quantity of worked flint implements which I have examined were all very largely produced by the employment of the plano-convex core technique. The 'tortoise-core' is therefore in strong occurrence, as it permitted a high degree of standardization in the finished implement. The separation of the partly finished implement from the core was facilitated by the faceting of the striking platform; at Flamborough Head both residual cores and the finished implements occur in their thousands complete with the vestigial, faceted striking platform.

The bifacial tortoise cores when unstruck are interesting in that they not only reproduce many forms of palaeolithic handaxes, but can be also confused with some of the small unpolished celts of the locality.

Upon Flamborough Head, from the principal knapping areas that I have mentioned, came longitudinal pieces of rude flint celts, as if during manufacture a faulty blow resulted in the detachment of an edge splinter at the precise moment when the fashioning of the celt was completed.

The *tranchet*-axe is in frequent occurrence at Flamborough, as also the *tranchet*-arrowhead and its derivatives. Some of the latter from Flamborough, e.g. the halberd type, are uncommonly attractive.

Picks of narrow, cylindrical section along with smaller versions—the fabricator—occur commonly upon the headland.

Bifacial arrowheads, lanceheads and daggers of laurel leaf form are not readily demarcated, for hereabouts there occur laural leaves of thin section which range in size from the smallest leaf arrowhead to the large, but simple, forms of dagger recorded by Grimes.<sup>1</sup>

Ordinary flint flakes of indiscriminate pattern and possessing a cutting edge occur frequently in the ploughsoil; and crude plano-convex knives are also present. Regular blades and the fluted cores from which they were struck occur in a minority, but it should be

<sup>1</sup> W. F. Grimes, *P.P.S.E.A. VI* (1928-31).

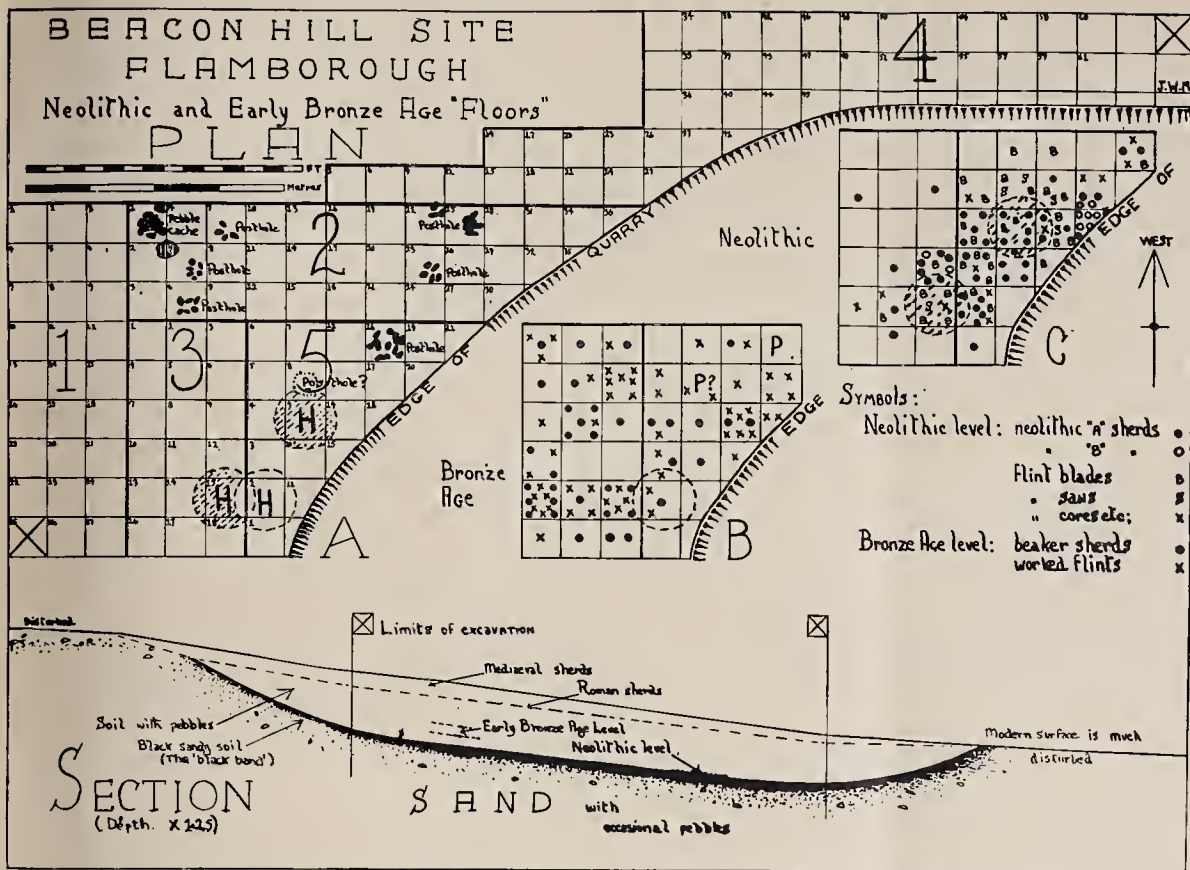


FIG. 1. A. Plan and section of the Beacon Hill site. B. & C. Individual distribution of finds at two levels.





added that true Mesolithic knapping sites appear to be absent from Flamborough Head. The Flamborough blade production was directed towards the manufacture of blade-saws in one proven instance, and towards the manufacture of small implements of microlithic size in another proven instance (vide, these excavations); but in no instance was the micro-burin technique employed. The late-Mesolithic of Yorkshire possesses as yet no proven contacts with the immigrant Neolithic cultures.

Of the type of radially-pronged borer recorded by Bowler-Kelley,<sup>1</sup> I have found one counterpart in the ploughsoil. Small awls, the pseudoawls of Burkitt,<sup>2</sup> can also be recorded.

Scrapers, generally well made, are commonly large. The surface finds comprise (a) fishtail scrapers which are probably better defined as flake axes; Piggott,<sup>3</sup> and (b) the ordinary oval convex scraper which is by far the most numerous; (c) end of blade scrapers are present in quantity and (d) oblique scraping edges are frequently found on flakes and (e) on blades. But the latter and (f) square-ended scrapers, (g) sidescrapers, (h) scrapers with hafting notches, (i) steep-ended scrapers and (j) double-ended scrapers are less common and seldom attain the massive size of the oval convex form.

Worked hollows of a type common to N. Ireland, but rare elsewhere, and whose origin is obscure, are represented by five specimens; one being a deep and graceful recess in what could almost be described as a classic Speeton flake. Butt-thinned and tanged flakes are frequent at Speeton, being devised principally from the Middle Chalk tabular flint. With this group the technique of production is based upon irregular prismatic cores, the employment of the tortoise-core technique being only faintly discernible. With one exception the hollows lack the fine teeth of the Irish hollow saws and have better counterpart, therefore, along the lower reaches of the River Bann or in the settlements of Squires Hill and Lyles Hill, County Antrim, where fine-toothed hollows are absent; Evans.<sup>4</sup> At Flamborough Head, and particularly in the Beacon Hill levels, the flint employed is predominantly that from the glacial clays, these flints being black or brown and horn-coloured in thin section.

The Speeton industry therefore offers a contrast both as to material and to technique, and this is further accentuated by the appearance of the implements which are like 'old ivory' in colour due to ferruginous salts having penetrated a heavy patination.

Larnian, Bann, or for that matter, typological affinities with well-known Upper Middle Palaeolithic sites in France, may be equally conferred upon the Speeton industry; it is, however, sufficient that this site be recorded briefly since it offers no correlations locally from geology or archaeology.

<sup>1</sup> A. Bowler-Kelly, *B.S. Prehist. Francais.* 32 (1935).

<sup>2</sup> M. C. Burkitt, *Our Early Ancestors*, Cambridge (1926).

<sup>3</sup> Stuart Piggott, *Neolithic Cultures of the British Isles* (1954).

<sup>4</sup> E. E. Evans. *U.J.A.* 1 (1938).



## D. CATALOGUE OF THE FLINT INDUSTRIES

Complex of flint implements from the ploughed surfaces	Early Bronze Age horizon, Beacon Hill	Neolithic horizon, Beacon Hill
Barbed and tanged arrowheads ..	—	—
Leaf arrowheads .. ..	—	—
Butt-thinned tanged flakes ..	1	—
Transverse arrowheads, all types ..	13	2
Square-ended scrapers .. ..	—	—
Sidescrapers .. ..	—	—
Hafting-notch scrapers .. ..	—	—
End of blade scrapers .. ..	9	3
Oval convex scrapers .. ..	28	6
Steep scrapers .. ..	—	—
Discoidal scrapers .. ..	—	—
Double-ended scrapers .. ..	—	—
Oblique scrapers on flakes ..	1	—
Oblique scrapers on blades ..	—	—
Bowler-Kelley's borer .. ..	—	—
Coarse cleavers or choppers ..	—	—
Hollows .. ..	4	Saw (No. 262)
Tranchets .. ..	12	—
Discoidal knives, unpolished ..	Fragments	—
Discoidal knives, polished ..	—	—
Laurel-leaf lanceheads .. ..	—	—
Daggers .. ..	—	—
Edges (enclûmes) of rude celts ..	2	—
Stone celts .. ..	Fragments	Fragment
Polished flint celts .. ..	—	—
Picks and fabricators .. ..	4	—
Gravers (?) .. ..	—	—
Denticulated blades .. ..	1	8
Awls on flakes (large) .. ..	—	1
Micro-awls .. ..	4	—
Other micro-tools .. ..	8	—
Blades from fluted cores .. ..	31	37
Fluted mesolithic-type cores ..	19	13
Irregular prismatic cores .. ..	—	—
Struck single-side tortoise cores ..	25	3
Unstruck single-side tortoise cores ..	9	1
Struck double-side tortoise cores ..	8	2
Unstruck double-side tortoise cores	16	1
Crude plano-convex knives ..	1 @ 22 ins.	—
Unpolished flint celts .. ..	5	—

## E. EXCAVATION REPORT. BEACON HILL

During April, 1950, at which time I discovered the Beacon Hill site, it was realised that more than a half of the site had been destroyed in quarrying operations. Excavation was prompted by the appearance of Beaker sherds and a jet object in an otherwise typical

deposit of deep soil containing the ubiquitous flint implements of the region. Subsequently there emerged the fact that a natural hollow had existed upon the summit of Beacon Hill and it was in this hollow that settlement took place.

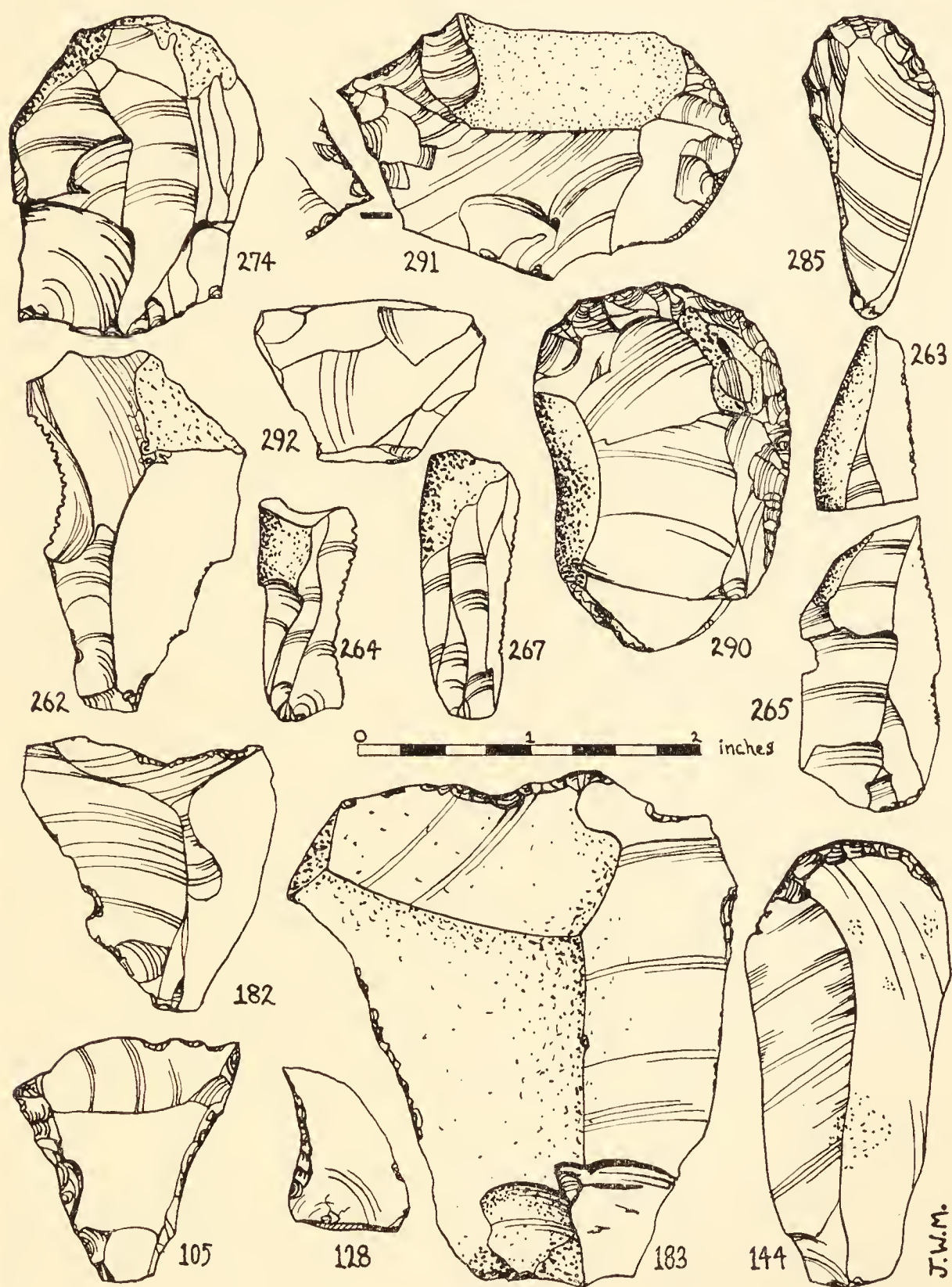


FIG. 2.

Flint Industry.

Neolithic Floor nos. 262-292.

Beaker Floor nos. 105-183. Scale  $\frac{2}{3}$ .

The hollow witnessed two periods of occupation. The first by users of Neolithic bowls and the second by users of Beakers. The first occupants settled upon the organically-darkened land surface that rested immediately upon the glacial sands and gravels. After



some six or seven inches of soil had accumulated upon the 'black band' the second occupation took place. The latter (Beaker) occupation accounted for at least a further twelve inches of soil accumulating. Towards Roman times the hollow, which had attained a maximum depth of five feet, became completely filled (fig. 1).

The 'black band' was employed as a datum and all finds were marked and recorded in accordance with their heights above this datum.

At 0 in. a flint industry containing fluted mesolithic-type cores (fig. 2, no. 274); denticulated blades (fig. 2, nos. 262-265, 267) and plain blades; *petit-tranchet* arrowheads (fig. 2, no. 292); end of blade scrapers (fig. 2, no. 285) occurred together with a fragment of a Group VI axe (see Section H), several utilized stones, convex scrapers (fig. 2, no. 290), a combined awl and scraper (fig. 2, no. 291), and a quantity of Neolithic potsherds (see Section G).

This Neolithic 'floor' rested partly in and upon the 'black band' and finds were not prolific, coming chiefly from the vicinity of two hearths which were identified by burned flints, charcoals, burned stones and soil. No structural features were met with apart from two small boulders (Fig. 1, area 2), but these stones may have sunk into the neolithic 'floor' from the Beaker horizon.

The Beaker floor rested at 7 ins. above datum. Of interest was the occurrence of clusters of small stones set in the ground in such a manner that they must indicate the former existence of posts (Fig. 1). Nearby, a small area of burned soil indicated the site of a hearth.

The posts appear to have been erected in order to enclose a small, oval area. It is to be noted that the Beaker flint-miners of Easton Down, Wiltshire, Stone;<sup>1</sup> occupied dwellings 'irregularly oval in shape . . . The walls were of wattle or some other light material attached to slender posts', according to Clark.<sup>2</sup> Links with Easton Down (Shaft B47, workshop floor no. 7) are further suggested by the discovery, contiguous to the Beacon Hill dwelling, of 56 smooth beach-rolled pebbles of yellow and grey quartzite found packed closely together. The pebbles were in the confines of a small pocket formed of small stones, above which rested a flat piece of sandstone.

#### F. DISCUSSION

The Beacon Hill site, so far as the pottery is concerned, has interest in that it confirms, in Yorkshire, the chronological distinction that existed between the latecomers from the Primary Neolithic settlements of the south of England and the earliest Beaker immigrants.

The Group VI axe fragments from the Neolithic floor show the Lake District axe factories were operating during the Middle Neolithic phase before the advent of the Bell-Beaker People. The character of the flint industry from the Neolithic 'floor' at Beacon Hill reveals a dominant Peterborough influence, and also appears to

<sup>1</sup> J. E. Stone, *Wilts. Arch. Mag.* 45 & 46 (1930-34).

<sup>2</sup> J. G. D. Clark, *Prehistoric England*, London (1940).

conform to Piggott's definition of a 'light flint industry'; Piggott.<sup>1</sup> And it is plain from the evidence recorded here that the massive industry of flint implements at Flamborough Head was largely the work of the Beaker immigrants. Fig. 2 (below the scale), and Fig. 3, illustrate the character of the Beaker flint industry at Beacon Hill.

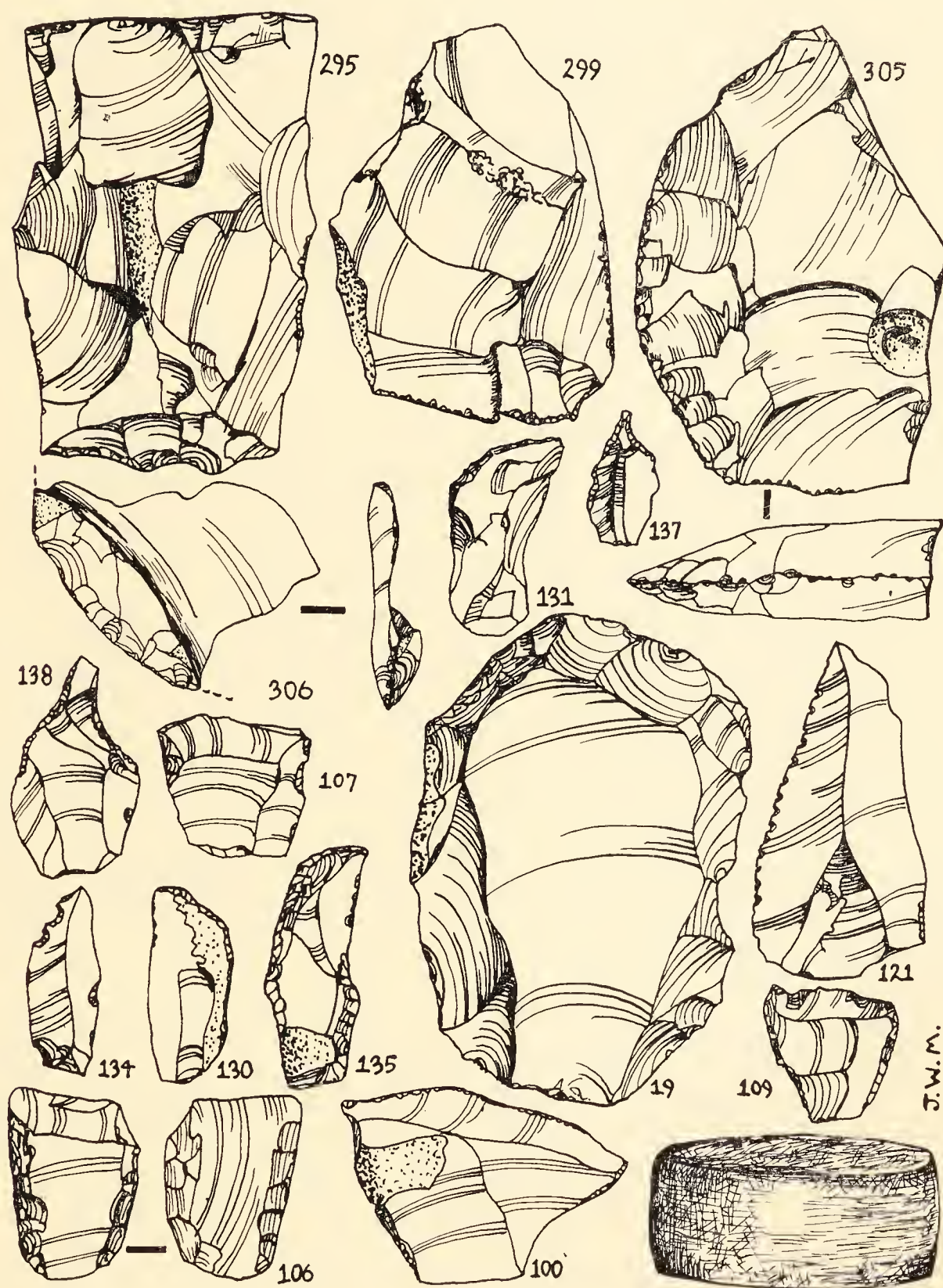


FIG. 3.  
Flint Industry. Beaker Floor. Scale  $\frac{2}{3}$ .

<sup>1</sup> Stuart Piggott, *Neolithic Cultures of the British Isles* (1954).



## G. THE POTTERY (fig. 4)

By T. G. MANBY.

All the pottery sherds are of small size and no complete profiles can be reconstructed. The general state is good; some sherds show signs of weathering.

*Neolithic Horizon**Western Neolithic*

1. Five rim sherds of a bowl with a sharply outbent lip, 6 ins. diameter rim. Greyish surface, brown core, stone grits.
2. Sherd with horizontal lug, slightly damaged at the apex. This and twelve other sherds are in a burnished dark brown ware, with a black core and stone grits.
3. Sherd with horizontal oval lug, apex damaged. Weathered, soft brown pitted orange ware, laminated.

Another large weathered sherd in orange fabric has flint grits. Forty-three other sherds, many weathered, are in a brown fabric, dark grey core, with small flint grit.

*Peterborough Ware*

4. Four joining sherds of a shouldered bowl. Soft coarse brown ware, dark grey core, chalk grit, some weathering on the exterior. Decorated with vertical cord impressions extending downwards to the shoulder. On the body are further vertical impressions but of uncertain nature, possibly made by the broken end of a piece of stick or bone.
5. Rim sherd, thickened lip with external bevel decorated with incised diagonal lines. Orange brown ware, grey core, small flint grit.
6. Rim sherd with thickened lip, exterior bevel with incised diagonal lines. Interior pitted. Dark brown, dark grey core, small flint grit.

Five other sherds, all of small size, certainly Peterborough Ware fabric, coarse orange brown, black core. Two sherds have coarse flint grits up to  $\frac{1}{4}$  in. long.

*Beaker Horizon*

7. Eight sherds reddish to brown ware, dark grey core, some flint grit. Possibly from the same vessel is a carinated sherd; this and the decoration of hatching between groups of horizontal comb-impressed lines suggests a B1-beaker like the Thickthorn vessels (*P.P.S.* II (1936) p. 83, figs. 1 & 2).
8. Sherd with fabric similar to 1 but decorated with thicker comb lines.
9. Two sherds of dark grey ware; reddish slip weathered off, remaining only in cavities. Chalk grit, comb decoration.
10. Three sherds (2 illustrated) of corded B3-beaker. Reddish brown, dark grey core. Decorated with impressions of horizontal cord lines.

In the filling above the Beaker Horizon were two further sherds of prehistoric pottery.

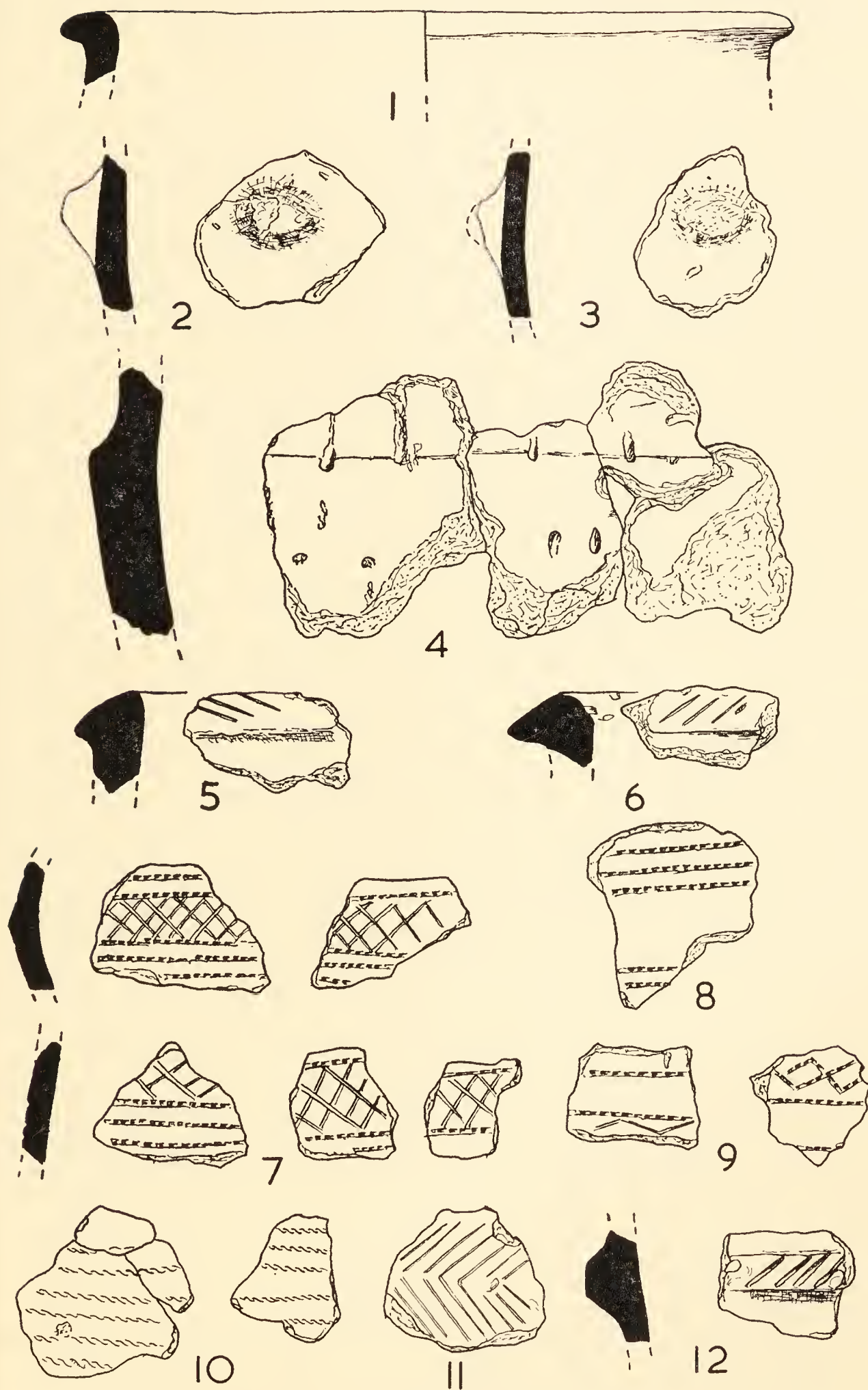


FIG. 4. Pottery.

Western Neolithic nos. 1-3. Peterborough Ware nos. 4-6. Beaker Ware nos. 7-11. Rinyo-Clacton Ware no. 12. Scale  $\frac{1}{2}$ .



11. Sherd of a B-beaker, compact brownish buff ware, dark grey core .4 in. thick. Decorated with shallow incised line.
12. Sherd of Rinyo-Clacton Ware, dark brown, pebble grit. Applied external cordon with diagonal slashing.

### *Discussion*

The stratified sequence of pottery from Beacon Hill is of considerable importance to our understanding of the sequence of Neolithic cultures in Northern England and it has been tentatively discussed in comparison with the Craike Hill site.<sup>1</sup>

Beacon Hill shows occupation by Western and Secondary Neolithic peoples prior to that of the Bell Beaker immigrants. The interval of time between the two occupations is however unknown and the infilling of the hollow separating the two occupations could in fact have formed rapidly under certain conditions of climate and contemporary occupation.<sup>2</sup> The Bell Beaker peoples arrived in Britain before the end of the Middle Neolithic phase in Britain.<sup>3</sup> If only a short interval is allowed between the two occupations at Beacon Hill the first occupation is certainly not later than the advent of the Bell-beaker people and must date from the Middle Neolithic phase.

The Beaker sherds all belong to vessels of Case's straight-zoned B-beaker class,<sup>4</sup> in particular his classes I and V. Beakers of these two classes occurred together in a grave at Stanton Harcourt, Oxfordshire.<sup>5</sup> Case's class I B-beakers with continuous lines of horizontal cord impressions are the most common type of B- or Bell-beaker found in East Yorkshire; the other classes are scarce.<sup>6</sup>

The amount of Neolithic pottery from this site is unfortunately rather small and fragmentary but some significant features are present amongst it. The outbent rim and the oval lugs of the Western Neolithic pottery (Nos. 1-3) relate it to the pottery series associated with the Neolithic inhumation barrows of Yorkshire. This pottery has in the past been grouped with the Heslerton Ware, but its forms and associations distinguish it from the Grimston and Heslerton wares which are associated with the crematorium barrows of Yorkshire.<sup>7</sup> This series of pottery is typified by bowls of forms A, B and C of Piggott's original classification;<sup>8</sup> these occasionally have solid oval lugs and usually, in East Yorkshire, beaded or outbent rims like fig. 4, No. 1. This pottery series in Yorkshire may well be called Towthorpe Ware after the two small bowls associated with six inhumation burials crowded together in a limited space under Towthorpe, Barrow 18.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Manby, *Ant. Jour.* XXXVIII (1958), p. 235.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 233-235.

<sup>3</sup> Piggott, *Neolithic Cultures . . .* (1954), p. 378.

<sup>4</sup> Case, *Oxon* XXI (1956), p. 12.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12, fig. 2. *Oxon* 45 & 46.

<sup>6</sup> Manby, *op. cit.*, p. 234.

<sup>7</sup> Manby, *P.P.S.*, XXIX (1963), pp. 197-8.

<sup>8</sup> Piggott, *Arch. Jour.*, LXXXVIII (1931), p. 68 ff.

<sup>9</sup> Mortimer, *Forty Years Researches . . .* (1905), pp. 9-11, fig. 14-15; Newbiggin, *P.P.S.* III (1937), p. 212, fig. 2. 7 & 8,

In East Yorkshire burial groups of this type, usually laid on a pavement or a bed of clay, come from the round barrows of Cowlam LVII,<sup>1</sup> Heslerton Wold,<sup>2</sup> Sherburn VII and VIII,<sup>3</sup> Aldro 88,<sup>4</sup> Calais Wold 275<sup>5</sup> and Wold Newton.<sup>6</sup> At Sherburn VII three bowls with outbent rims, one also with oval lugs, were found in a deposit of occupation debris in the mound.<sup>7</sup> Apart from Beacon Hill, Towthorpe, Sherburn VII, Towthorpe Ware is represented by pottery from the barrows of Bishop Burton CCLXII,<sup>8</sup> Duggleby Howe,<sup>9</sup> Esh's Barrow, Cowlam,<sup>10</sup> Cowlam LVII,<sup>11</sup> Ganton XXIII,<sup>12</sup> Heslerton V,<sup>13</sup> Kirby Grindalythe<sup>14</sup> and Weaverthorpe XLVII.<sup>15</sup> Vessels with lugs are represented by finds from Wharram Percy 46,<sup>16</sup> Rudston LXVI<sup>17</sup> and LXI.<sup>18</sup> This pottery frequently occurs in the above barrows in what must have been deposits of occupation debris.

The origin of the multiple inhumation burials associated with Towthorpe Ware seems to lie in Wessex where similar platform burials occur under both long and round barrows.<sup>19</sup> Towthorpe Ware could be derived from the Windmill Hill Ware of Wessex, which has a limited range of vessel forms, especially A, B, C, with horizontal lugs and occasionally beaded rims.<sup>20</sup> Heavier outbent forms are occasionally represented.<sup>21</sup> The Towthorpe Ware and the multiple inhumation barrows could well represent movement from the Wessex area via the Jurassic Ridge to Yorkshire.<sup>22</sup> The evidence of Beacon Hill suggests this took place during the Middle Neolithic phase before the advent of the Bell-beaker people.

The small amount of Peterborough Ware at Beacon Hill has a few diagnostic features and would seem to belong to the Ebbsfleet rather than the Mortlake class. The restrained decoration of the Beacon Hill sherds is in marked contrast to that usually found on Mortlake Ware. The rims (fig. 4, 5 and 6) find parallels amongst the pottery from Thornton Dale<sup>23</sup> and Ebbsfleet<sup>24</sup> where carinated shoulders are also represented. Ebbsfleet Ware reaches the most Northern area of its distribution in East Yorkshire, represented by

<sup>1</sup> Greenwell, *British Barrows* (1877), p. 216.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 145.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 146-147.

<sup>4</sup> Mortimer, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-59.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 161-162.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 350-351.

<sup>7</sup> Newbigin, *op. cit.*, p. 207, fig. 3, 2 & 5.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 204.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 206.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 206, fig. 2, 3.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 205, fig. 2, 2. & fig. 3, 10.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 208.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 209.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 206, fig. 3, 2. & fig. 4, 3.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 214.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 214.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 212.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 211.

<sup>19</sup> Piggott, *Neolithic Cultures*, pp. 57 & 64.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 70-71, pl. III.

<sup>21</sup> e.g. Woodhenge, Cunnington, *Woodhenge* (1929), p. 144, pl. 38. 93; Nutbane, Morgan, *P.P.S.* XXV (1959), p. 40, fig. 7, 3.

<sup>22</sup> Manby, *P.P.S.* XXIX (1963), pp. 198-200.

<sup>23</sup> Manby, *Y.A.J.* XXXIX (1951), pp. 1-3, fig. 2.

<sup>24</sup> Burchell & Piggott, *Ant. Jour.* XIX (1939), p. 420, fig. 8, 23 & 26.



finds from Thornton Dale, Thwing, Folkton,<sup>1</sup> Riggs,<sup>2</sup> Weaverthorpe XLII<sup>3</sup> and Craike Hill.<sup>4</sup>

#### H. AXE PETROLOGY

By J. E. MOREY, Geological Survey & Museum.

*Specimens from Beacon Hill Site, Flamborough Head. Neolithic Age.*

(27) 3/14 at 8 ins.

This specimen is a fine grained grey coloured, banded, micaceous rock. Fragments examined under the microscope show that it is composed of angular grains of quartz (about 0.1 mm in size), grains and flakes of chlorite and much fine micaceous material. Grains of limonite are abundant, and limonite stains the whole rock. The quartz grains appear to be cemented by the chlorite and the micaceous minerals, together with a little crypto-crystalline silica. The rock may be called a micaceous chloritic siltstone.

(29) 5/17 or 20 at 1 ft. 4 ins.

The specimen is a very hard, fine grained, dark coloured, siliceous rock, with fawn coloured bands and patches. Fragments examined under the microscope show small angular and rounded quartz grains (about 0.05 mm. size), fragments of feldspar, and flakes of chlorite and mica embedded in a microcrystalline siliceous and micaceous matrix. Limonite stains the quartz and also occurs in small grains. The rock appears to be a banded chert or highly siliceous, compacted siltstone. A rather similar boulder was found in the Cresswell Caves, Derbyshire, but it was impossible to say whether it had any archaeological significance.

(125) 2/18 at 0 in.

The rock is a grey-green tuff and has a weathered 'skin' of slightly paler colour, approximately 1 mm. wide. It is composed almost entirely of a pale brown glass in which are numerous laths and fragments of orthoclase feldspar (showing straight extinction and fast elongation) from 0.01 to 0.04 mm. in length; there are numerous small grains of epidote, of a pale yellow colour, and with very slight pleochroism, and there is also some zoisite present. The feldspar laths contain numerous inclusions of pale green chlorite, and chlorite is abundant in the glassy matrix.

The rock type is similar to the material from Pike of Stickle, Westmoreland; which is known as Group VI by the classification adopted by the South-western Museum Petrological Sub-Committee (see B. Bunch and C. I. Fell, *Proc. Preh. Soc.* 1949).

(124) 1/23 at 7 ins.

This fragment appears similar to (125), but is rather more weathered and contains a high proportion of limonite staining.

(123) 3/16 at 7 ins.

Similar to (124).

<sup>1</sup> Manby, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-5.

<sup>2</sup> Newbigin, *op. cit.*, p. 215, fig. 6, 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 213, pl. XVI.

<sup>4</sup> Manby, *Ant. Jour.*, XXXVIII (1958), p. 227.

# ONE ULTIMATE FORM OF THE 'PETIT TRANCHET' DERIVATIVE ARROWHEAD

By JEFFREY RADLEY.

## *Introduction*

Arrowheads are amongst the oldest, the most common and varied weapons in prehistory, and yet no modern account of them exists to which the writer could turn for a prototype and for comparison. As a result, this paper is a first attempt to begin to unravel some of the problems related to arrowheads by subjecting one rare form to scrutiny.

'Petit tranchet' derivative arrowheads (hereafter P.T.Ds) have been well known since they were given a typology by Clark in 1935.<sup>1</sup> This paper describes a rare form of this type of arrowhead, which the late Dr. J. F. S. Stone called, not very appropriately, a 'halberd'.<sup>2</sup>

## *Type D*

A glance at the illustrations will emphasize that the forms under discussion are rather strange missiles. About a dozen have been found in Yorkshire (see inventory) and they may be defined as the ultimate development of Clark's Type D and indeed of all the chisel-ended forms.

The normal Type D has a chisel-ended striking edge, commonly between 3-4.0 cms, and averaging 3.6 cm in breadth; its length is always shorter than its breadth, averaging 3.3 cm. Figs. 3 and 4 are similar to those illustrated by Clark,<sup>3</sup> but more symmetrical than most, which have an irregular but usually convex striking edge, normally without retouch (a diagnostic property), and with many varied shapes which were partly dependent on the form of the original flake. Normally, Type D forms have only one 'horn' or elongation (fig. 5). These are flake tools in contrast to the Mesolithic blade P.T.D. forms (fig. 1).

## *The developed form*

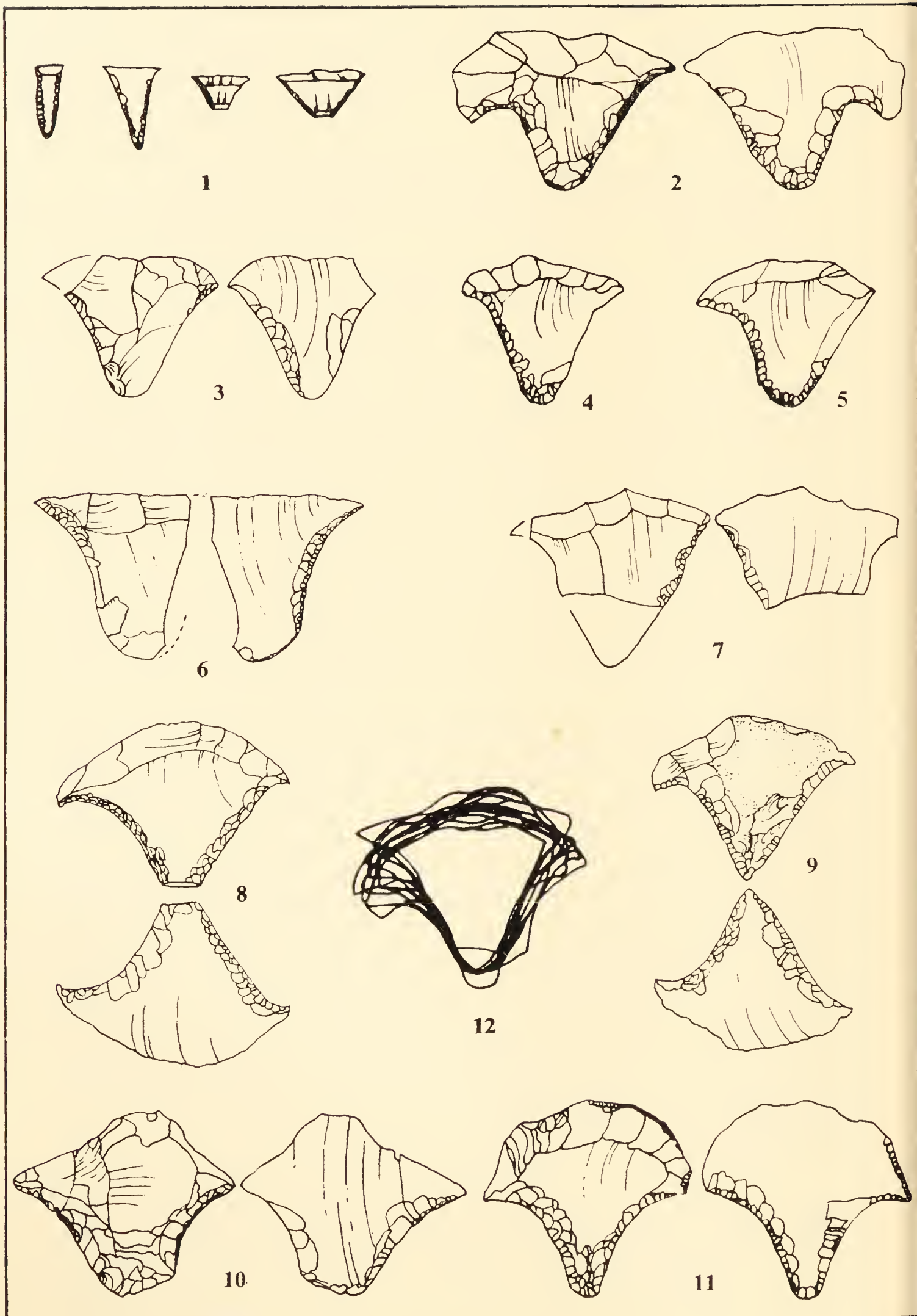
Several Yorkshire P.T.Ds have further refinements which are so repetitive as to make a standard product. Firstly, they are invariably bigger than the normal Type D and much larger than the original continental Tardenoisian form (fig. 1). They all exceed 6.0 cm in breadth, averaging 5.4 cm, and are 4.4 cm in average length.

<sup>1</sup> Clark, J. G. D. 1934. Derivative forms of the 'petit tranchet' in Britain. *Arch. Jnl.* v. 91, pp. 32-58.

<sup>2</sup> Stone, J. F. S. 1935. Some discoveries at Ratfyn . . . . *W.A.M.* v. xlvii, pp. 55-67.

<sup>3</sup> Clark, *loc. cit.*





FIGS. 1-12.

The range of transverse Type D forms: fig. 1 shows four Tardenoisian petit tranchet forms; figs. 3, 4, 5 and 7 are normal derivative Type D; figs. 8-11 are developed forms. Fig. 12 is an overlay of most known examples. Scale:  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

Secondly, there is much less variation in form. Type D's one well-developed 'horn', being opposed by a straight side or an incipient point, is replaced in the developed form by a standardized outline, with a symmetrical bifacially-worked haft, and two symmetrical horns, which are present in the smaller forms of figs. 3, 4, are incipient in fig. 7, but are fully developed in figs. 8-11. The trend towards symmetry is emphasized by the appearance of retouching on the striking-edge of fig. 11. Thirdly, they are flake tools, which have been struck from a large, well-prepared core. It produced a flake with a faceted edge, which reveals the previous preparatory work on the core. The arrowhead was always made with the bulb of percussion to one side, where it was duly removed during the haft-making process. The faceted edge became the striking edge and it was sometimes thinned by removing several flat flakes from its surface, while the opposing edge of the flake was worked into a tang. This is an invariable pattern. Fourthly, the arrowhead was always made from an excellent raw material, usually grey flint, but fig. 6 is made from black chert; the end product is so large a missile that it could not afford to be crude and unwieldy. The weapon is, therefore, extremely large and delicate, symmetrical and chisel-ended, a missile of unusual properties. The unity of form is emphasized by fig. 12, an overlay of most of the known outlines.

#### *Its use*

The use of this large missile is not fully understood. It has been suggested<sup>1</sup> that it was for shooting birds and that it would not stick in trees and be lost. Various forms of arrowheads were used in fishing in North Eurasia.<sup>2</sup> Feathers were used in ritual dress and it might be that blunt arrowheads killed birds without ruining their feathers. It would not be lost in the way an arrow penetrating, but not killing, an animal might be.

Experiments have been conducted with simulated large Type D arrowheads, using a 6 ft. fibreglass bow of 56 lb. pull and a steel bow of 43 lb. pull and 28 ins. arrows, both with and without fletches. The average flight of an arrow with three 3 ins. fletches was 46 yds. and was quite straight; without fletches, the arrow veered as much as 11 yds. Type H, the single barbed arrowhead, was also tested and an average distance of 54 yds. was achieved, hitting a 2 ft. target at 50 yds. With larger fletches, as used with modern hunting arrows, greater distance could be achieved. This establishes beyond reasonable doubt that these large and oddly shaped missiles, mounted only with cotton, are a well balanced and successful aerodynamic shape. From an archer's viewpoint, it would appear that maximum width of arrowhead with minimum weight was desirable, which perhaps led to the evolution of this ultimate 'cut-away' double-horned form.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> B. M. Publication, 1950. Flint Implements, p. 54. Plate vi, No. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Mongait, A. L. 1961. Archaeology in the U.S.S.R.

<sup>3</sup> The writer is indebted to Mr. F. Hepworth of Stocksbridge, Sheffield and a member of the Samuel Fox Archery Club for conducting these trials.



### *Distribution*

The distribution of the few known examples is simple. There are no doubt many others, but the pattern of two concentrations—one in the Southern Pennines and one in the Wolds—will probably remain unchanged.

Unfortunately, arrowheads are usually surface finds, but because this arrowhead form is reasonably distinct it has two obvious uses. Firstly, it can be used comparatively like all other P.T.Ds found in burials; normal Type D has been found at Duggleby Howe,<sup>1</sup> for example. Secondly, it can be used to show cultural contact. The wide range of P.T.D. forms could stem from a common source, or be of independent origin, but the standardized developed form of Type D is clearly diffused from one centre, and because a greater number have so far been recognized in Yorkshire, it is possible that it developed here.

Elsewhere in England, the normal Type D is not rare in a Late Neolithic context; it was found in Hole 11 at Dorchester 1;<sup>2</sup> in post-holes at Woodhenge;<sup>3</sup> in the Neolithic ditch at Maiden Castle;<sup>4</sup> and elsewhere. One developed form (fig. 2) was found in a pit at Ratfyn,<sup>5</sup> and a probable unfinished example came from the floor of Durrington flint mine.<sup>6</sup> There is at least one from Icklingham, Suffolk.<sup>7</sup>

### *Evolution and Devolution*

The P.T.D. is always regarded as a survival of a Mesolithic form, but clearly the diversity of derivative forms, their size, frequency, and universal occurrence in Britain emphasize that it was an evolving form, which fulfilled a function alongside the leaf—and perhaps the barb-and-tang arrowheads. Clearly we are only at the beginning of our understanding of these missiles, and no obvious pattern of evolution can be traced.

The dating of this 'Mesolithic survival' is bound up with the current confusion concerning the uncertain relationships of persisting Mesolithic, various Neolithic, and Beaker elements on a national scale. Fig. 6 is part of a chert industry, of which the only other discovered tools were very standardized geometric microliths. The Ratfyn example was found with Rinyo-Clacton Ware. Fig. 8 was found, apparently where dropped, together with a large lanceolate point. Type D undoubtedly existed into Beaker times, when Bronze flat axes were in use.<sup>8</sup> When some of the large cultural

<sup>1</sup> Mortimer, J. R. 1905. Forty years researches . . . . ., p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> Atkinson, R. J. C. *et al.* 1951. Excavations at Dorchester, Oxon. No. 72 & 200.

<sup>3</sup> Cunington, C. M. 1929. Woodhenge. Plate 24, No. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Wheeler, R. E. M. 1943. Maiden Castle, Dorset, p. 18 & 174, F.54.

<sup>5</sup> Stone. *op. cit.*

<sup>6</sup> Stone, J. F. S. & A. St. J. Booth. 1952. A flint mine at Durrington, Wilts. *W.A.M.* v. liv, pp. 381-8.

<sup>7</sup> Pitt-Rivers Museum, Farnham, Dorset.

<sup>8</sup> It may be completely irrelevant, and coincidental, that the developed P.T.D. and the Early Bronze Age flat axe are the only prehistoric weapons with the true 'double horned' striking edge.

assemblages have been adequately dated, there will be a better opportunity of tracing the evolution of Type D.



FIG. 13.

A possible devolved form from Derbyshire.  $\frac{1}{1}$ .

As an arrowhead, the advanced Type D represents the ultimate form of evolution of its type and perhaps the largest most intricate and delicate of all 'petit tranchet' derivatives. The need for this form seems to have vanished at some time in the Early Bronze Age, certainly before the classical Wessex culture in the south, but not before possibly devolved forms were produced. Fig. 13 is one of 15 examples of an arrowhead form from Derbyshire,<sup>1</sup> which may be a devolved form. It has the worked base, tranchet edge, but with one very extended horn which becomes a single tang. Probably here the point has become more important than the chisel-edge, but it is quite distinct from the pointed Type H & I P.T.D. forms, which existed alongside Type D. Clearly, more of these forms need recognizing so that they may help to unravel the strands of the 'overlap' of the Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age. More important, there is a great lack of detailed studies of particular forms of arrowheads, so that any conclusion drawn here or elsewhere must be essentially very tentative, but it is a step towards a better understanding of the many and varied types of arrowhead.

#### APPENDIX

*Provisional list of developed Type D forms; giving location, finder, and present whereabouts.*

1. North Dale Farm, Bridlington, E.R. A. L. Armstrong. Scunthorpe Museum (fig. 9).
2. Derbyshire. Derby Museum.
3. East Moor, Derbyshire. C. Gregory. Private collection.
4. East Moor, Derbyshire. C. Gregory. Private collection.
5. Broomhead Moor, W.R. P. Mellars. Private Collection (fig. 4).
6. Houndkirk Moor, W.R. P. Mellars. Private Collection (fig. 6).
7. Ewden Valley, W.R. F. Hepworth. Private Collection (fig. 7).
8. Broomhead Moor, W.R. G. Marshall. Private Collection (fig. 8).
9. Keighley Moor, W.R. Finder not known. Keighley Museum.
10. Urra Moor, N.R. History of Helmsley. (1962, p. 350, fig. 3, 1).
11. Folkton Carr, E.R. T. G. Manby. Sewerby Hall Museum, Bridlington.
12. Tintwistle Low Moor, Cheshire. Ashton collection. Manchester Museum.

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<sup>1</sup> Bateman Collection, Sheffield City Museum.



*Related forms (not exhaustive)*

1. Harden Edge, W.R. F. Hepworth. Private Collection (fig. 1).
2. North Burton, E.R. A. L. Armstrong. Scunthorpe Museum (fig. 2).
3. Bilsdale, N.R. A. L. Armstrong. Scunthorpe Museum (fig. 3).
4. Dead Edge Moss, W.R. F. Hepworth. Private Collection (fig. 5).
5. Duggleby Howe, E.R. Mortimer Collection. Hull Museum.
6. Totley Moss, W.R. F. Hepworth. Private Collection.
7. East Moor, Derbyshire. New Bridge Farm. Sheffield City Museum.
8. Moscar Moor, W.R. A. L. Armstrong. Sheffield City Museum.
9. Ughill, W.R. A. L. Armstrong. Sheffield City Museum.
10. Derbyshire. Plate vi, figs. 9 & 10, B. M. Guide 'Flint Implements', 1950.

*Acknowledgements*

The writer is indebted to Mr. T. G. Manby for information concerning arrowheads; to those private collectors who made their collections readily available to him, and to Miss S. Radley for the numerous preparatory and final typescripts.

# ROMAN MALTON : THE CIVILIAN SETTLEMENT

Excavations in Orchard Field, 1949-1952

By N. MITCHELSON

The first systematic excavations in Orchard Field took place between 1927 and 1930 under the direction of the late Dr. J. L. Kirk who confined his attention to the study of the defences of the fort. The results of Dr. Kirk's work were published as 'The Defences of the Roman Fort at Malton' by Dr. Corder. This volume was the second of a series of reports on Roman Malton and District published by the Yorkshire Archaeological Society.

Although Dr. Kirk studied only a small part of the total area of Orchard Field it was strongly suspected that the investigation of other parts would yield profitable results. It was for this reason that the field was scheduled by the Ministry of Works, although for the moment no further excavation was undertaken. This was the situation when, in 1948, the North Riding County Council announced their wish to build a group of houses for firemen at the S.E. end of the field. The Department of Ancient Monuments insisted that no building should take place until the area on which it was proposed to build had been dug; the result was the series of excavations to be described in the following pages. Mr. (now the Reverend) Derek Smith, at that time a student at Durham University, was appointed to direct the work; Mr. Peter Holman acted as his chief assistant for the whole period of the excavation, and the present writer shared in the work for three of the four years it went on. Unfortunately circumstances made it impossible for Mr. Smith to prepare a report on his discoveries, and so in 1961 I was asked to do so. The result follows. I am only too clearly aware of the inadequacies in what follows; for all errors I am to blame.

I should like to thank many people for help and encouragement in preparing this report. First Sir Edward Whitley to whom all students of Roman Malton owe an enormous debt; he has been the moving spirit behind many projects, not least in the maintenance of the invaluable collection of Roman material in the Roman Malton Museum. Mr. Raymond H. Hayes is always willing to make his local knowledge available to students, whilst his skill as an archaeological photographer is well known; he took all the photographs used in this report. The list of those who helped with the excavation is too long for each to be thanked by name; the fact that they are not named does not lessen the value of the work they did nor does it reduce the sincerity of the thanks offered to them.



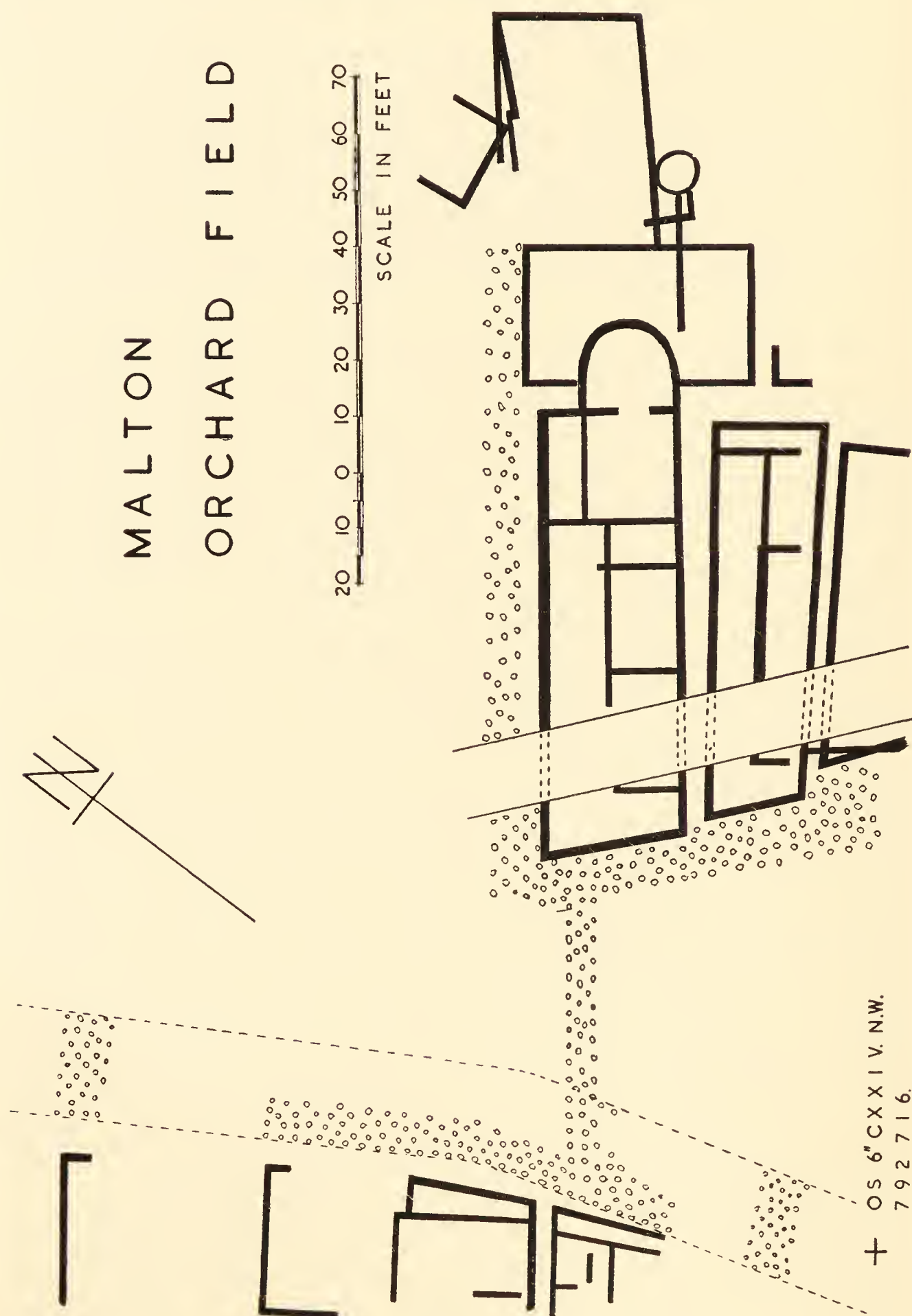


FIG. 1.

## ABBREVIATIONS USED:

Balmuildy.  
Bewcastle.

Brecon.

Brough.

S. N. Miller; *The Roman Fort at Balmuildy*.  
Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Anti-  
quarian and Archaeological Society (2nd Series); XXXVIII.  
Wheeler; *The Roman Fort at Brecon*. Y Cymmrodor;  
XXXVII.  
Corder; *Excavations at Brough, E. Yorkshire*. (Reports  
dated 1933, 1934, 1935, 1936, 1937.)

Caerhun.	Baillie Reynolds; Excavations on the site of the Roman Fort at Caerhun. <i>Archaeologia Cambrensis</i> , 1926.
Camulodunum.	Hawkes and Hull; Camulodunum. (Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries No. 14.)
Colchester.	May; Catalogue of the Roman Pottery in the Colchester and Essex Museums.
Corbridge.	<i>Archaeologia Aeliana</i> , 3rd Series, VIII (Corbridge 1911). 4th Series, XV (Corbridge 1938). 4th Series, XXVIII (Corbridge 1947).
Chesterholm.	<i>Archaeologia Aeliana</i> , 4th Series, XV.
Crambeck I.	Corder; A Roman Pottery at Crambeck (Roman Malton and District Reports, No. 1).
Crambeck II.	Corder; A pair of Fourth Century Romano-British Pottery Kilns near Crambeck. <i>Antiquaries Journal</i> , XVII.
Gellygaer.	Ward; The Roman Fort at Gellygaer.
Haltwhistle Burn.	<i>Archaeologia Aeliana</i> , 3rd Series, V.
Langton.	Corder and Kirk; A Roman Villa at Langton, East Yorkshire. (Roman Malton and District Report No. 4.)
Leicester.	Kenyon; Excavations at the Jewry Wall Site, Leicester. (Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries, No. 15.)
Malton.	Corder; The Defences of the Roman Fort at Malton. (Roman Malton and District Report, No. 2.)
Margidunum.	Oswald; The Mortaria of Margidunum. <i>Antiquaries Journal</i> , XXIV.
Newstead.	Curle; A Roman Frontier Post and its People.
Norton	Hayes and Whitley; The Roman Pottery at Norton, East Yorkshire. (Roman Malton and District Report No. 7.)
Poltross Burn.	Gibson and Simpson; The Milecastle on the Wall of Hadrian at Poltross Burn. C. and W.A.A. XI (New series).
Rudston.	The Roman Villa at Rudston. <i>Yorkshire Archaeological Journal</i> , XXIII.
Templeborough.	May; The Roman Forts at Templeborough.
Verulamium.	Wheeler; Verulamium. (Research Reports of the Society of Antiquaries No. 11.)
Wroxeter.	Bushe-Fox. Excavations at Wroxeter in 1912. (Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries No. 1.)

### THE EXCAVATIONS

#### THE SHOP AREA (Fig. 2, Plates I-IV)

The excavation of the so called 'shop area' was limited by the impossibility of trespassing beyond the S.W. boundary of the site and only the frontage of two buildings could be fully examined. The existence of other buildings along the same line was, however, proved.

The earliest buildings in the area were of wood; their existence was proved by the finding of post-holes and a sleeper trench but not enough evidence was found to make it possible to suggest a plan of the buildings they represented. These probably did not last long; they were assigned to the period A.D. 75-108 which was the time when the first civilian buildings in the *vicus* (all attested by the finding of post-holes) were erected. At this time the line of the road from the S.E. gate of the fort to the river was slightly different from later. The course of the road was found to have been slightly changed and annexes to the two shops had been built (in the fourth and fifth building periods) over its original line.



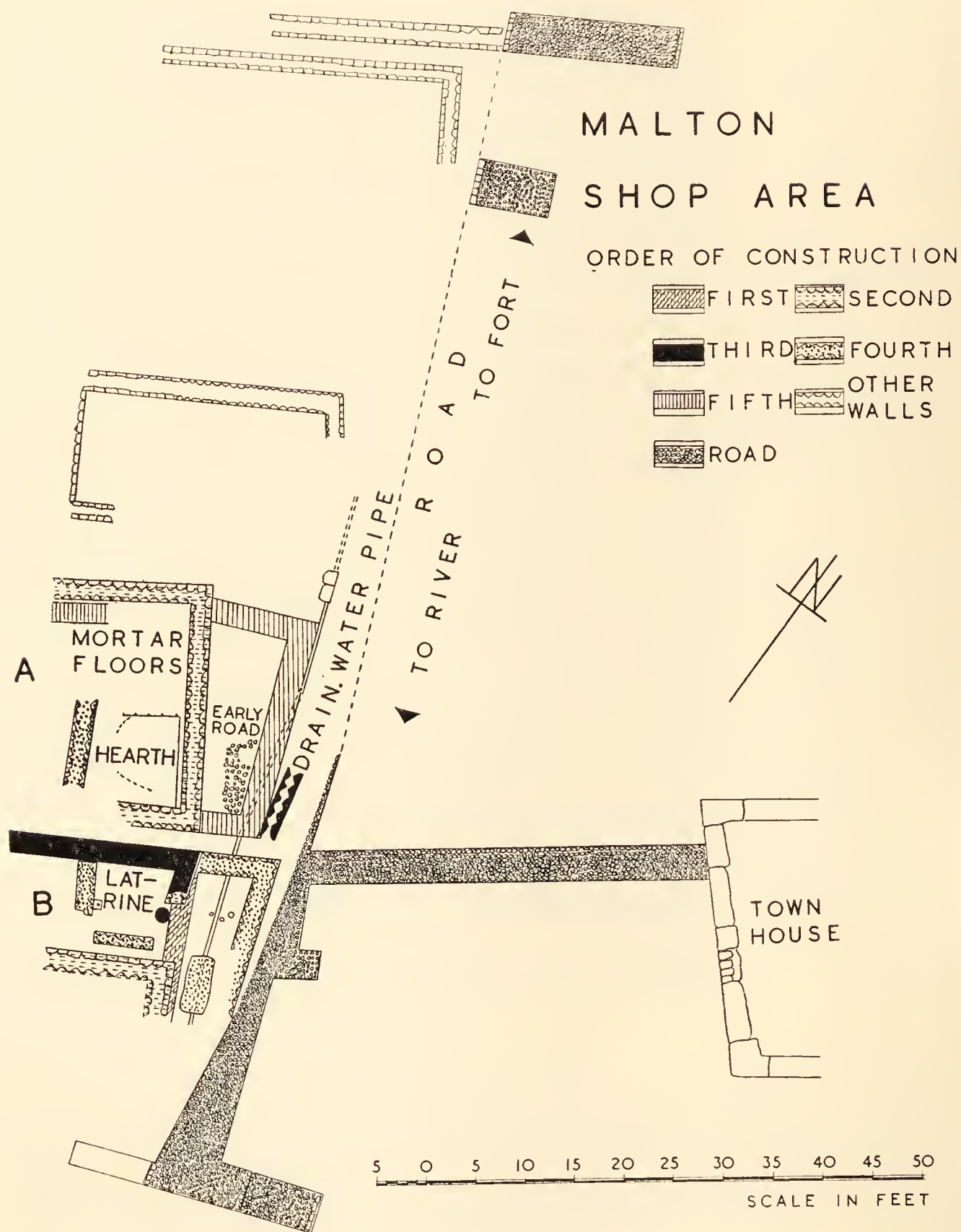


FIG. 2.

The second period, covering approximately the first half of the second century, saw the first stone buildings on the site. Before building began the site was levelled by a layer of cobbling such as was found from this date in many parts of the *vicus*. The earliest wall to survive was in Building B; it was followed (probably in the early Antonine period) by the earliest wall in A (see plan). It is not possible to say whether this later second century work entirely replaced a building contemporary with the oldest wall in B. With these walls and their associated mortar floors were sealed coins of Trajan and Hadrian.





PLATE I.  
Shop Area. Latrine. Socketed stone for door post left centre.



PLATE II.  
Shop Area. Building A showing layers of cement floor by the pole. The annex to A is on the right,





PLATE III.  
Shop Area. Wall and footings of Building A.



PLATE IV.  
Shop Area. Line of wooden water pipe alongside the earliest main road from  
the Fort to the ford crossing the R. Derwent.



The Antonine building in A found standing to seven or eight courses (Pl. III), lasted with few changes to the end of the third or into the fourth century. The main addition was the cross wall of building period four. It was isolated and less than ten feet long; its purpose is not clear. Internal repairs went on as required and several layers of repairs were needed to the cement floors (Pl. II) suggesting that the building was extensively used. The latest wall and the topmost layer of cement floor sealed coins of Gallienus and Claudius II. The final change in A was the addition of the annex and the rebuilding of the north wall on a slightly different line. The annex was built over the old line of the road and over the wooden water pipe (which supplied both buildings) (Pl. IV), up to the drain with which the pipe was associated. The annex to A is dated early in the fourth century. Its floor sealed coins of Tetricus I and Tetricus II.

In B more structural alterations took place but space for excavation was too small to make it possible fully to understand their significance. Period two, for example, saw the building of the eastern corner at the same time as the main part of A was built. The west wall of period three was probably added almost immediately after. It appears, but it cannot be proved, that this wall follows exactly the line of an earlier wall of building period one. The footings of the period three wall covered the remains of three infants, buried together. One of these had almost reached the age of teething. The cement floor associated with this wall also sealed an example of Samian Drag. 31, stamped PEP(PO), a potter who appears to have worked towards the end of the second century.

The short walls dividing off the latrine (Pl. I) belong to period four as does the annex to B. This work was probably only very little earlier than the A annex. The latest coin here was of Diocletian which was sealed (perhaps imperfectly) by a slab of stone near the latrine.

#### THE TOWN HOUSE (Fig. 3. Plates VI-XVI)

The building described as the Town House (Pl. VI) was by far the most impressive structure to be discovered during the excavations of 1949-1952. It was 92 ft. long by 30 ft. wide and had a semi-circular apse of 10 ft. radius at the N.E. end. The site was occupied by a series of buildings throughout the Roman occupation; (1) an early wooden building of which only slight traces were found; (2) the first stone structure probably dating from early in Period III, i.e. *c.* A.D. 110-120; (3) the second stone building for which a date *c.* A.D. 160 is suggested; (4) the Town House *c.* A.D. 300.

Signs of the wooden building were recovered from below the bottom of the late ditch which had cut through all Roman levels but had not quite reached subsoil. Beneath the water washed pebbles at the bottom of the ditch was a layer of broken limestone (Pl. XIII) sealing Flavian and Trajanic pottery sherds (nos. 89-93). This same limestone layer was also noticed under the floors of the earliest stone building; it occurred too in the Shop Area.



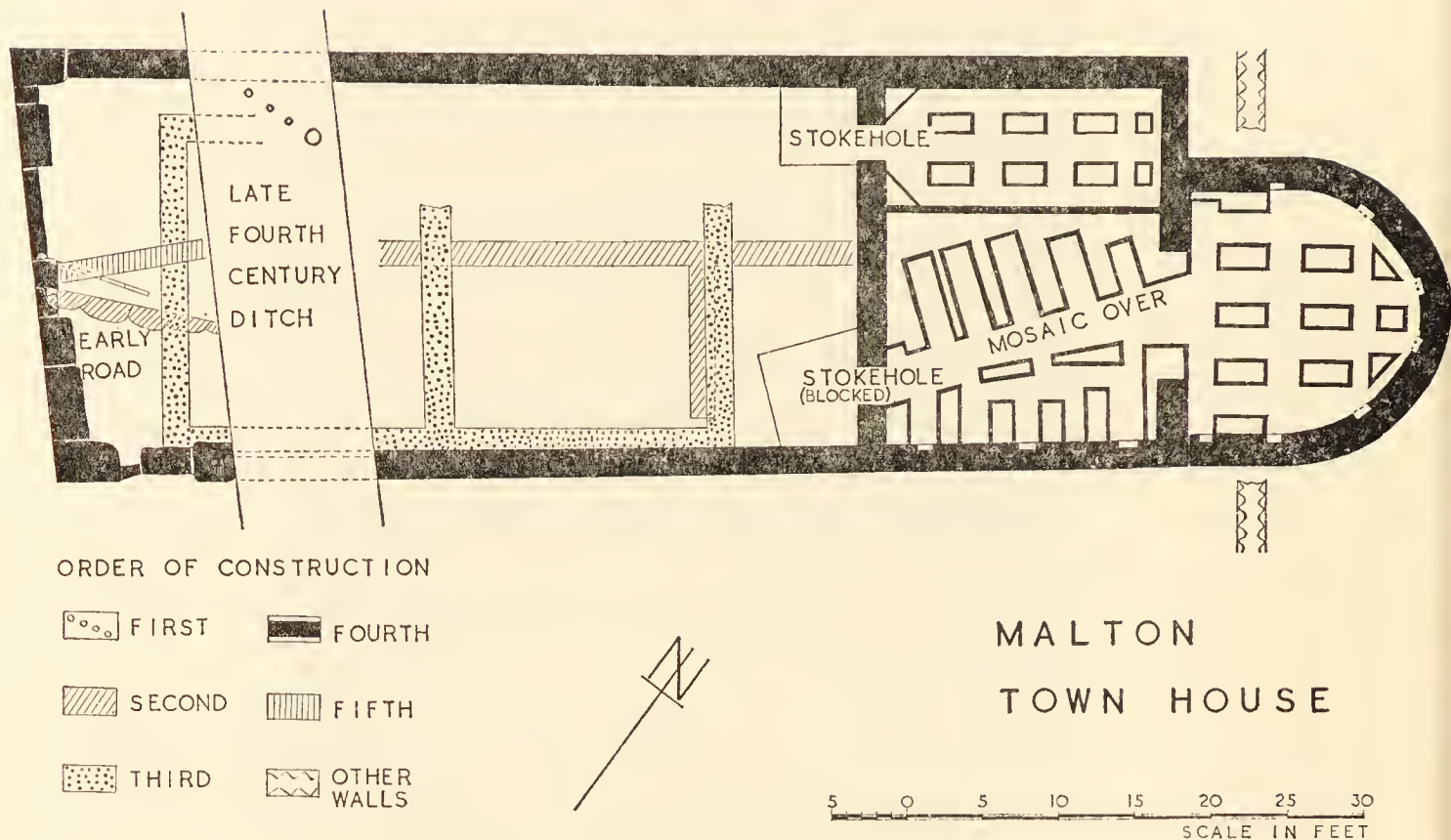


FIG. 3.

The limestone beneath the ditch covered the remains of a sleeper trench 1 ft. square in section, dug into the hard sandy-clay subsoil. A large posthole 15 ins. diameter, as well as three smaller ones, was found alongside the trench. The postholes must represent the remains of an early timber building; a building furthermore of some size, as it is unlikely that posts over a foot in diameter would have been used for a small hut-like structure. (Fig. 3).

Associated with the timber building was a floor of pinkish clay. Originally there had been a light gravel floor, but this had soon been covered with a layer of sandy clay and the pink clay laid over this. Sealed by the clay floor the Flavian pottery group nos. 71-82 was found. A coin of Trajan was also sealed by this floor.

This is the only trace of Periods I and II in the Town House area. The earliest stone building had only one substantial wall remaining. This was the outside N.W. wall which ran for 48 ft. approximately along what was to be the long axis of the Town House from near the late ditch at one end, to the partition wall between the stokeholes at the other. It is not known whether it continued into the area where the main hypocaust was to be. A 13 ft. section of a cross wall ran towards the S.E. side of the later building. Part of the long wall had been destroyed by a series of small post holes running parallel with the cross wall of the second building. These are possibly scaffold holes made during later building. One of them contained an iron bracket (Pl. XV). The very heavy broken stone foundation for walls and floor was the most noteworthy feature of the early building. Similar foundations elsewhere have already been mentioned. This feature seems to have affinities with the unused heavy Trajanic foundations at Brough (Brough 1937, p. 9). At Malton there is no evidence of a break as there was at Brough,





PLATE V.  
Main Road from S.E. Gate of the Fort seen in lateral section. Seven levels representing major repairs can be seen.

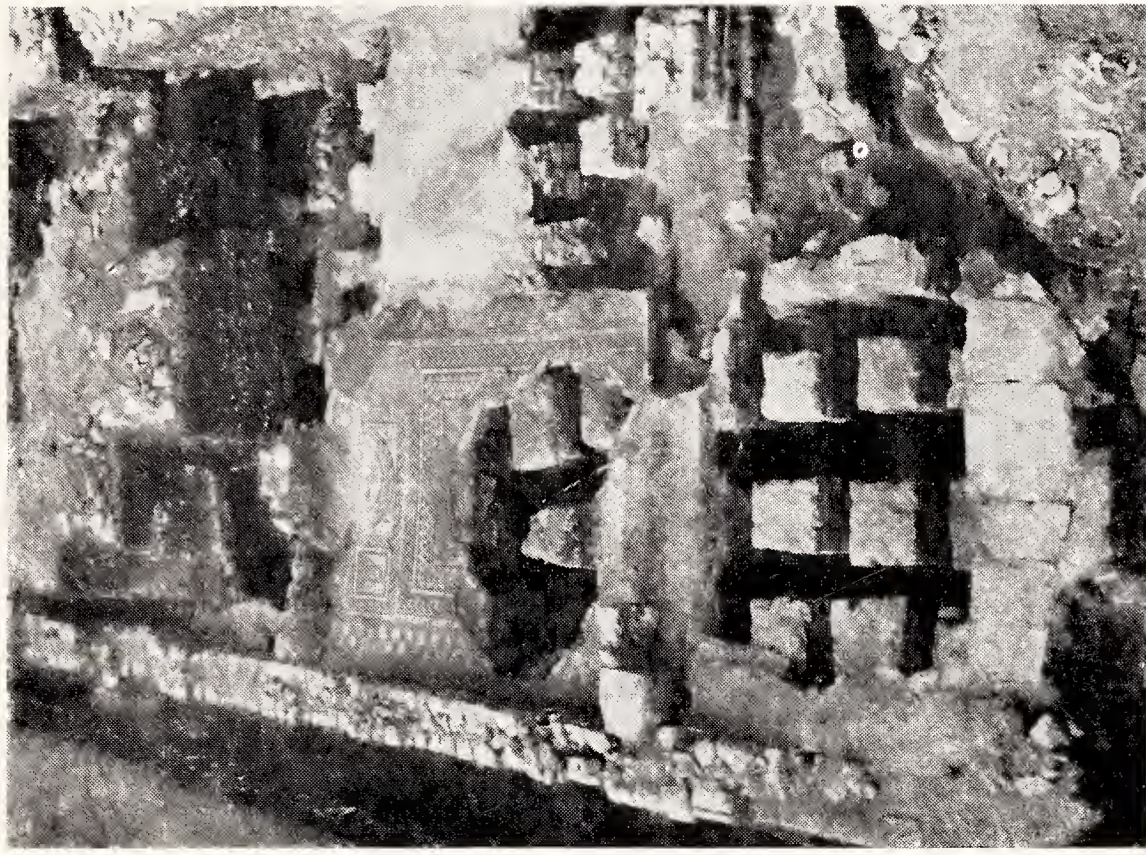


PLATE VI.  
Town House showing the three hypocausts, and the damaged mosaic. The hall is not yet excavated. From N.E.





PLATE VII.  
Town House. The Mosaic room. A flue tile can be seen in the wall in top left corner.



PLATE VIII. Town House. The Apse.



between two periods of building, but the earlier foundations do seem to be more ambitious than the nature of the buildings would warrant.

The hard white mortar floors of this building sealed the sherds nos. 110 and 111. No. 110 is a transitional type dated only to the early years of Hadrian's reign. The first stone building is therefore assigned to the early part of Period III, i.e. *c.* A.D. 130.

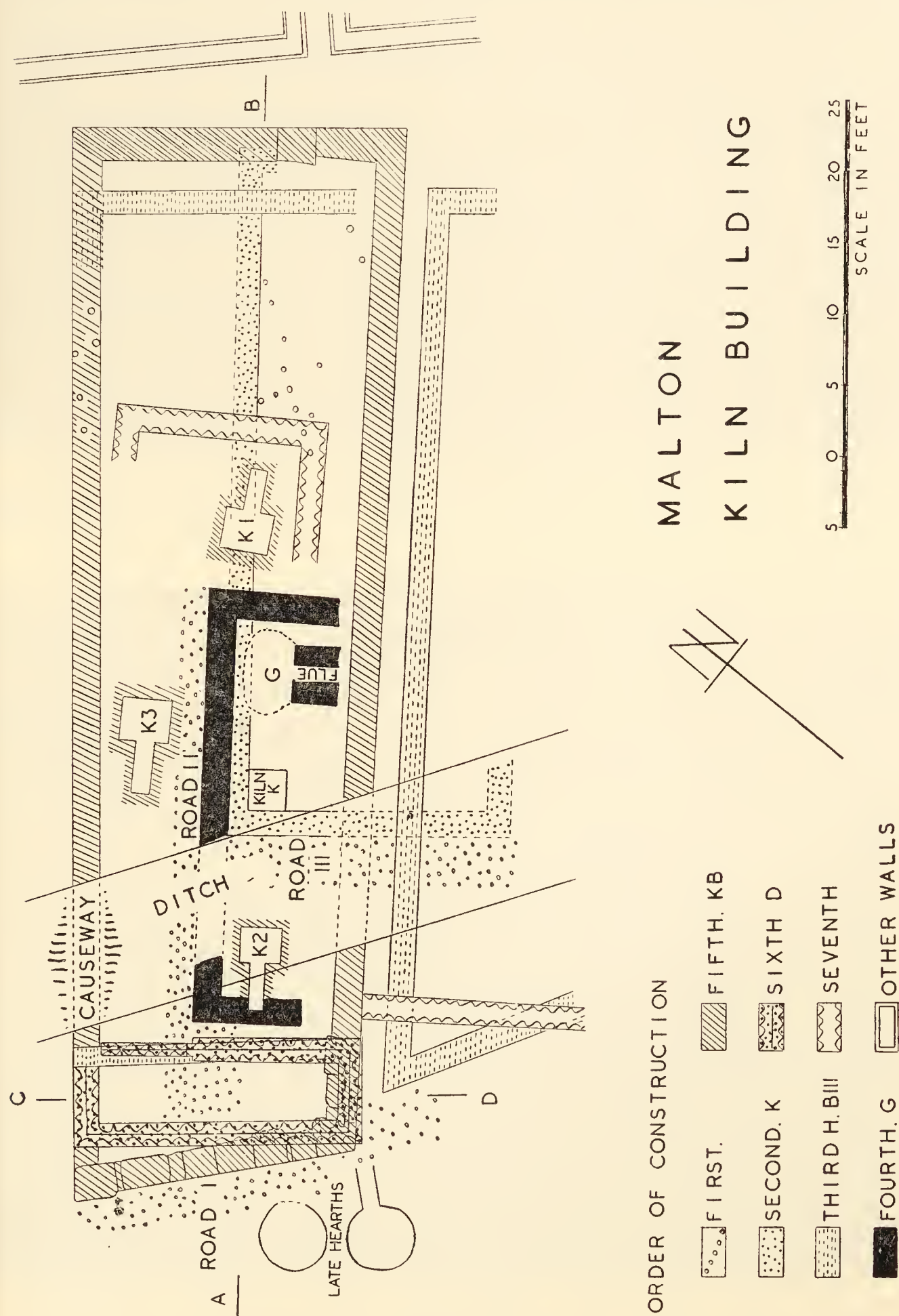


FIG. 4.



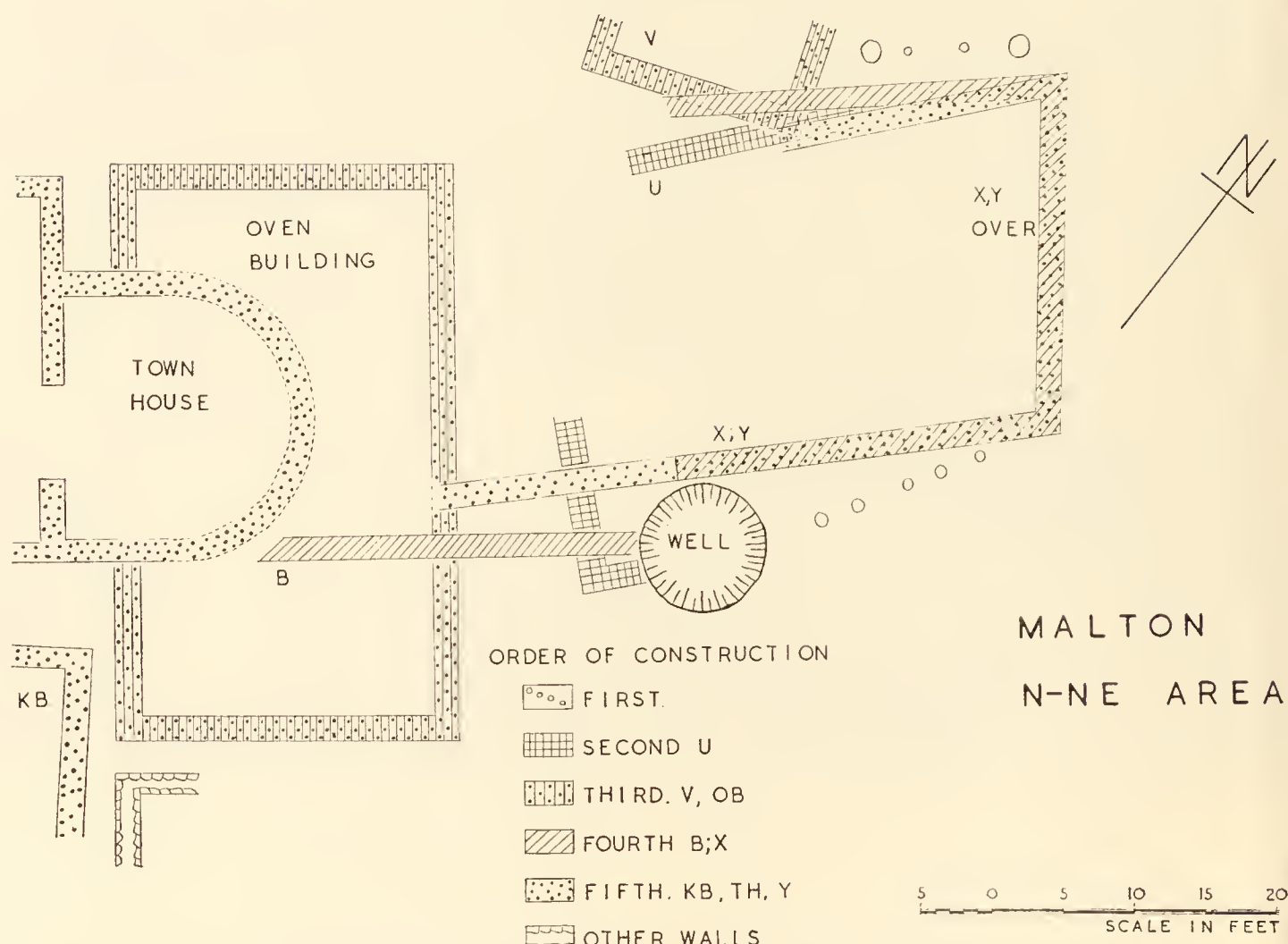


FIG. 5.

In the frontage area what appeared to be the curb of an early paved road ran at an angle across the line of all the later buildings. A row of slabs set on edge lay about 18 ins. from the curb. They were not quite parallel to it but they may have represented the road drain. This early road sealed pottery nos. 83-88. Many of these types are common in Flavian-Trajanic levels but probably the road which sealed them was laid early in Hadrian's reign and so is contemporary with the earliest stone building.

Outside the later frontage there were five successive layers of stone and mortar roadway. Beneath these lay a large slab which probably belonged to the early road mentioned above belonging to early in Period III. Here sherds 96-109 were found.

The S.E. wall of the Town House partly overlay an earlier wall from which branched three parallel cross walls two of which themselves crossed the earlier wall. A floor associated with this building sealed coins of Trajan and Hadrian, which were found with the remains of a few months old baby. Pottery group nos. 112-118 was also found under this floor. Apart from no. 117 which may be a survival, all the pieces in this group can be paralleled in the period A.D. 140-180. The construction of the second stone building may be fairly confidently assigned to a date *c.* A.D. 160.

The Town House stood at the edge of a cobbled area about 25 ft. from the edge of the 18 ft. wide road leading from the S.E. gate of the fort to the river. It may be mentioned that this road was more



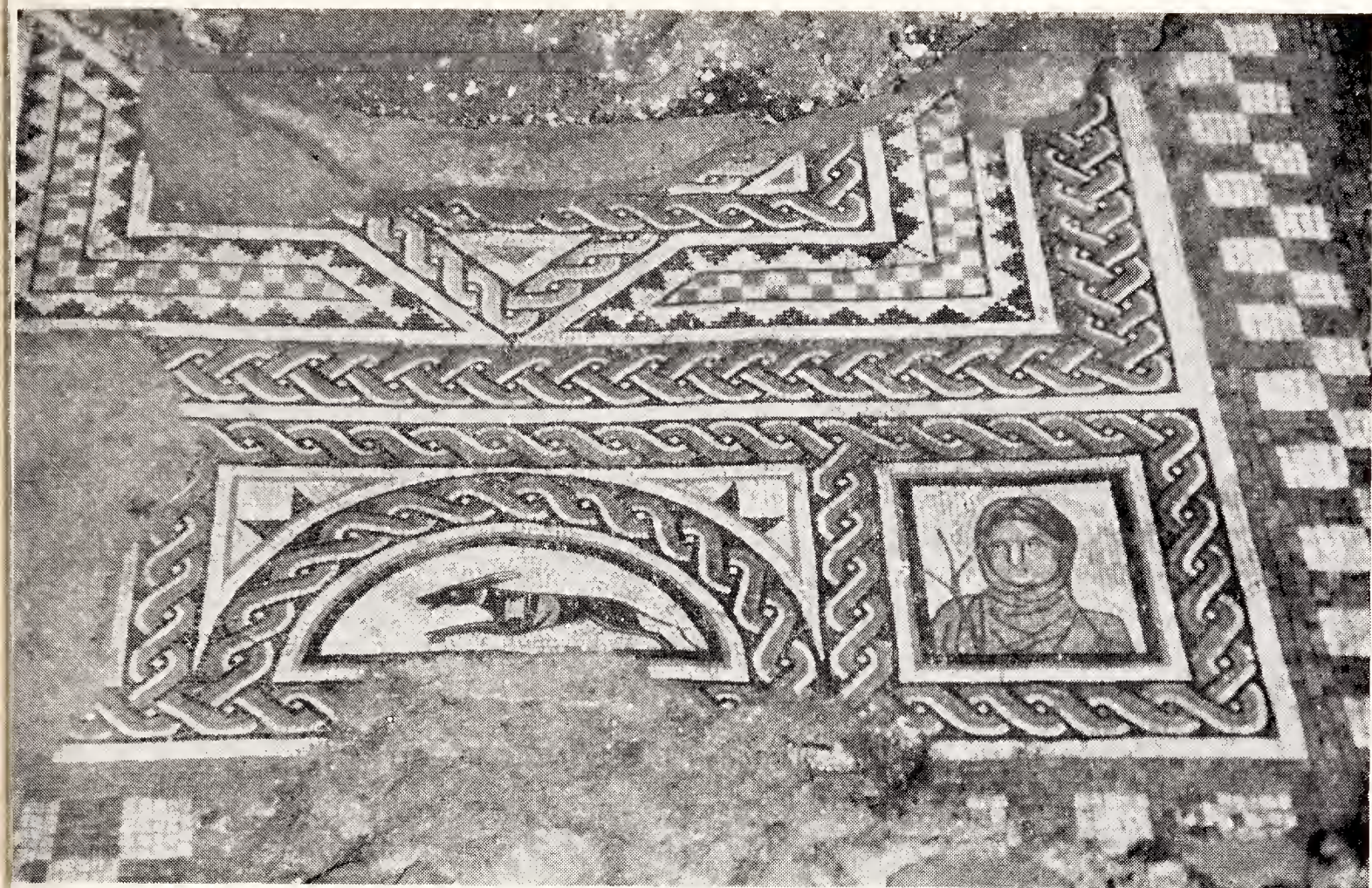


PLATE IX. Town House. The Mosaic Floor.



PLATE X.  
Town House. The Stokehole to the mosaic room.





PLATE XI.  
Town House. Tiled stokehole to small hypocaust.



PLATE XII.  
Town House. S.E. Corner of facade. The left end of the pole rests on the original mortar floor. Later (repair) floors can be seen behind the pole.



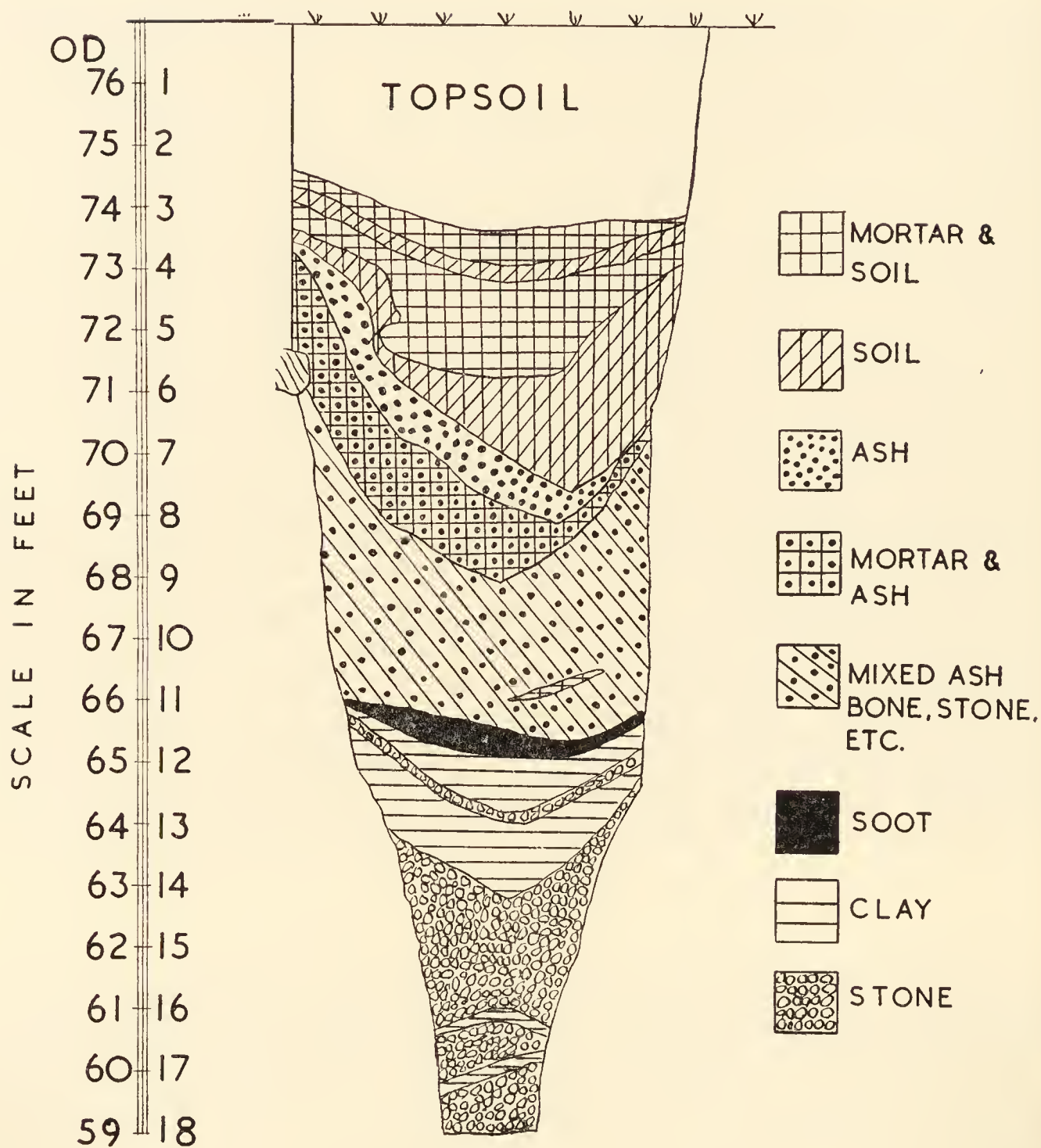
than 4 ft. thick (Pl. V), suggesting that (with minor changes such as that noted in the section dealing with the Shop Area), the same route was used all through the Roman occupation. Facing the road was the massive façade of the house (Pl. XII). The masonry of the façade is of Lower Calcareous Grit, a seam of which is exposed about a mile away from Orchard Field. This stone is naturally faulted in large blocks and although it is very soft it is suitable for certain types of heavy work. In this case some of the blocks used measure 6 ft. by 2 ft. 6 ins. by 2 ft. 6 ins. Two courses of these blocks remain. The outward facing side is clean fitting, straight and well chiselled; by contrast the inside is rough. The entrance to the building is not from the front. The original floor level is indicated by 6-8 ins. of hard concrete which is about 1 ft. lower than the façade masonry which itself shows no trace of the wear that foot-steps would soon produce on such soft stone. The entrance is, in fact, on the S.E. wall with the 6 ft. wide doorway opening about 4 ft. from the corner of the house. At this point is a block of hard limestone whose upper surface is worn in the manner of a step. It is suggested that this is the lowest of three steps that would exactly reach the level of the concrete floor mentioned above. Although no direct evidence was found to prove the existence of a porch, the squared corner blocks at the sides of the entrance suggest that there may have been one.

All the walls of the house (except the façade), are in well dressed local limestone; in most places they stand for three courses above the foundations. The two main walls of the house are strikingly different in construction. The foundations of the S.E. wall are 2 ft. 6 ins. lower than those of the N.W. because of the natural slope of the land. The foundation of the S.E. wall is 3 ft. 3 ins. wide at the bottom and the foundation courses rise over 2 ft. in three steps. The wall is 2 ft. 1 in. thick. The N.W. wall however is only 2 ft. 3 ins. wide at the bottom of the foundations which only rise 8 ins. in two steps. This plan was no doubt followed to level the bases of the walls above the foundations. The N.W. wall is, moreover, only 1 ft. 8 ins. thick and this did not prove to be adequate. Apparently there was trouble with damp because later a large bank of blue clay was added to the wall outside as though to act as a damp course. The clay filled in a small rain water channel thus showing that the bank was not part of the original building plan.

The wall of the apse (Pl. VIII) is thicker (2 ft. 5 ins.) than any of the other wall except the façade and it contains by far the best stone work on the site. It almost appears that the building of the apse has been entrusted to the most skilled craftsmen available.

The entrance of the house led into a hall measuring 50 ft. by 23 ft. Its mortar floor was covered by tiles from the collapsed roof showing that the hall was not open to the weather. Some of the pottery found under the fallen roof is illustrated among the sherds nos. 176-194. All these are characteristic 4th century types but none need be later than A.D. 367. It is thought that the roof collapsed c. A.D. 350-367. The northern corners of the hall each contained a





THE WELL

FIG. 6.

stokehole. The larger of the two (Pl. X) supplied heat to the large mosaic room and to the apse. It had been much used and the stone arch of the flue was heavily calcined. Not long before the house was abandoned this stokehole had been roughly blocked with stone and clay. When the block was removed a large pair of iron tongs was found buried in the ash and soot. The second stokehole (Pl. XI) heated only one small room through a tile built flue, neatly built and not showing great signs of burning. This flue had not been blocked and may have continued in use until the house was abandoned.

The large hall has certain puzzling features. The two stokeholes in the hall provide a curious contrast to the imposing frontage of





PLATE XIII.

Town House. The profile of the late ditch is seen on the right. Below the ditch is the layer of broken limestone cobbling used as foundation for the first stone buildings. Facade masonry in the background.



PLATE XIV.

Town House. The poles mark the sides of the late ditch.





PLATE XV.  
Town House. U-shaped iron heel of scaffold pole inserted when the second stone building was erected.



PLATE XVI.  
Winged Victory. It is suggested that this figure may have been one of a pair decorating the lintel of the entrance to the mosaic room in the Town House.



the house, especially as, although each of them was in a shallow stone-lined well there was no sign that they were partitioned from the main part of the hall. The smaller hypocaust, furthermore, was not fitted with wall flues to carry smoke away, which must have meant that smoke escaped into the hall. The position of the stoke-holes in relation to the entrance to the mosaic room is also curious; it lies in the middle of the wall between them. The mosaic room may have had a porch entrance. One may wonder whether the carved stone (Pl. XVI) found in the latest levels in the Shop Area may not have been one of a pair intended to decorate a room entrance of the type we are discussing.

The mosaic room measured 17 ft. 6 ins. by 13 ft. 6 ins. Parts of the mosaic (Pls. VII, VIII, IX) near the entrance to the room and at the entrance to the apse had worn and only been roughly repaired with mortar; even part of the repairs were worn. This suggests either carelessness or poverty (or both) on the part of the owners. The floor of the room was covered with several inches of fallen painted wall plaster. The walls had been replastered and repainted three times using paint on wet plaster techniques. No coins or coarse pottery was found under the plaster but there were scraps of plain Samian and glass, some of which came from delicately moulded cups, whilst some was almost certainly window glass.

The entrance to the apse was through an arch whose existence is presumed. It was originally 10 ft. wide but had later been narrowed to 6 ft. The apse had a floor of opus signinum in good preservation. It rested (as did the mosaic), on flat slabs of stone nearly 3 ft. square. These in turn rested on stone pillars 2 ft. 6 ins. high and about 1 ft. 6 ins. apart. The third room measured 16 ft. 6 ins. by 7 ft. 6 ins. Its floor was 9 ins. higher than the mosaic. The gap between the lower (mosaic) floor and the quarter moulding round the edge of the higher, is only 7 ins. suggesting that the rooms were divided by a wooden partition although no trace of it was discovered. The mosaic room had three wall flues to draw heat from the hypocaust, and the apse had at least seven; the small room, however, had none at all.

The date of the construction of this house is not easy to decide because there is very little direct evidence. The second stone building has been dated to the Antonine period so, without other evidence the Town House must have been built between c. A.D. 180 and A.D. 350. Little structural dating evidence was found. The only stratified pottery was sealed under the mortar floor in the entrance hall. This is the group nos. 171-175. These few examples (but there are no more), are not perhaps sufficient to be conclusive but they are not inconsistent with the assumption of a Constantinian date. No. 175 in particular suggests a date not much earlier than A.D. 305; it is almost certainly a product of the Crambeck kilns whose first work is not thought to be earlier than the late 3rd or early 4th centuries. Two coins may be mentioned. One of Tetricus I was sealed in the same level as the pottery; and one of Probus was in the core of the



S.E. wall. The style of the mosaic also suggests a date late in the 3rd century or early in the 4th.

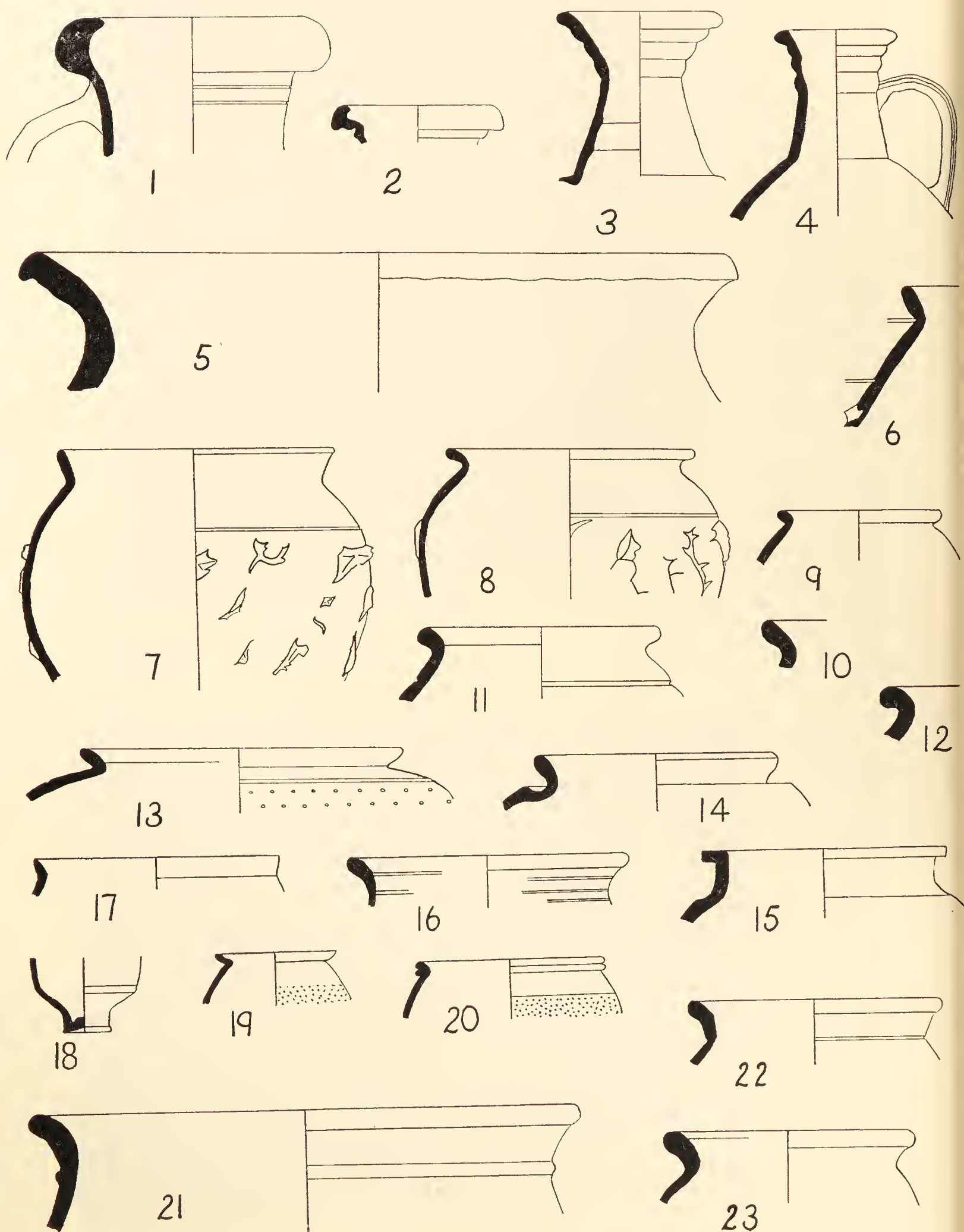


FIG. 7.





PLATE XVII.  
General view of Kiln Building. The latest walls and hearth can be seen in foreground. From S.E.



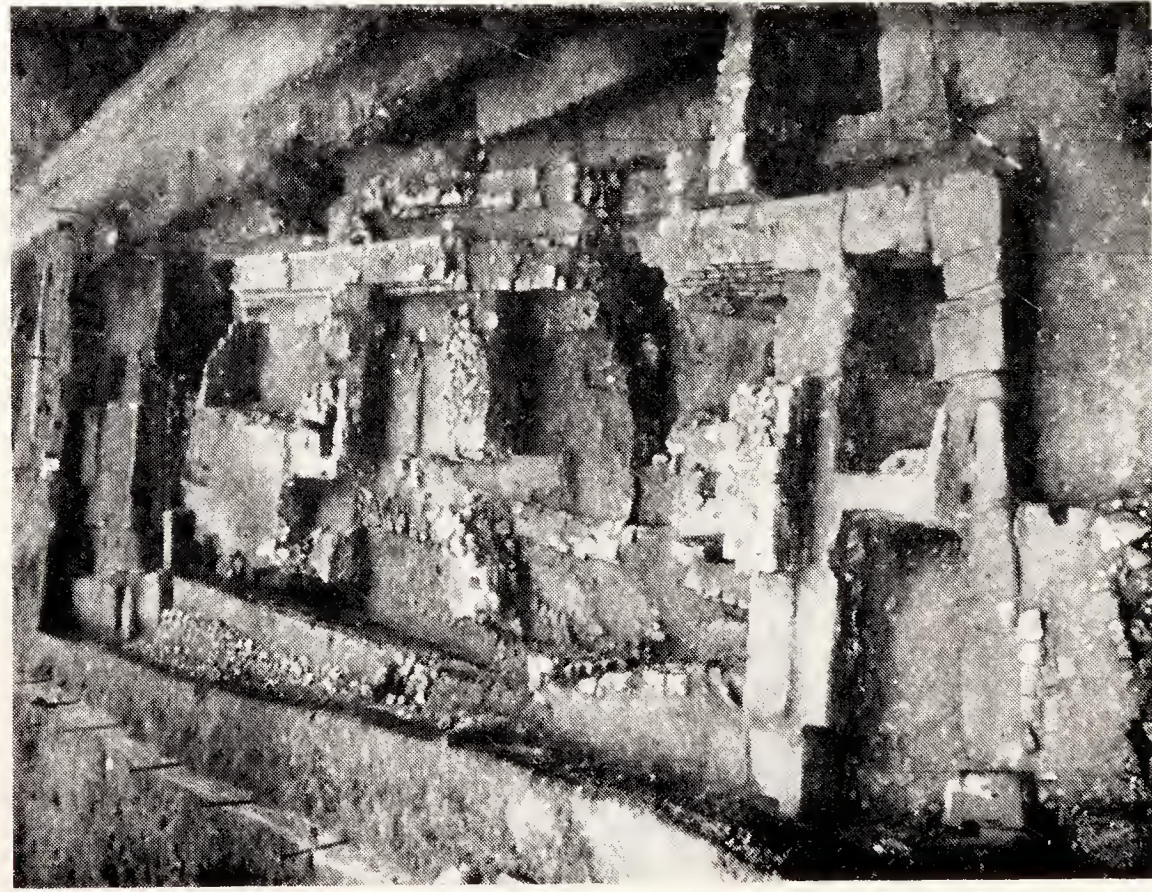


PLATE XVIII.

Kiln Building at a late stage in the excavation. The wall of B.III can be seen running up the photograph on the right with the late wall E crossing it left to right.



PLATE XIX.

Kiln Building: the main frontage of heavy masonry. In the foreground front of B.III crossed by late wall E.



The date of the destruction of the house is placed about A.D. 350 to A.D. 367. Pottery in the group nos. 176-194 consists mainly of sherds found (a) in the hypocausts near the stokeholes; it must have been thrown there shortly before one stokehole was blocked and just before both were abandoned, (b) from the latest floors beneath the fallen roof materials and wall plaster. It is then the pottery that was in use just before the site was abandoned. Most of it comes from the kilns at Crambeck a few miles away. It appears to belong mainly to the period just before the events of A.D. 367, i.e. *c.* A.D. 340-365. Very little is typical of the well known forms widely distributed in North Britain after the war of A.D. 367.

After being abandoned the house was at least partially wrecked deliberately. This is shown by the presence of a gaping hole in the middle of the mosaic. Such was the strength of the stonework of the hypocaust that it is quite impossible to imagine that it could collapse. Yet the floor was smashed and most of the stone taken away. This can only have been the work of marauders. There are slight traces of late building on the site of the Town House. The first is a poorly built wall running from about the middle of the inner face of the façade roughly along the long axis of the house. It is impossible to say how long this wall was because its northern end had been destroyed by the late ditch. It was more recent than any part of the house for it rested on the latest mortar floor; the original floor to the hall had been repaired three times thus giving four levels of flooring (Pl. XII). It may form part of a partitioned ante-room for the main entrance.

The second sign of late occupation is on the north side of the ditch where a series of small postholes were set through the latest floor. These would seem to represent the foundation of a small hut. The holes were sealed by a layer of ash; evidently the hut was destroyed by fire. There was very little fallen roof material in this area. It looks as though the hut was built after the collapse of the house, an area of floor being cleared to make room for it. As has already been noted the front of the Town House was completely cut from the remainder by a large ditch (Pls. XIII, XIV) which almost certainly destroyed a partition wall separating the front of the house from the rest. The ditch is about 12 ft. wide with irregular sides and runs towards the S.E. gate of the fort. Its filling contains Roman sherds of all dates but no mediaeval pottery was noted. The most notable find was a large number of tesserae; it seems possible that the ditch was dug about the time that the mosaic was smashed. The ditch appears to have some military significance. Unskilful and irregular as it is when compared with more orthodox defence work it does show purposeful features. Both the ridge formed by the upcast and the steeper side are nearest the road to the fort's gateway, and it seems that the ditch and mound are designed to act as a barrier against attack from the N.E. Thirty years ago Messrs. Kirk and Corder examined an exactly similar feature running from the N.E. corner of the fort rampart towards the Roman well at Lady Spring. They thought it to be an annex to the fort. Dr. Kirk's



trial pits did not indicate a ditch because the absence of late occupation levels would make it difficult to recognize, but the ridge was quite clearly seen. These two ditches are especially significant in the

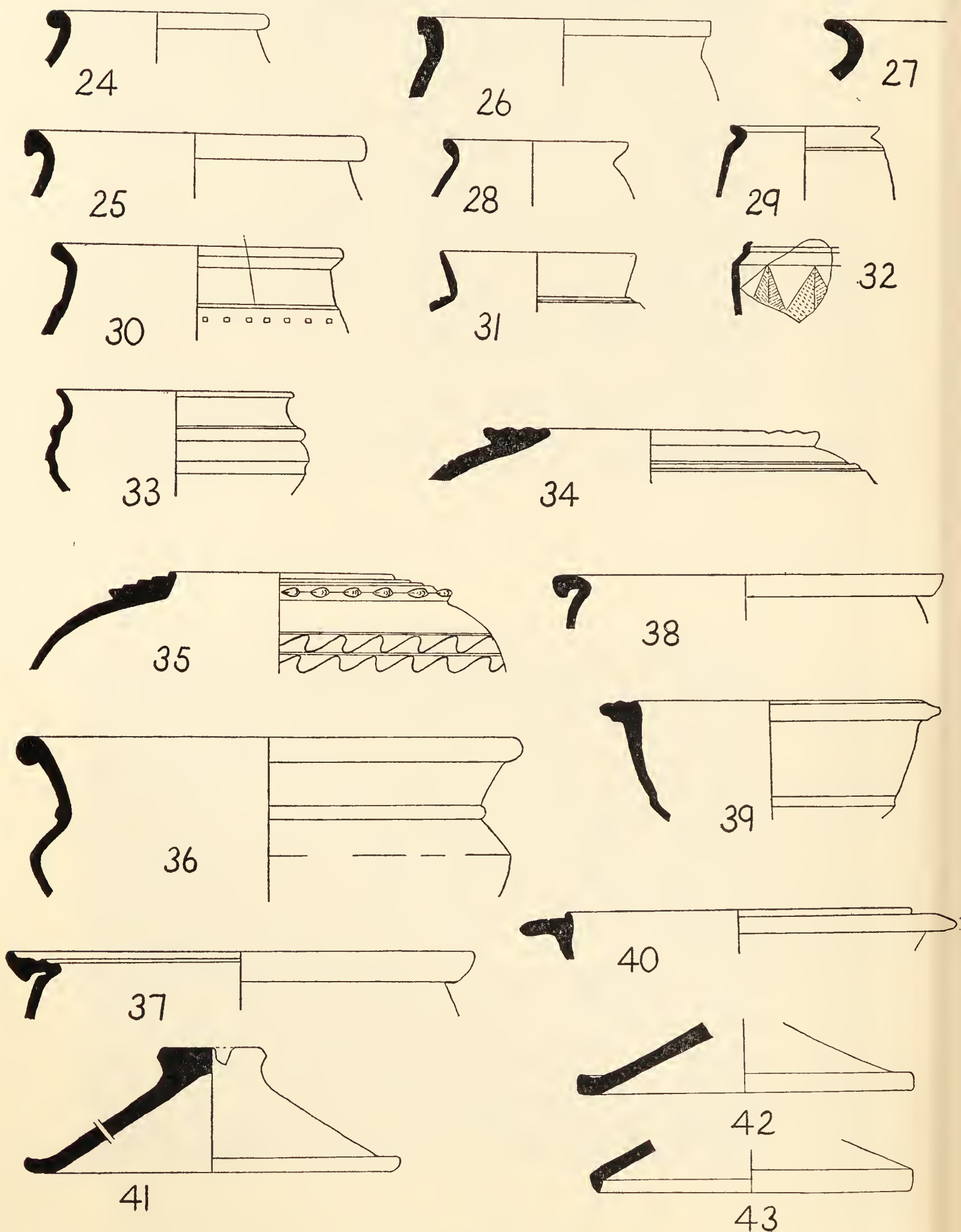


FIG. 8.



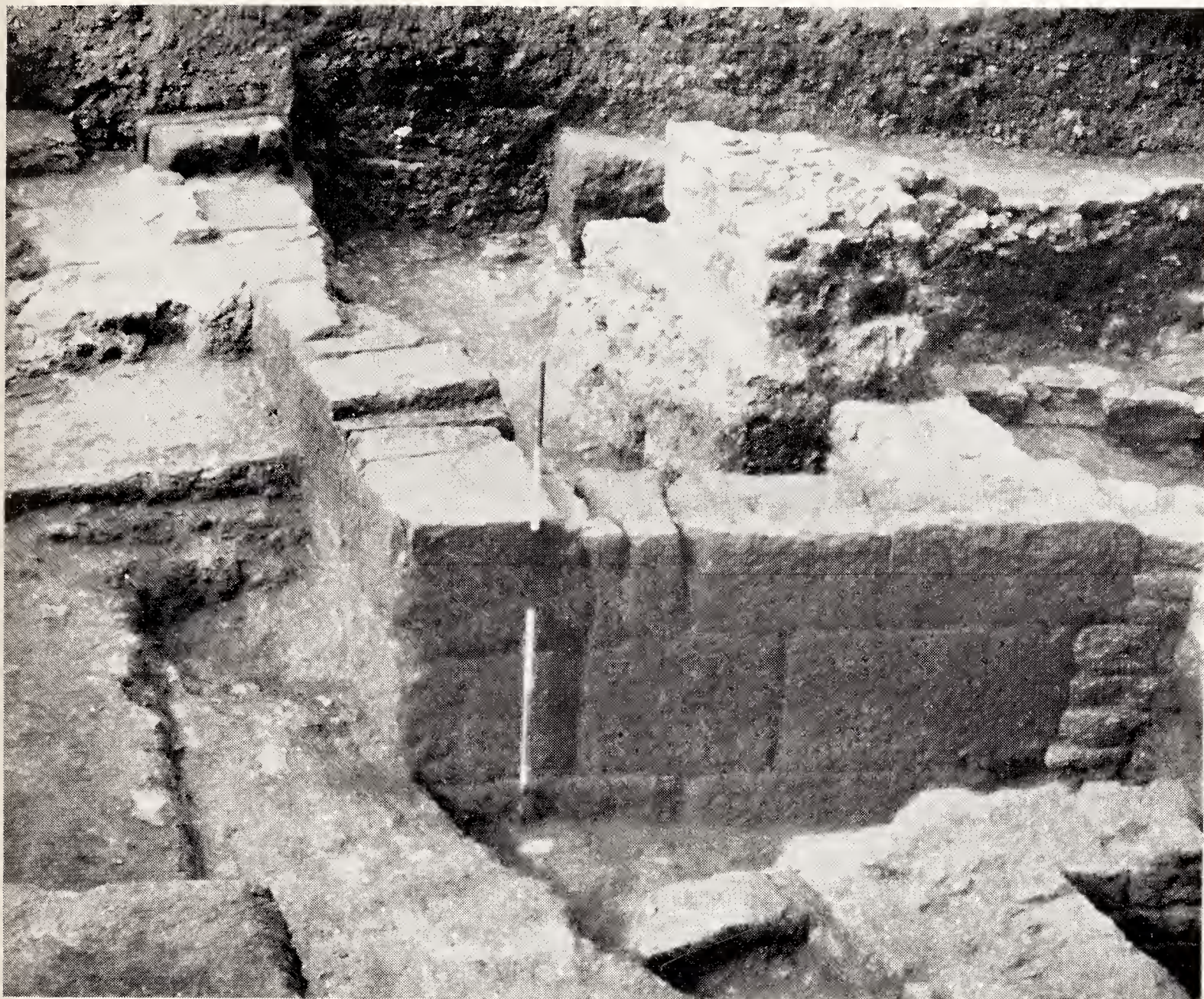


PLATE XX.  
Kiln Building showing heavy masonry of façade. From S.



PLATE XXI.  
Kiln Building. Building G showing kiln and road surface in middle foreground.  
From N.W.





PLATE XXII. Kiln Building. Kiln No. 1.



PLATE XXIII.  
Kiln Building. From N.W. Late shop built over the façade of the main building.



light of our evidence for the abandonment of the site N.E. of the road about A.D. 367, and the presence of Huntcliff type pottery in the Shop Area.

#### THE KILN BUILDING (Fig. 4. Plates XVII-XXV)

When the frontage of this building was uncovered it was thought that another large house had been found and it was called, provisionally, Town House II. As it is not, however, a house the term Kiln Building is used to describe it as being the more fitting name. It is only approximately rectangular. The N.W. wall is 74 ft. long; the S.E. wall 71 ft.; the N.E. end 24 ft. and the S.W. end 20 ft. The frontage is exactly in line with the front of the Town House and it was probably in order to keep to a building line that the curiously irregular plan was adopted. The building lies alongside but not quite parallel to the Town House; at the front the two are 3 ft. apart but this distance becomes about 6 ft. at the back.

This area gave more evidence of the early timber buildings in the *vicus* than any other. Four approximately parallel rows of postholes were identified, whilst a fifth row ran at right angles to one of the others. These were all towards the N.E. end of the building. The holes averaged 18 ins. in depth and 6 to 7 ins. in diameter; they were from 12 ins. to 2 ft. apart and the posts they formerly held had been driven into clean sandy-clay subsoil. Two parallel rows of postholes ran under the N.W. wall of the Kiln Building about 18 ins. apart; they give the impression of being outside walls of adjacent structures. Parallel to and about 13 ft. away from the more easterly of these is another row which has what appears to be a dividing wall running at right angles to it, whilst the fourth parallel row lies 7 ft. further to the east (see plan). The floors associated with these postholes are hard packed gravel and did not yield much evidence of occupation beyond a few sherds of early pottery. These buildings must be contemporary with the other wooden structures on the site and they date from the earliest days of the civil settlement, i.e. *c.* A.D. 80.

The first stone building here is K. It was possible to identify three of its four corners so that its size could be exactly determined. It measured 43 ft. by 18 ft. with its long axis running from N.E. to S.W. It had evidently been a very solidly built structure; its walls were found to be 2 ft. 6 ins. thick and where wall footings could be identified they were up to 4 ft. broad. Many parts of the walls of K had been destroyed by later building but the S.W. wall did still run underneath the late ditch which cut through this site as it cut the Town House. The practice of founding the earlier stone buildings on a bed of broken limestone has been mentioned in connection with other parts of the *vicus*. This had been done in the case of building K; wherever its floor could be identified it consisted of a limestone bed on which hard white mortar had been spread. Running alongside the S.W. wall of K was a road 9 ft. 6 ins. wide (Road III on plan). Its course could not be followed but it appeared to run in a more or less N-S direction, i.e. roughly parallel to the main road from the S.E. gate of the fort. It may be slightly earlier in date than



K whose wall footings ran exactly along the road side; K's position, in fact, may well have depended on the route of the road.

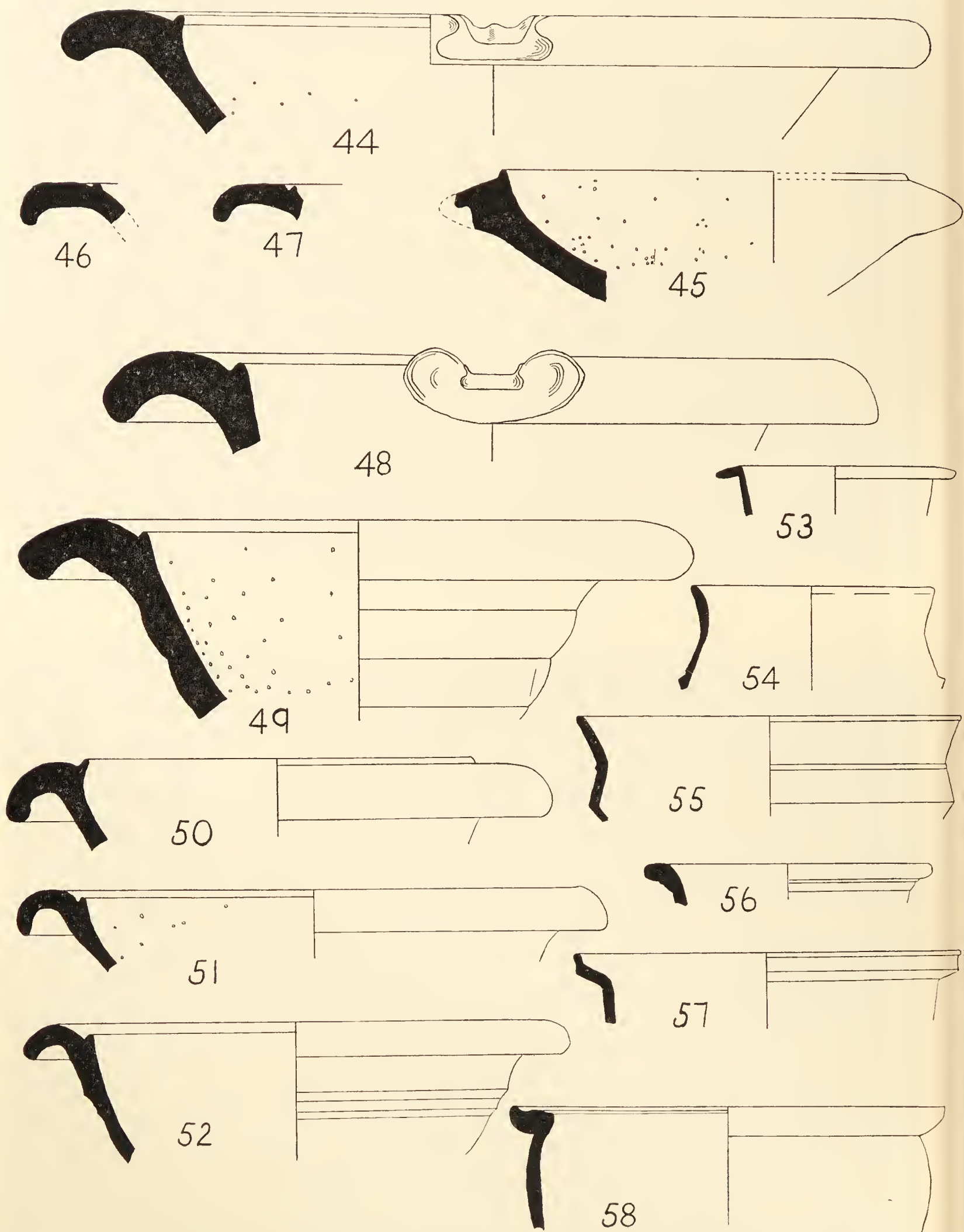


FIG. 9.





PLATE XXIV.

Late Ditch crossing Kiln Building, from S.E. The wall of B.III can be seen at the edge of the modern road in the foreground.

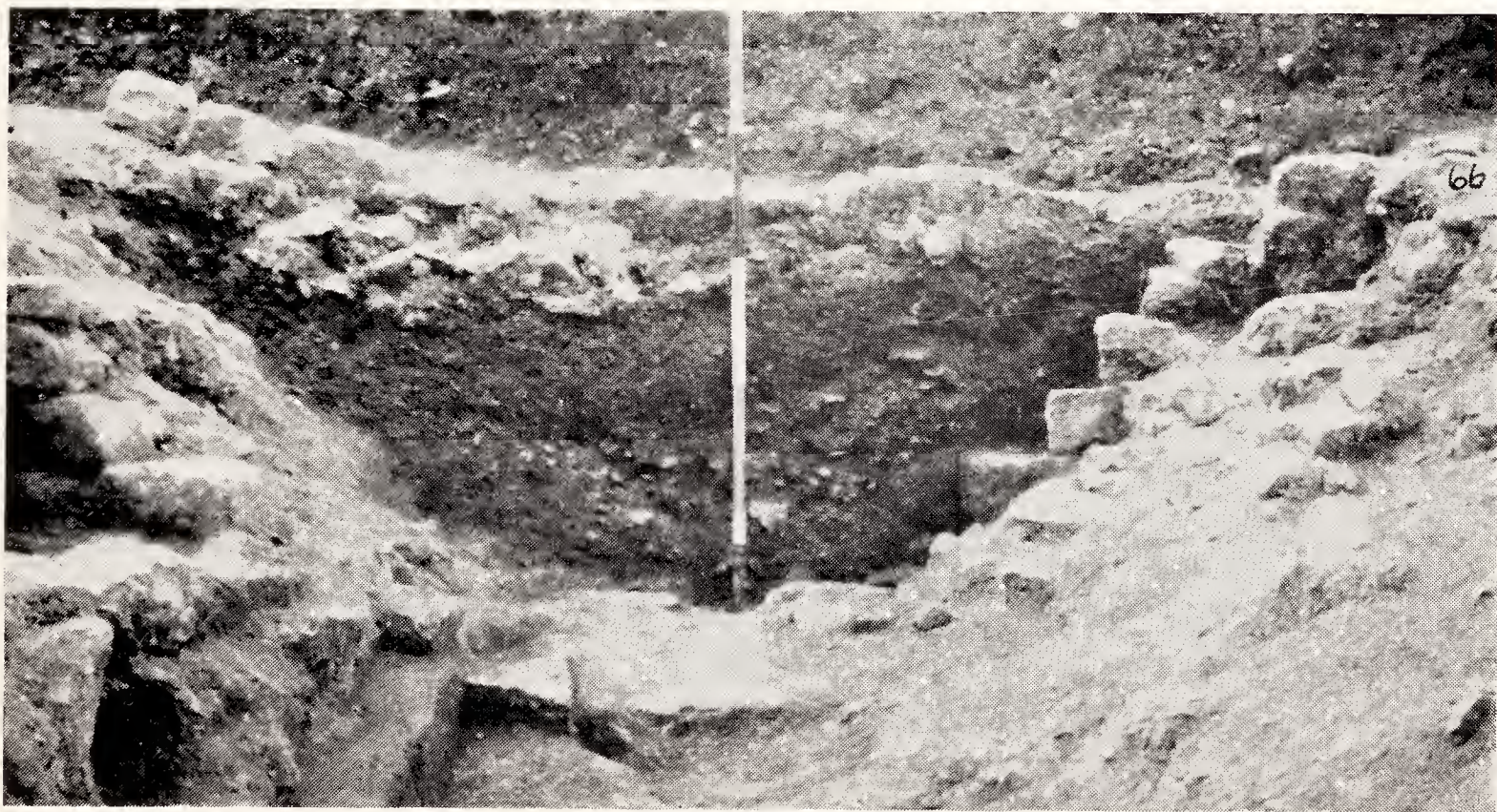


PLATE XXV.

Late Ditch cutting Kiln Building. Section of Ditch from N.W. showing filling and causeway.





PLATE XXVI.  
Oven Building. N.W. Wall of Oven Building showing Baking Oven. The early road surface can be seen left of the wall.

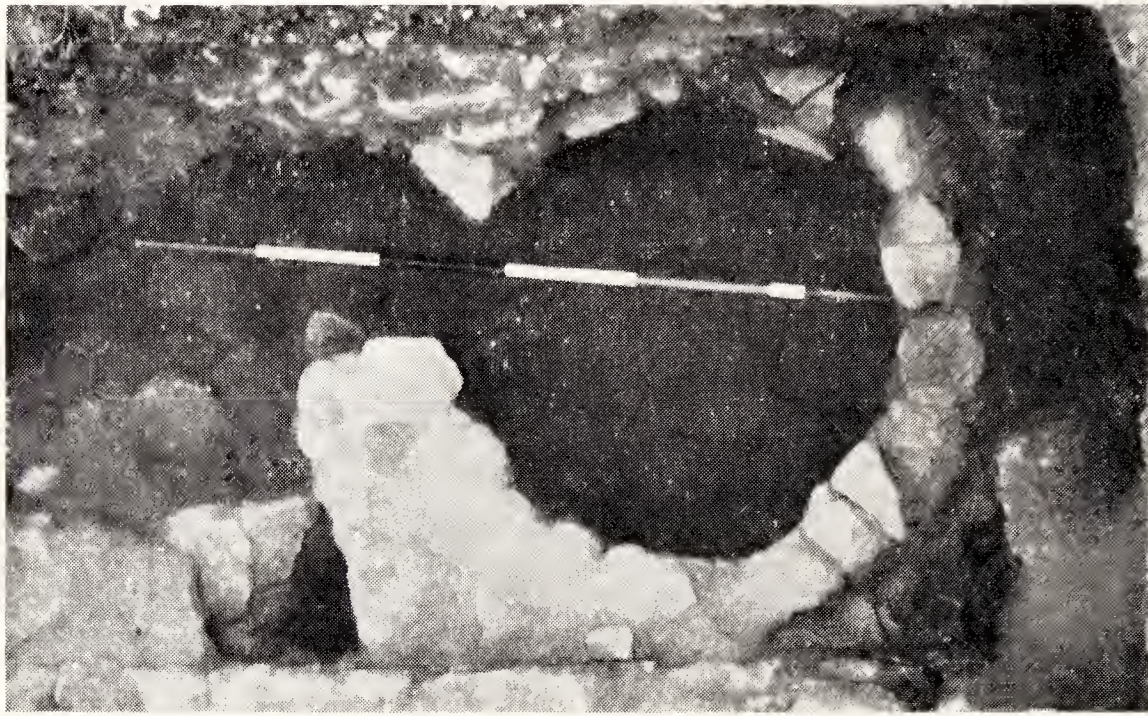


PLATE XXVII.  
Oven Building. The oven which contained the pot No. 125. c. A.D. 160.



Fortunately there is a clue to the use to which K was put. Just behind the S.W. wall were found the remains of a kiln (Kiln K on plan)—the first of a series that were to be found in the succession of buildings that were to occupy this site. The purpose of the kiln (like that of all the later ones) is a matter for conjecture. As no wasters of any kind were found in or near this or any of the other kilns, and as analysis of kiln material has not produced any information, it would seem most likely that these were drying kilns probably for the grain already being grown in quantity on the Wolds.

Sherds of early pottery were found in the K levels whilst sealed by the mortar floors were coins of Vespasian and Trajan. The date suggested for this building is during the first decade of the 2nd century, i.e. towards the end of our Period I.

Next in the series of buildings is H, another large structure whose end walls only remain. It was 55 ft. long and probably about 20 ft. wide. The N.W. corner remains and it is possible that the N.E. corner lay underneath the latest wall on the N.E. side, and was destroyed when the wall was built. If this is correct it means that H was 24 ft. wide. At the S.W. end the remains of H lie under the much later wall D. About H little can be said except that its workmanship is rather poor, the core of the wall being very loose. A good mortar floor is associated with H as can be easily seen at the ends of the building near to the walls, but its presence is not easy to see in the middle of the floor area where there has been considerable disturbance by later building. It has been mentioned that building K lay along the side of an early road. With H, however, the road disappeared as the new building covered a strip of the road as long as the building was wide. It cannot be said, of course, whether H was built where it was because the road was no longer needed or whether the owner of H was able to ignore the needs of the road users. It may be that some reorganization of the system of minor roads was in progress because a little later, when building H had gone, a new road (Road II on plan) appeared running at right angles to the old one and incidentally taking a route that would have led it the whole length of H. Building H is probably Antonine in date and it had probably gone soon after the turn of the century. The evidence for this statement is negative; it is that sealed deposits of pottery associated with the next building in the succession (G), is undoubtedly 3rd century in type, and some need not be late in the century. Building H appears to have been destroyed by fire.

Building G (Pl. XXI) was 30 ft. long but two of its corners and one long wall had been completely removed by later building so that its width could not be discovered. Its walls were well built; part of the N.E. one still stood to six courses. The remains of a thick floor of hard white mortar could be traced; it remained below the late ditch which was not deep enough to reach it.

With the disappearance of building H a new road was laid running from S.W. to N.E. It lies along the side of G although it cannot be certainly said which, road or building G, came first. The remains of a large kiln (G on plan) were found at the N. end of the building.



As in the case of K the purpose of the kiln cannot be proved from the remains found round it; its most probable purpose was for grain drying. The region of the kiln shows very considerable signs of

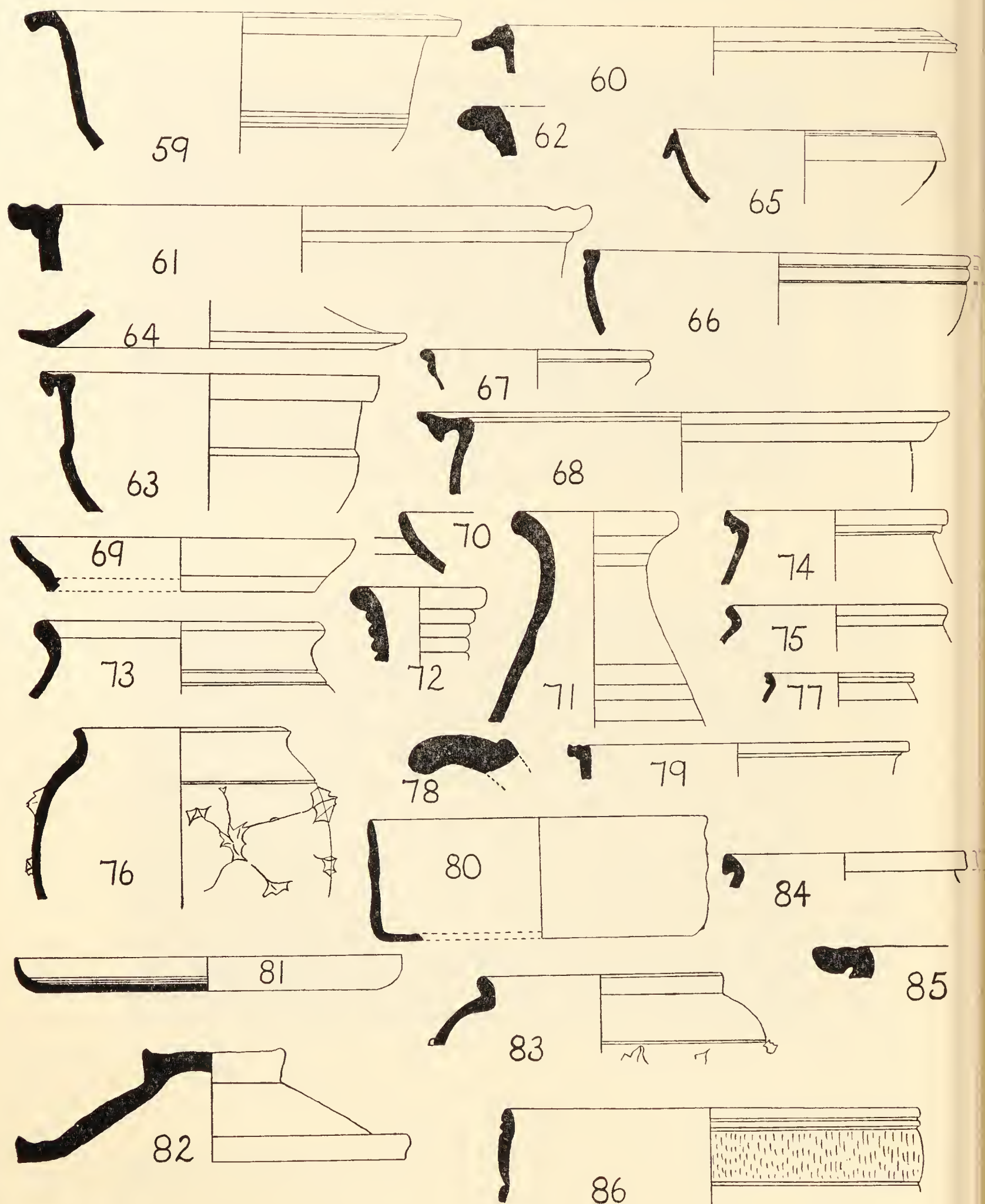


FIG. 10.



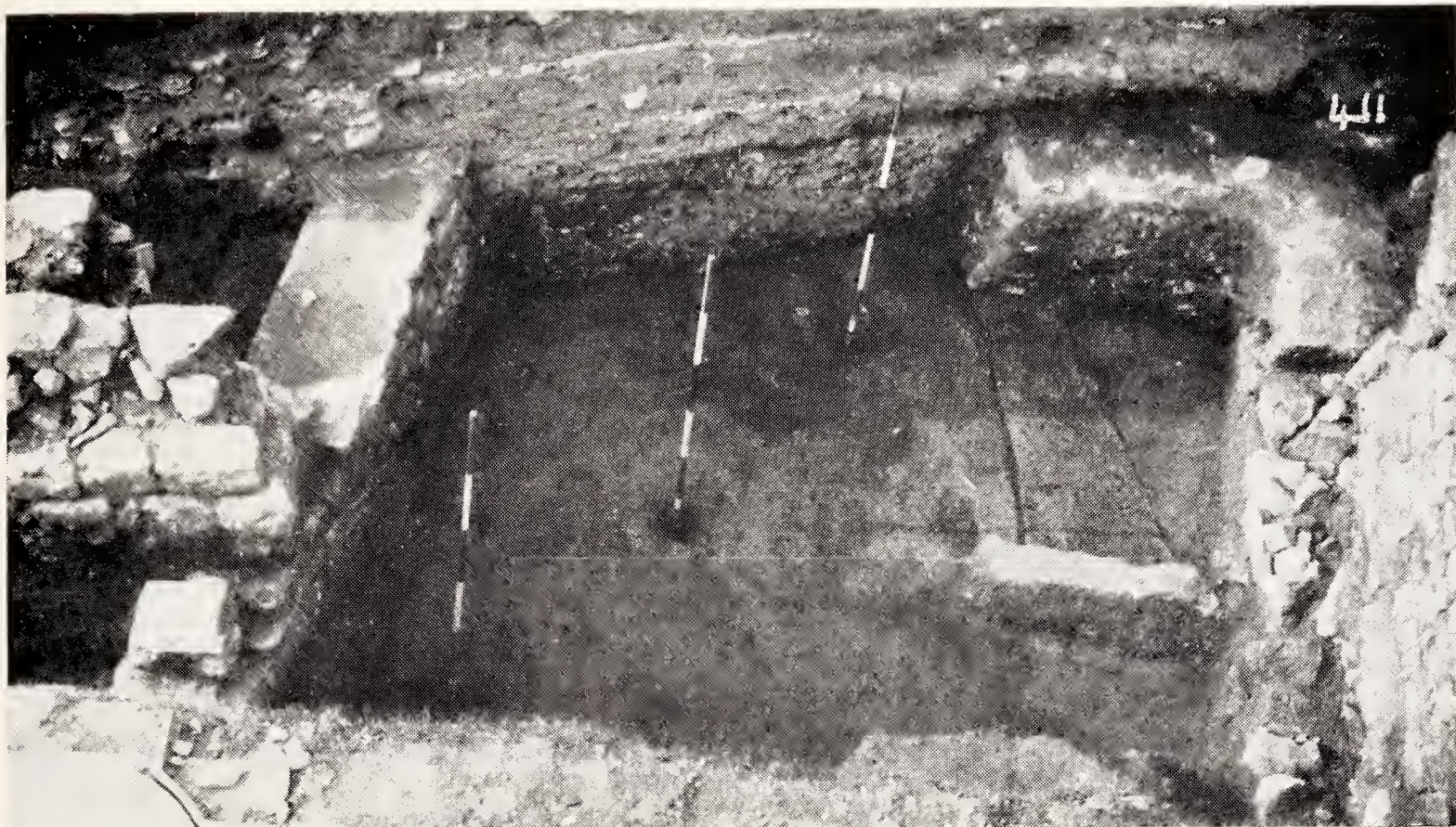


PLATE XXVIII.

N.E. Area. Line of post holes from Period I. The parallel lines on the right mark the position of a sleeper trench.

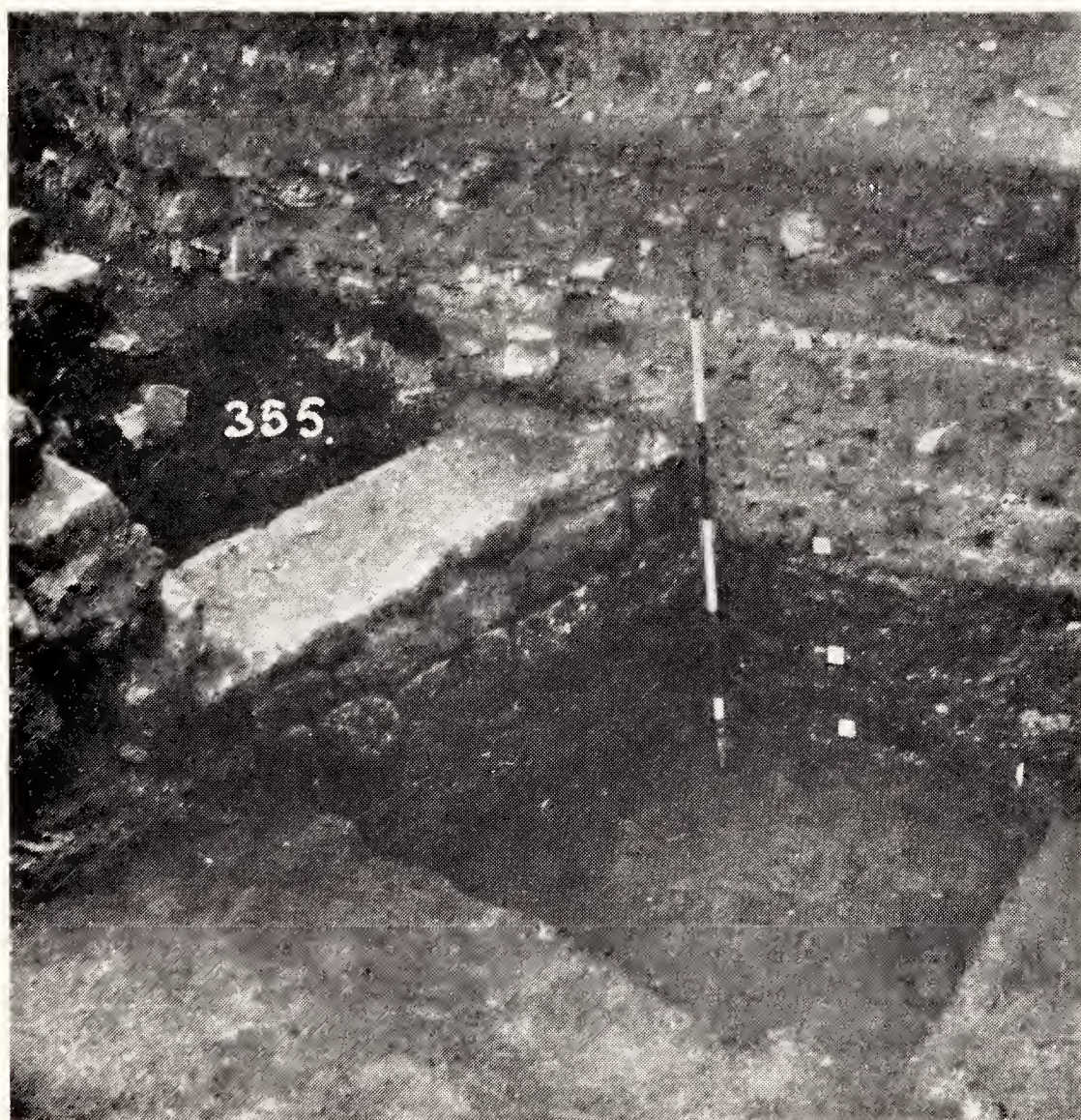


PLATE XXIX.

N.E. Area. Building V. showing the brushwood floor between the 3rd and 4th labels. Between the 4th and 5th labels is a band of dark material containing much charcoal from the wooden buildings of the first period.





PLATE XXX.  
N.E. Area. Wall B, showing clay banks  
along the foundation.



PLATE XXXI.  
N.E. Area. On the right, post holes  
from the timber period can be seen.  
Wall U, at the top. Above the pole  
at the bottom is part of the clay  
floor associated with U.



burning; ash deposits were from 12 to 18 ins. thick and over a radius of about 10 ft. there were quantities of calcined stone. G may have been destroyed by fire. The evidence for the date of G comes from pottery sealed by a mortar floor which had repaired the original floor. The pottery consists of types which can be dated between about A.D. 220-280. None of the sherds are illustrated but they can all be matched by the tall cooking pots, the platters and bowls from the well (nos. 140-158); another comparable collection is that from the carbonised wheat layer in the fort (Defences; fig. 6). It is suggested therefore that building G dates from the second quarter of the 3rd century.

The largest building to occupy this site was the one described as the Kiln Building; its dimensions have already been noted. Its massive façade is obviously intended to match the façade of the Town House. The blocks of Lower Calcareous Grit are at least as well cut and just as carefully laid in its façade as are those in the façade of the other building. The two frontages are the only cases at present known in which this stone has been used on this site.

On stylistic grounds the Kiln Building must be assigned a date close to that of the Town House, i.e. early in the 4th century. Later the frontage of the building was altered. The heavy façade ceased to be used and a new front (D in plan), was built on a slightly different line from that of the old. Behind this new wall another parallel wall was built about 4 ft. away, making a narrow room which may have been used as a shop, measuring about 20 ft. by 4 ft. Its entrance appears to have been at the back (Pl. XXIII); on the N.W. side the wall narrows and a large nail driven into the floor at this point looks as though it may have been used to fix a wooden threshold. The date of these alterations may be as late as the troubles of A.D. 367; in D wall coins of Constantine I and II and House of Constantine were found, making it certain that D was built later than A.D. 353. Drying kilns were in use in the Kiln Building; kiln 1 contained a Crambeck type painted mortarium.

During the last period on this site a rough rectangular stone hut was built (see plan). No evidence was found to indicate its purpose. Its date must be at least as late as that of D; probably it is even rather later and contemporary with the late wall mentioned below as running from the S.E. corner of the Kiln Building and crossing the walls of B.III. The Kiln Building itself must have been destroyed before this hut was built. It looks like a late structure erected towards the end of the 4th century by some of the last inhabitants of Roman Malton.

The area of the building carries traces of somewhat unco-ordinated late activity suggesting the presence of a squatter population living in a town whose government had broken down. On the road in front of the Kiln Building were two hearths (one containing Signal Station type pottery, and the other House of Constantine coins). There were also traces of hearths in the Kiln Building itself. This is a reminder of the traces of late occupation found in the Town House. Nearly all the later 4th century coins found during the



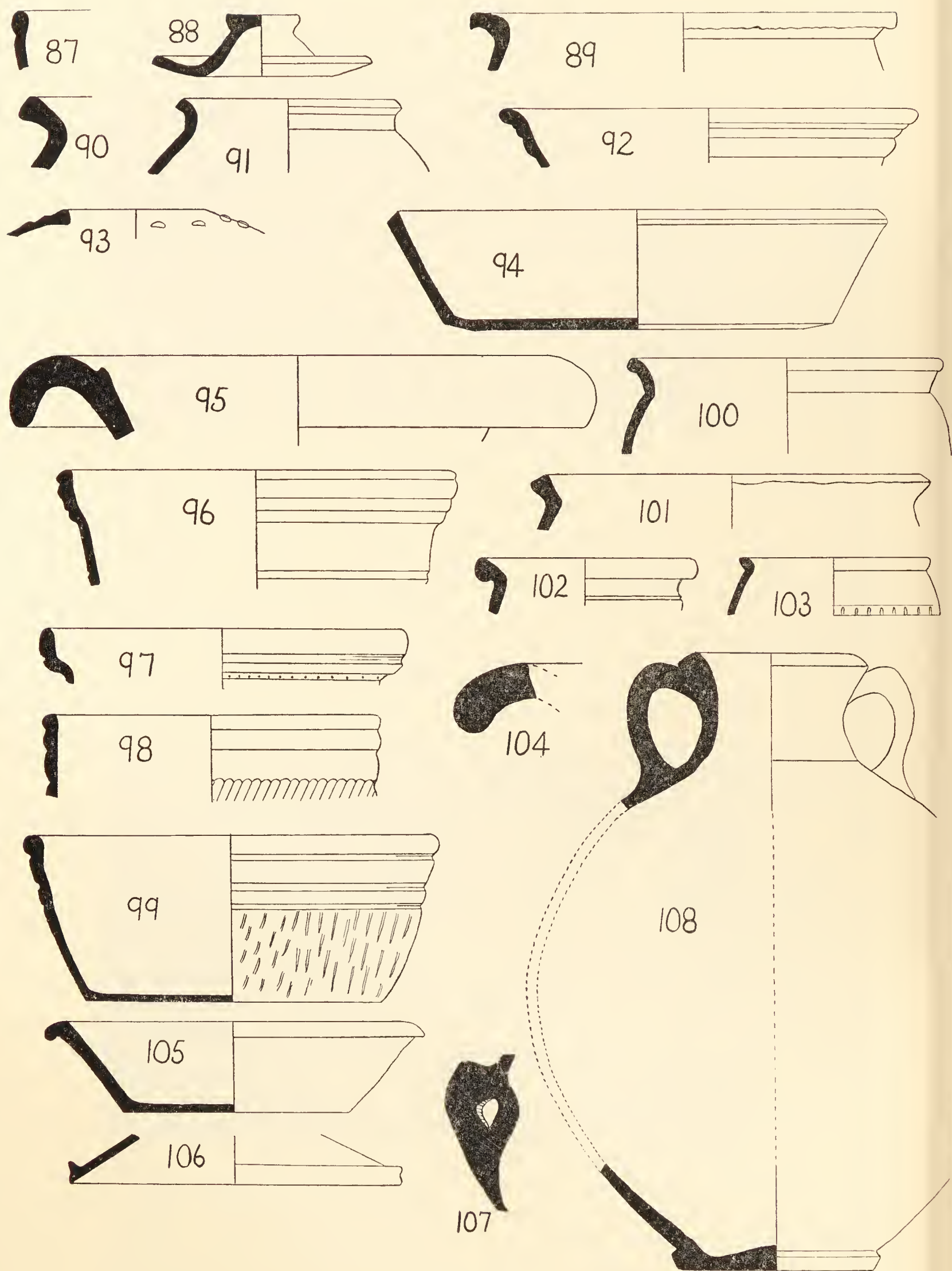


FIG. 11.



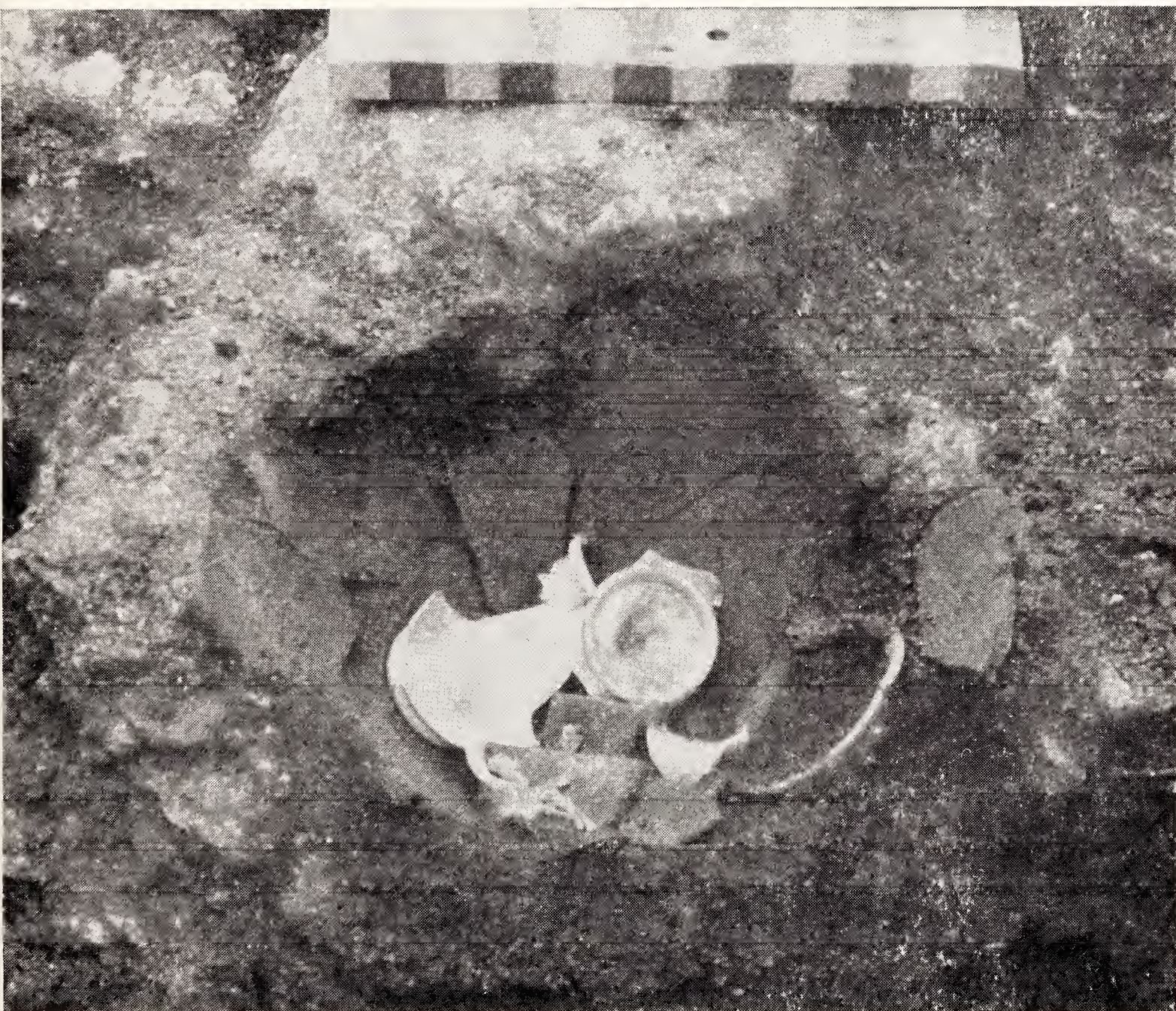


PLATE XXXII.

A collection of glass sherds *in situ*. See miscellaneous finds, Nos. 1-4 (Objects of Glass).





excavation came from the Kiln Building area. This is another hint of late occupation of the site.

Finally, three feet from, and lying parallel to, the Kiln Building was B III. It was too close to the public road to allow more than the N.W. wall to be examined. B III appears to be contemporary with Building H. A late 4th century wall, butting onto the S.E. wall of the Kiln Building, crosses the S.W. corner of B III. Its purpose is not clear; it may be, of course, that the ditch destroyed another wall parallel to the one in question, in which case it must have been removed within a very short time of being built.

The ditch (Pls. XXIV, XXV) running across the Town House continues its course through the Kiln Building. Here the ditch is crossed by a causeway. It may be that the dangers that were feared and which led to the digging of the ditch did not materialize and it was felt safe to provide easier access to the northern part of the *vicus* than had been possible when the wide ditch made crossing difficult.

In one respect the Malton *vicus* followed the fort; it was an unofficial graveyard for infants. In the fort Dr. Kirk found more than thirty infant burials. In the 1949-1952 excavations twenty-two were found; eight in the shop area, three in the Town House, and eleven in the Kiln Building. They came from all periods of occupation from the second to the fourth centuries, and the infants ranged in age from a few days to one which must have been almost a year old as it was on the point of teething.

#### THE OVEN BUILDING (Pls. XXVI, XXVII)

The apse of the Constantinian house was built over the remains of a second century building which is referred to as the Oven Building. It was rectangular and measured 24 ft. by at least 40 ft. Its long axis lay parallel to the main road to the S.E. gate of the fort. Little could be discovered about this structure except the N.W. face where there were traces along the wall of at least three hearths and the complete remains of a small round baking oven. It was circular, 3 ft. 3 ins. diameter, with a flue opening 1 ft. wide. Its limestone wall stood three courses high and its floor was of thick tiles. It had not replaced an earlier oven in this position (Pl. XXVII).

Most of the walls of the oven building had been destroyed to the foundations which underlay every wall with which they came into contact. The outside face of the N.W. wall had, however, been preserved through contact with a series of road levels which ran alongside and in contact with it. The earliest of these levels, well made in cobbles and mortar, sealed pottery group nos. 119-124 which is distinctively mid-Antonine in character. It is suggested, therefore, that the first road level was laid between A.D. 160 and A.D. 180, and probably nearer the earlier date. The Oven Building was certainly earlier than the road and it probably belongs to a date towards the end of Hadrian's reign. It may well have been the existence of this building that determined the line of the side road along which all later buildings were aligned. The stratification of



the building in the complicated series of walls in the area make it clear that it belongs to the first period of stone building even though it may have been rather later than stone structures in some other parts of the site.

The terminal date of the building is thought to be not much later than c. A.D. 200. The interesting pot (no. 125) was found in the

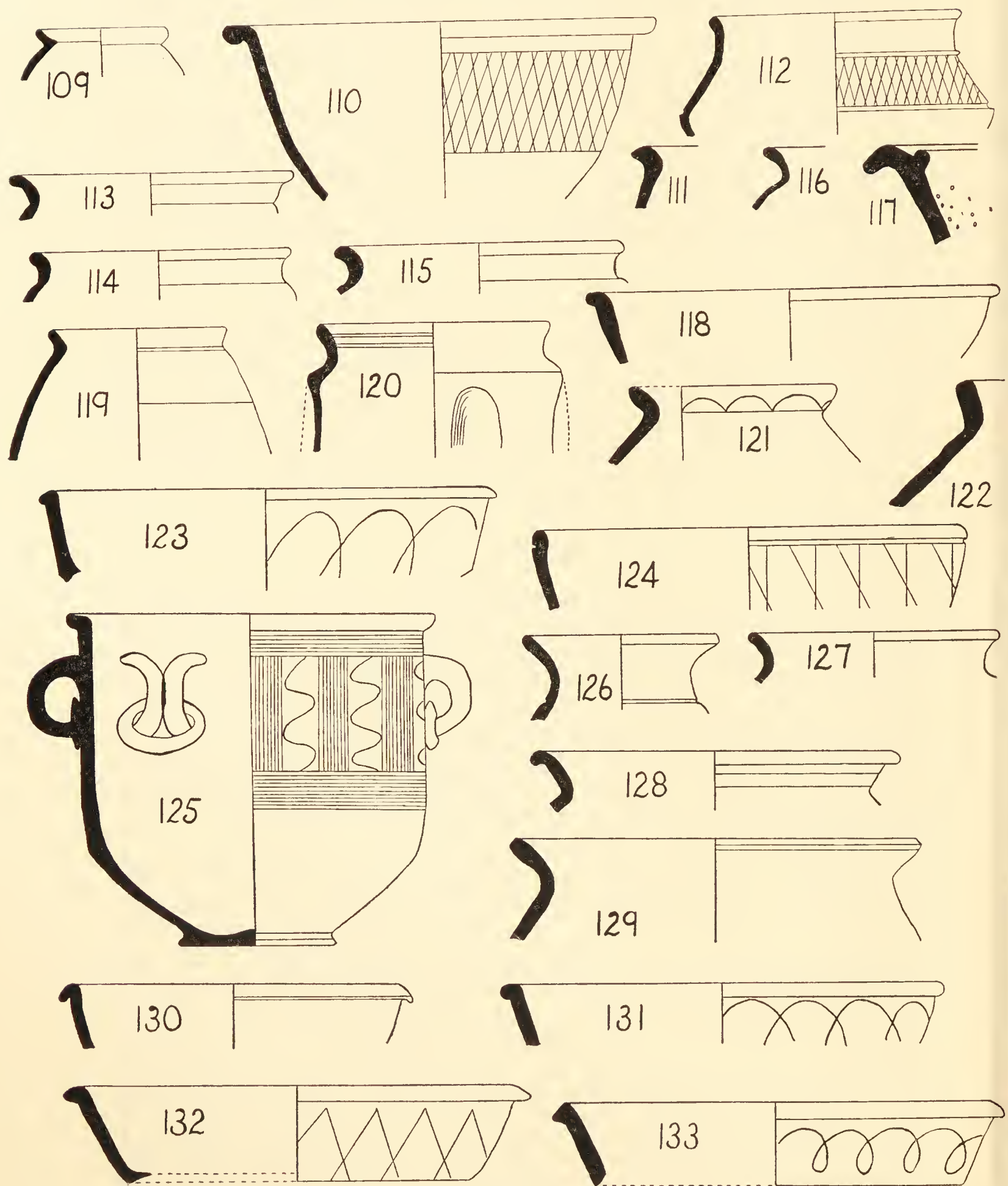


FIG. 12.

broken plaster in the oven. It would seem to have been broken just as the building fell into disuse. It is a type that is not easy to parallel, but a date late in the 2nd century seems likely. This dating is given weight by the finding of a 'Bat's head' Samian mortar, Drag. 45, which occurs at Niedenbieber at the end of the 2nd and in the first half of the 3rd centuries.

#### THE NORTH EAST AREA (Fig. 5. Plates XXVIII-XXXI)

In the N.E. area a complicated cluster of walls belonging to buildings of different periods lay beyond the apse of the Town House and the Oven Building. An important feature of the area was a third century unfinished well (Fig. 6), the digging of which had partially destroyed the walls of some of the earlier buildings. The well was about 7 ft. in diameter and 18 ft. deep. It had been dug into clean sandstone and had, apparently, never been lined with masonry; if timber supports had been used during the digging of the well they had been subsequently removed. It is difficult to see the reason for placing a well at this point since the Lady Spring is only about 200 yds. away and it always has a plentiful supply of water—it was, in fact, Malton's main source of supply from Roman until quite recent times. Given the geological formation of the area a well of the depth of this one must be given an impervious lining if it is to hold water; an unlined well must be sunk below the level of the water table. The unfinished well was only open for a very short time. It was filled (see section) with broken stone, cement, ash, etc. which contained a scatter of pottery; near the top, however, a layer of mixed mortar and soil above a layer of soil alone contained a considerable quantity which is illustrated in nos. 140-158. Most of the types represented in the group occur on sites dated to the end of the 3rd and beginning of the 4th centuries. It seems likely that the well was filled about the turn of the century. Over the filled well several layers of stone were laid to provide firm footings for a new building (Y) which lay for the most part along the same lines as X, an earlier structure. The stone packing just mentioned filled a gap between the foundations of X and a well built wall (B) (Pl. XXX) that continues the line of the S.E. wall of the Town House and also of the Antonine building which was the immediate predecessor of the Town House. The wall B overlay the Oven Building but had been destroyed by the wall of the apse of the Town House. It is certainly contemporary with the Antonine building and it may be part of the wall of that structure, although if this is so it would mean that it must have been well over 100 ft. in length. Another and perhaps more likely possibility is that two contemporary buildings lay in line with their end walls beneath the later apse of the Town House.

The whole area is best described in chronological order.

The earliest buildings here, as in other parts of the *vicus*, were timber structures. There were clear traces in the subsoil of sleeper trenches and post holes (Pl. XXVIII). The two largest post holes were 9 ft. 6 ins. apart and 15 ins. in diameter. These large holes were filled with dark brown decayed wood. When these buildings



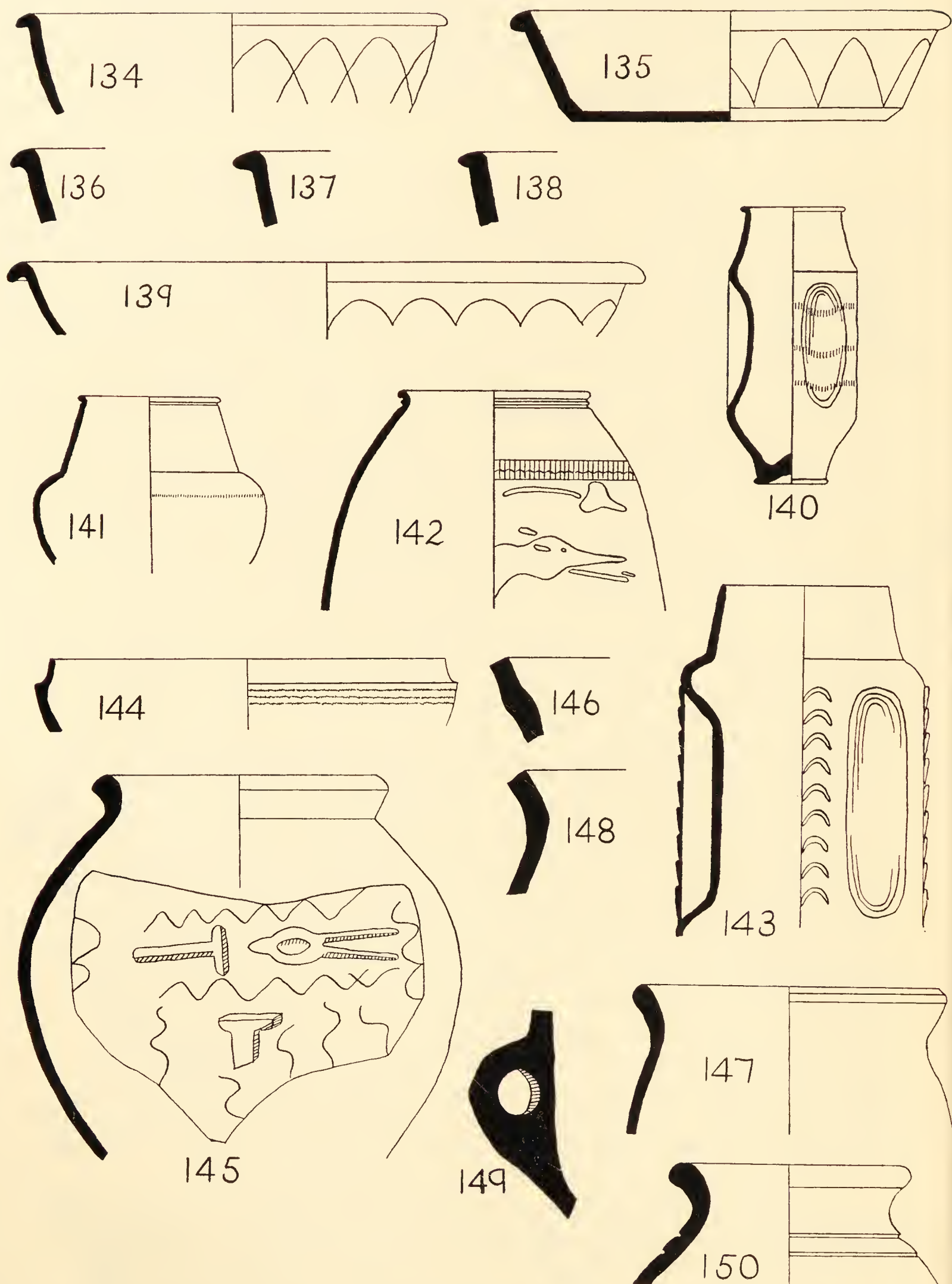


FIG. 13,

were demolished their foundations were covered with a layer of clean yellow sand and then with brown clay. A great deal of Flavian-Trajanic pottery was associated with this level; much of it is illustrated amongst the sherds nos. 1-70.

In this level was set the wall of one of the earliest stone buildings found. Only part of the footings and foundation course remained but there was no doubt of the existence of the building (U) (Pl. XXXI). Under wall B mentioned above ran another early wall following the same alignment as the Oven Building. This had been very largely destroyed by the well, and although no proof of any connection could be found with U the line of the two suggests that they both formed part of the same structure. The floors associated with these early walls sealed pottery which is largely Flavian, although one or two sherds of Trajanic types also occurred. Building U probably belongs to the first half of Trajan's reign and is most likely contemporary with the first stone fort dated to A.D. 108.

This early building and its associated pottery were sealed by a thick carbonised brushwood floor belonging to a small rectangular building V which was 16 ft. wide but of unknown length (Pl. XXIX). It replaced building U, as one of its corners rested on the foundation of the latter. It was noticed that the brushwood floor rose appreciably where it passed over the foundation of the earlier building, no doubt because the foundation helped to reduce the natural subsidence of the brushwood. Building V was aligned with no other buildings in the area; clearly it was not part of any general plan of reconstruction.

Building V was probably Hadrianic; it was soon replaced by a much more substantial structure X. The N.W. wall of X had been largely destroyed by later building but its N.E. foundation was followed for 25 ft. when it turned an obtuse angle and then ran for a further 27 ft. before being destroyed by the well. Its strongly built, well laid wall suggests a building of some importance. It appears to be contemporary with wall B and to belong to the Antonine period. Wall B, it may be noted, was equipped with neatly laid banks of blue clay which may have served as a damp course as did similar clay banks in the Town House. The latest building in this area is Y which measured 44 ft. by 25 ft. and which was, except in the case of the N.W. wall built on the same lines as X. The northern angle of Y is a little less than the angle of X and so the lines of the two walls diverge slightly. The walls of Y appear to have been violently destroyed. One section of the N.W. wall had been entirely displaced and lay alongside its foundation and the area presented a picture of destruction. No direct dating evidence was found for X and Y but they may reasonably be connected with the two latest stone and mortar levels which lay above the brushwood floor and which sealed significant groups of pottery. The latest floor sealed group nos. 159-164 which is dated to the late 3rd or early 4th centuries. Building Y then appears to belong to the end of our Period IV or early in Period V, i.e. *c.* A.D. 300. This means that it is approximately contemporary with the Town House. The



earlier floor sealed pottery group 126-139 which is distinctly Antonine. Building X then, belongs either to the end of Period III or to Period IV.

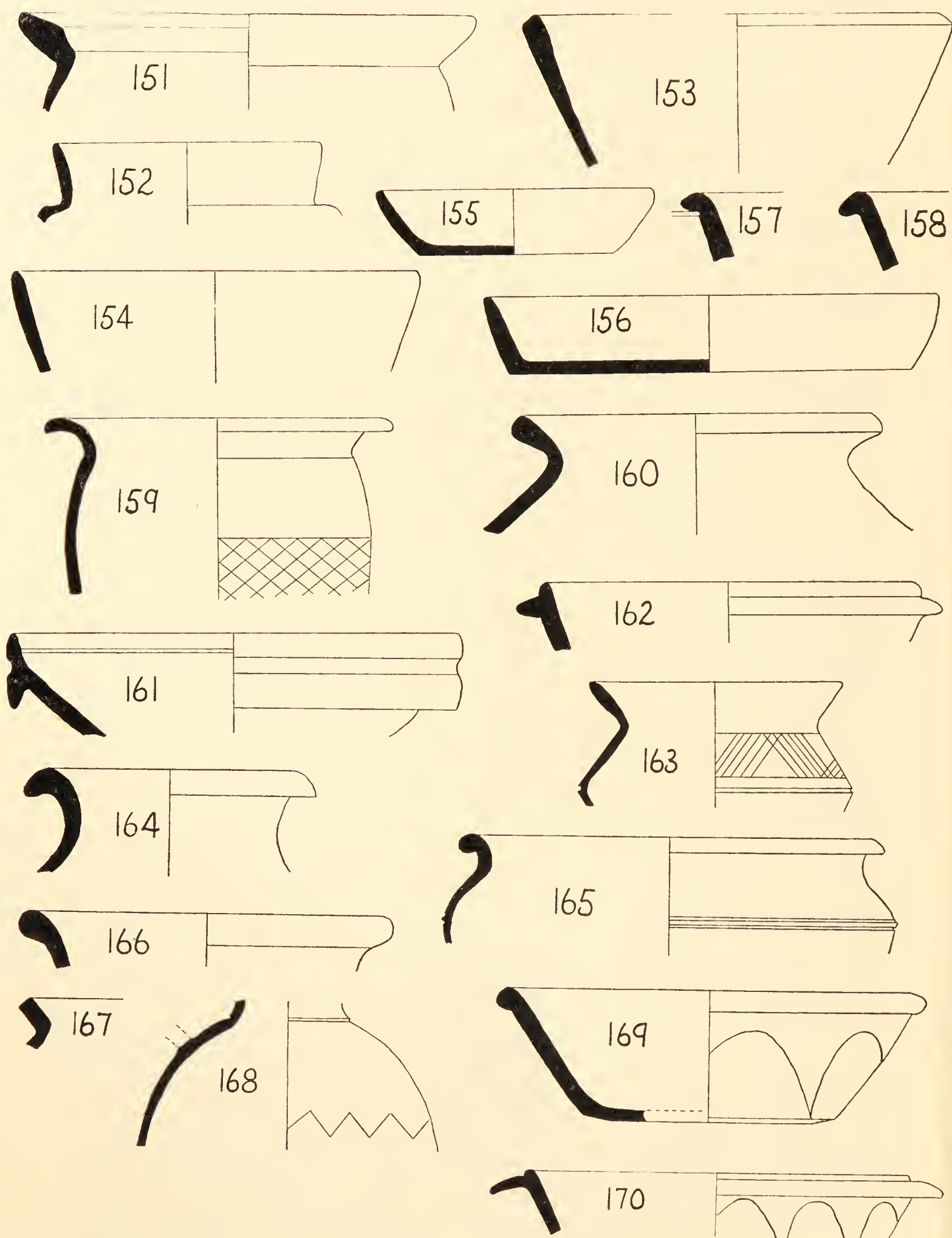


FIG. 14.

In this part of the *vicus* we have no evidence of later occupation. About the middle of the 4th century with the ruin of the Town House and the possible destruction of building Y, Malton (we still cannot certainly call it *Derventio*), disappears into a haze of historical obscurity which was to last for eight hundred years.

#### SUMMARY. PERIODS OF OCCUPATION

The following summary is based on the excavations of 1949 and the subsequent years but to make comparison with the dating of the fort easier the same chronological periods have been used as were adopted by Dr. Corder in his report on the defences of the fort.

##### Periods I and II; A.D. 79-108.

It has not proved possible to distinguish between remains which may have belonged to an early military camp and those which belonged to an early civil settlement using timber buildings outside the Agricolan fort. It was noted by Dr. Corder that the pottery from the first two periods could not be separated.

The assumption that the civilian settlement at Malton soon grew up after the building of the fort seems to be made reasonably certain by the discovery of a large timber building in the area of the late ditch, by the number of post-holes in the early levels, by the presence of early native calcite gritted ware, and indirectly by the contribution of the earliest 2nd century stone buildings. There is no indication of a break in the continuity of occupation between the period of timber building and the developed stone buildings of Hadrianic and earlier Antonine times. There must have been, in fact, a replacement of timber by stone buildings, probably over a comparatively short period. It is thought that this short period was balanced around the date A.D. 108.

##### Period III. A.D. 108-182.

This period, together with a decade or two of the next, saw the greatest activity in the area outside the fort. The contrast between the coin lists of *vicus* and fort and the amount of second century pottery found during the excavation makes it plain that although the fort was undergarrisoned the settlement outside prospered. Prosperity was, of course, a reflection of peaceful conditions.

An ambitious programme of building was started. In the shop area the first permanent stone buildings were erected, probably in the early days of Hadrian's reign, and during the Antonine period some of these earlier structures were replaced or enlarged, and new ones added. In some parts of the site broken stone foundations were laid and in early Hadrianic times the first stone building was erected on the Town House site. Perhaps the Oven Building also belongs to this time; it cannot have been built later than A.D. 160 and in all likelihood is earlier. Its N.W. face was lined by the side road along which the Town House was to be built. Similarly on the site of what was to be the Kiln Building the first stone structures appeared. It has been mentioned that further new building took



place in the Shop Area in Antonine times. New building took place on the Town House site; Hadrianic structures were replaced in Antonine times on the Kiln Building site; and more new work re-

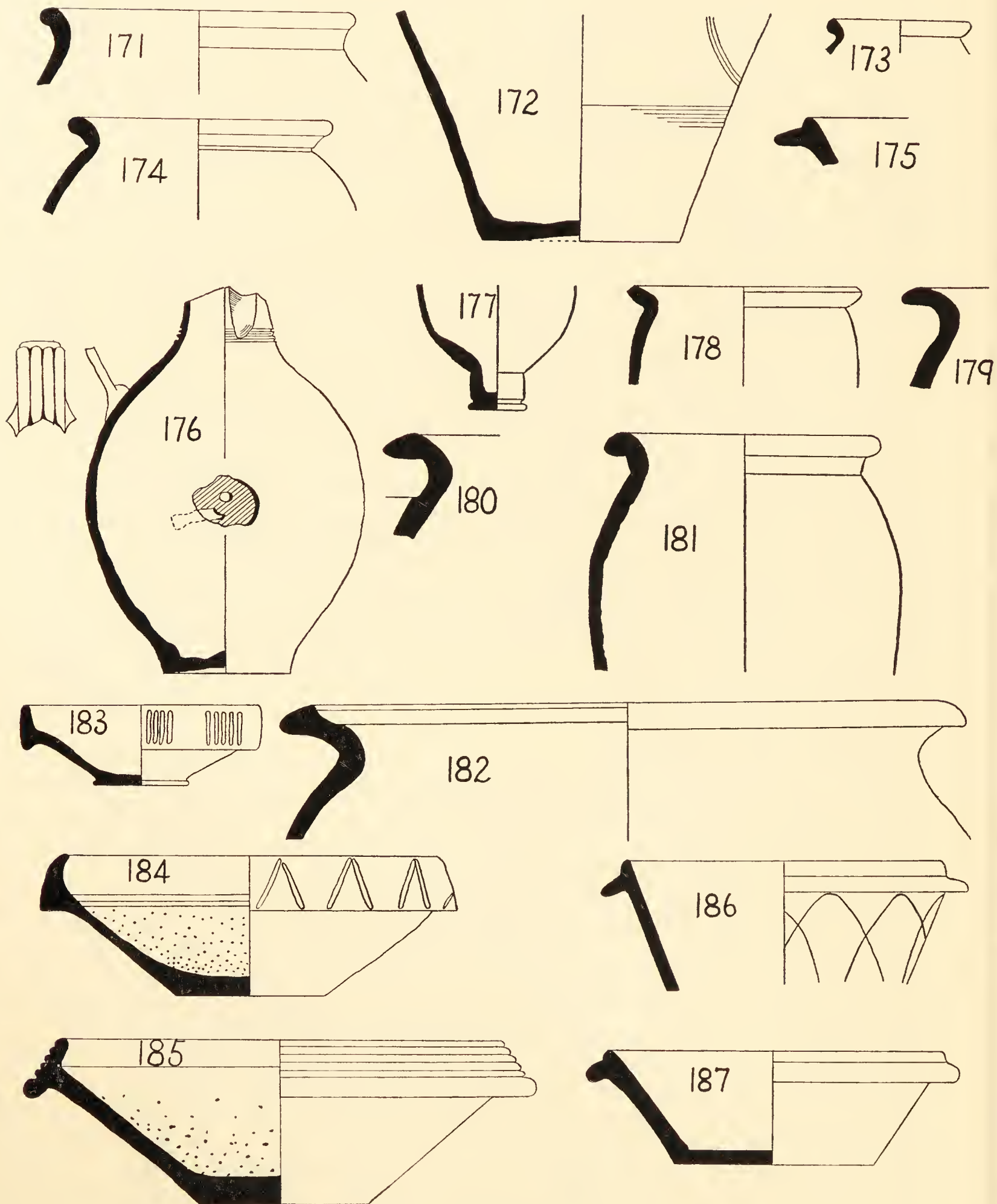


FIG. 15.

placed earlier walls to the N.E. None of these buildings can be precisely dated; this is to be expected. The impression given over the whole area is one of continuous rebuilding and addition. Certainly there is no suggestion of collapse and reconstruction.

#### Period IV. A.D. 182-280.

It seems that the buildings of the 2nd century remained in use during the first three-quarters of the 3rd. Even if the Antoninian dating assigned to some of the buildings mentioned above is regarded as being somewhat early it still remains the case that no new building took place between *c.* A.D. 200 and A.D. 280 on the present site. It is of course possible that the inhabited area may have been extended to the west, and such extension certainly did take place at Norton on the other side of the river.

#### Period V. A.D. 300-367.

An important building assigned to this period is the Town House with its massive frontage and luxurious interior. Lying alongside the Town House and only about 3 ft. to the E. was the Kiln Building which (in its latest form) also belongs to the 4th century. The existence of yet another 4th century building, parallel to and only a few feet away from, the first two, was proved. The Town House showed signs of modification and poor repair work which may have been carried out at any time during this period. Hardship was experienced in the town before the final collapse; the blocking of the hypocaust stokeholes is suggestive of this.

Near to the end of the period the Town House, and probably the Kiln Building too, came to a violent end. This might be connected with the events of A.D. 367 but several facts point to a date rather earlier than this. The latest coin sealed in the *débris* of the house need be no later than A.D. 353, although later coins were found elsewhere on the site. There is also evidence of some shoddy stone building over the façade of the Town House but this rough work was destroyed by the digging of the late ditch. A wooden hut was put up in a cleared space in the hall of the house and near it was calcite gritted ware closely akin to, but not identical with the Hunt-cliff types characteristic of the post A.D. 367 period.

#### Period VI. A.D. 367-395.

About the time of the Picts war a hurriedly dug ditch seems to have been taken through the ruins up to the S.E. gateway of the fort. By this time the whole area to the north of the ditch had been abandoned although the shop area on the south side of the road, and the front of the Kiln Building continued to be occupied. Unstratified late calcite gritted ware came from this area, but it is suggested that any survival was short. No evidence for any later occupation was found.

Until the excavations described here were carried out it was always assumed that Malton-Norton was, so to speak, a double settlement. To the north and west was the military occupation; on



the other side of the river to the south and east lay the civilian settlement. Now, however, it becomes clear that the civil settlement was contiguous to the fort itself. It seems quite certain, to judge from the results of the excavation, that the military authorities and the civil population (or at least that part of it living on the Malton side of the River Derwent) lived in close, and presumably reasonably amicable, contact. This being so, certain features in the design of the fort become easier to understand. The great ditches which surrounded the fort were added after the first earthen ramparts had been built and probably about the same time as the stone wall, i.e. c. A.D. 108. On the N.E. and N.W. sides there were two such ditches, whereas to the S.E. only one ever existed (the position in the S.W. is not clear). It seems reasonable to suggest therefore, that by the time the great ditches were dug the military authority was prepared to modify the fort's defences in order to conserve some of the land lying between the fort and the river. This decision might have been taken in view of the amenities to be provided there for the soldiers, but it seems more likely to suppose that the modification was made in the interests of the *vicus*. Another feature which argues in favour of congestion on the south side of the fort is the position of the stone wall. On the north sides the wall was added comfortably at the edge of the original rampart. This was not so on the river sides of the fort. Here the walls were slotted well back into the rampart. The cost of removing a great part of the rampart would surely not have been undertaken had it not been really necessary. Within one generation of military occupation at Malton the civilian settlement had become important enough for the military to take its needs into account in rebuilding the fort.

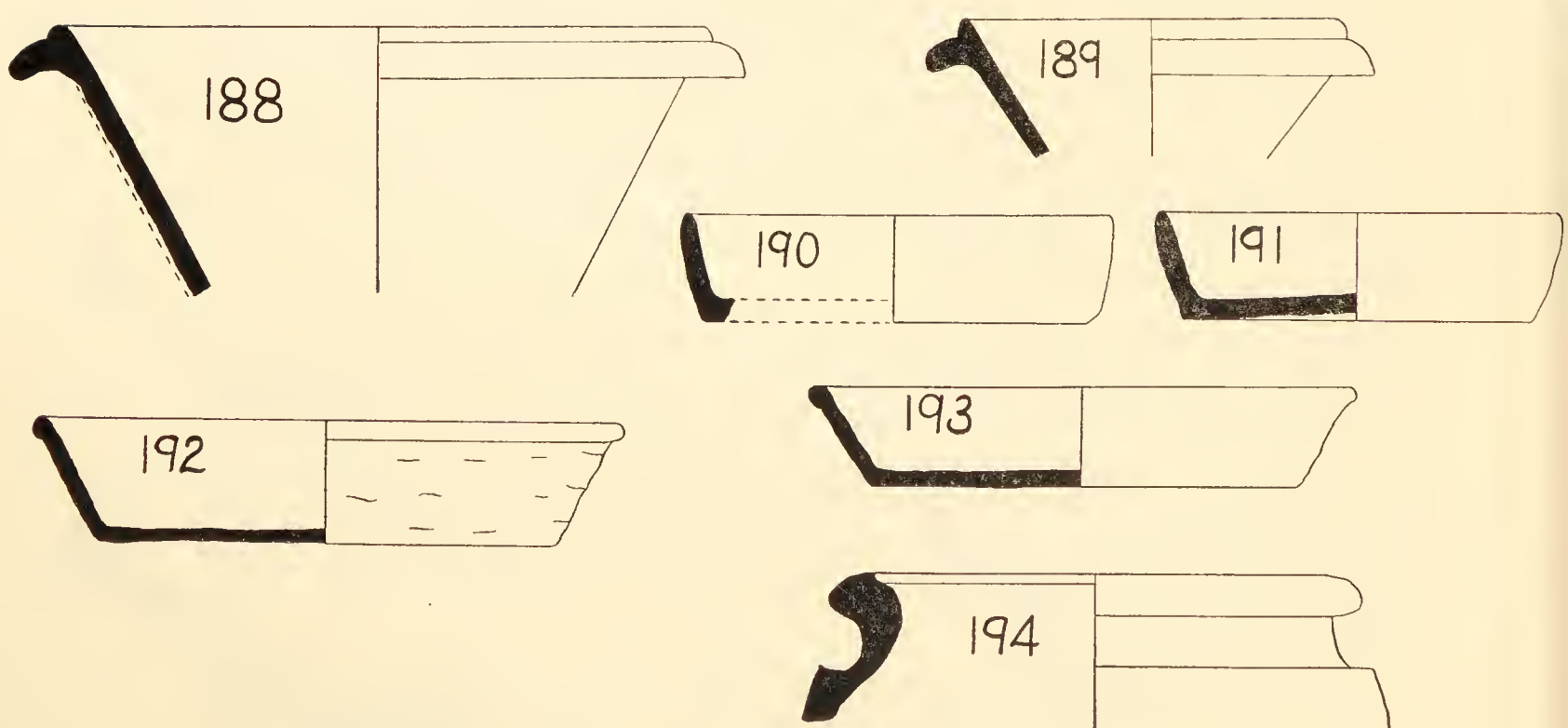


FIG. 16.

## THE POTTERY.

Pottery from the earliest levels.

*Pitchers and Jugs.*

1. Large pitcher or amphora, orange fabric with cream slip, greyish in fracture. One ribless handle remained but the vessel probably had two handles originally. Two slight grooves just below the rim. Diam.  $5\frac{1}{2}$  ins. at rim. Cf. *Balmuildy, Pl. XXXIX No. 1* which must be later than A.D. 80; and *Caerhun, No. 332* dated to A.D. 100-132.
2. Jug or flagon with a finely moulded cup-like upper ring; thin orange/red fabric; no handle found. Diam.  $3\frac{1}{2}$  ins. *Caerhun, Nos. 335 and 336* are rather similar rims dated A.D. 80-120.
3. Ring necked jug in rough orange fabric; probably had one handle. Diam.  $3\frac{1}{2}$  ins. at rim. Cf. *Caerhun, No. 310* which is dated A.D. 90-110.
4. Ring necked jug with the upper ring very prominent; orange surface but grey in fracture; one double ribbed handle. Diam at rim  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ins. Cf. *Newstead, Fig. 33, No. 3* from the ditch of the early fort A.D. 80-95.

*Jars.*

5. A very large storage jar of hand made calcite gritted native ware; rather soft black fabric although there are salmon pink patches inside; copious grit. Diam. at rim 14 ins.  
This type of out-curved rim is not characteristic of the pottery made at Knapton and elsewhere in East Yorkshire in the 2nd and 3rd centuries. A complete vessel of this type was found at Langton (*Langton, Fig. 28*) and it was compared by the late Dr. Corder with a similar find from the Ulrome lake dwellings (*Archaeologia, LXII, p. 604*) and now dated c. B.C. 1,000. At Langton it was thought unlikely that the jar really belonged to the 'early fortlet' (Iron Age farmstead) but this distinctly Flavian find may increase that probability. Comparison with the Ulrome vessel also suggests the probability of a long continuing native potting tradition.
6. Medium sized jar in brownish-grey clay with rough rustic application on the body. Diam. uncertain. This is a well known Flavian type and although not common its relative frequency at Malton may be taken as evidence of an early Flavian occupation.
7. Jar in grey fabric with smoothed rim. Its rustication is well sooted. Diam.  $5\frac{1}{2}$  ins. Cf. *Caerhun, No. 373* where the application is similar in style but the rim is more like *Brough 1936, No. 20(b)*. A.D. 70-90.
8. Rustic jar in dark grey fabric; smoothed rim and shoulder. Diam. 5 ins.
9. Grey jar. Diam.  $3\frac{1}{2}$  ins.
10. Rim of jar in light grey ware. Diam. 8 ins.
11. Medium grey jar. Diam.  $5\frac{1}{2}$  ins.
12. Jar in sooted red fabric. Diam. 7 ins. *Haltwhistle Burn, No. 16*, and *Poltross Burn, Pl. III, No. 18* are jars of similar type and are both Hadrianic.
13. Globular jar; battleship grey on the surface and through the fabric. Smoothed shoulder and rim. Rows of impressed dots on the body. Diam. at rim  $6\frac{1}{2}$  ins.
14. Narrow necked jar with a pronounced shoulder. Diam. 5 ins. No useful parallel has been found. It is worth noting that in the late 4th C. the shoulder became a most distinctive feature of the widely marketed local pottery known as Huntcliff Ware. This example may then represent a local tradition that was unaffected by forms used elsewhere in Roman Britain.
15. Wide mouthed flanged jar, grey fabric, sooted outside. Diam. 5 ins. Found in the Oven Building. Cf. *Caerhun, Nos. 342—345* which are Flavian. *Brough, 1936, No. 52* from early pit 11, end of 1st cent.
16. Jar in grey fabric with a thin finely made outcurved rim; black circles are lightly inscribed both inside and outside. Diam. 6 ins. *Caerhun, No. 435* is a Flavian example of this type; *No. 445* is Trajanic but *No. 466* is as late as the Antonine period. This example may perhaps be dated to A.D. 80-120.



17. Jar in red clay with very slightly outbent rim. The surface is rough. Diam. 5 ins. Cf. *Caerhun*, No. 377; *Corbridge*, 1911, No. 35; Flavian.
18. Base of a small beaker in orange—buff fabric with a darker, rough surface. Diam. of base .9 ins.
19. Small rough cast jar, cream in fracture with orange-brown surface. Diam.  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ins. This type of jar appears to have been in use throughout the Flavian period. Cf. *Corbridge*, 1911, No. 17; *Caerhun*, Nos. 420—431, and *Newstead*, Pl. XLIX (A), Fig. 9.
20. Small rough cast jar with rim and girth grooves. Hard orange fabric with brown coating. Cf. No. 19 above. Diam.  $3\frac{3}{4}$  ins. The type also occurred beneath the sandy clay rampart of the fort at Malton, c. A.D. 80. Cf. *Malton*, Fig. 1, No. 13.
21. Large jar in dull red fabric. Outcurved rim with narrow raised band round the neck. Diam. 11 ins.
22. Jar in clean grey fabric. Angular neck and rim. Diam. 5 ins.
23. Medium sized grey jar with slightly burnished rim. Diam. 5 ins.
24. Similar to No. 23. Diam. 4.6 ins.
25. Jar in red fabric slightly smoke blackened on the outside. Diam. 7 ins.
26. Jar in calcite gritted ware with wheel finished rim. Black fabric with copious small grit. Diam. 6 ins.
27. Dark grey jar with smooth rim and neck. Diam.  $5\frac{1}{2}$  ins.
28. Small jar in thin light grey fabric with smoothed rim and shoulder. Diam. 3.8 ins.
29. Small jar in hard light grey ware. Decorated with rouletting round the body. Diam. 3 ins.
30. Jar with outbent rim and small shoulder in very dark grey clay. Decorated with small square impressions. Exterior smoked; interior pitted. Diam. 5 ins.
31. Examples of two beakers in similar hard dark grey fabric. No. 31 has a
32. thin slightly out-turned rim and two grooves round the prominent shoulder. Diam. 4 ins. No. 32 is decorated round the body with triangular panels of rouletting.

The above (Nos. 21 to 32) can all be paralleled by finds from the earliest levels in the fort.

#### Bowls.

33. Necked bowl of Belgic type. Several fragments of the same bowl were found in a deposit of ash lying on sand. The ash must be earlier than the first stone buildings on the site. Fine hard grey ware with polished black exterior. Diam. at rim  $4\frac{3}{4}$  ins.; diam. at girth  $5\frac{1}{2}$  ins.; probable height  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ins.—3 ins. Comparable examples from the south of England are all dated to the first half of the 1st cent. Cf. *Colchester*, Pl. LXXVIII, No. 564. A.D. 50-60. *Verulamium*, Fig. 15; 38 and 39. A.D. 5-35. *Camulodunum*, Pl. XXIV form 209. A.D. 10-43.
34. Globular bowl with flat reeded rim; very hard light brown fabric grey at the core. From the Façade area beneath heavy 2nd cent. road slabs. Diam. at the rim is  $6\frac{3}{4}$  ins. *Newstead*, Fig. 23 provides a parallel from the ditch of the early fort. *Gellygaer*, Pl. XII, No. 10 is later than c. A.D. 74. At *Hofheim* the type is noted as early Flavian.
35. Globular bowl with flat reeded rim which has been finger frilled. Pink-orange fabric. Diam.  $4\frac{1}{2}$  ins. The decoration of grooves and wavy lines is incised and is similar to *Caerhun*, No. 495 found in the granary floor with Flavian and early Trajanic pottery.
36. Wide mouthed carinated bowl; light grey to buff with dark grey surface; smoothed rings inside and outside the neck. Diam. 10 ins. Cf. *Brough*, 1936, No. 58 from early pit 11; Flavian. *Colchester*, Pl. LXXX where it is described as Claudian.
37. Bowl, probably carinated, with a flat rim to receive a lid and a sharply overhanging flange. Hard grey fabric, lighter in fracture. Diam.  $9\frac{1}{2}$  ins. No significant parallel to this vessel has been found and it is probably of local manufacture. The clay, like nos. 63 and 64 below, is hard like the Norton ware made a century later, but it is not so blue in colour.

The overhanging rim is so narrowly separated from the body of the bowl that it can only have been made with a thin metal instrument.

38. Grey bowl in light grey ware; rough surface. The rim is flattened as though to carry a lid. Diam. 8 ins.
39. Grey carinated bowl with reeded rim. Diam. 7 ins.
40. Rim of a bowl with a high bead; light red. Diam.  $9\frac{1}{2}$  ins. Cf. *Malton, Fig. 17, No. 12* from the earliest level of the fort; *Wroxeter, 1912, Fig. 17, No. 16*. A.D. 80-120.
41. Heavy lid in hard grey ware. Roughly finished; the hole appears to have developed before firing. Lids of this type appear to be more common on pre-Hadrianic than on later sites. Cf. *Chesterholm, No. 21*, A.D. 80-120. *Corbridge, 1936-8, Fig. LI, No. 9*. A.D. 80-125, and *Newstead, Fig. 25—16*, which is Flavian. In all these cases the lid is designed to rest on the outer edge of the base and not as in this case.
42. Fragment of the rim of a flat edged lid in light grey ware. Diam.  $6\frac{3}{4}$  ins.
43. Lid with down turned rim; smooth grey ware. Diam.  $6\frac{1}{2}$  ins.

#### *Mortaria.*

44. Rim and spout of a large flat rimmed mortarium in cream fabric; only a scrap of white grit in the rim. Diam. 18 ins. Cf. *Newstead, Fig. 34—5* from the ditch of the early fort; Flavian. *Malton, Fig. 17—3* from the earliest level. *Caerhun, No. 36*, Flavian.
45. Rim of mortarium with flat down bent flange. Cream fabric with small white grit on the flange; base well worn. Diam. 14 ins.
46. Part of the rim only of a flat rimmed mortarium in cream clay with white and black grit. Much small grit on the rim. Diam. 12 ins. Cf. *Corbridge, 1911, Fig. 5—12*. Flavian.
47. Rim of a flat rimmed mortarium; cream clay with grit on the rim. Diam.  $11\frac{1}{4}$  ins. Cf. Nos. 44 and 46.
48. Rim and spout of a large curved rim mortarium in red ware. White grit. Diam. 16 ins. *Malton, Fig. 15—4* from the earliest occupation is probably Agricolaan. The type also lasts, though rarely, into Hadrianic times e.g. *Poltross Burn, Pl. IV—4*, A.D. 80-130.
49. Section of a large mortarium with bead well below the level of the rim. Hard red fabric. The large grit is soft and well worn. Diam. 14 ins.
50. Mortarium with curved overhanging rim flattened underneath; high bead. The fabric is cream and the grit grey and white; some grit in the rim. Diam.  $11\frac{1}{2}$  ins. Cf. *Wroxeter, 1912, No. 58*, where, however, the high bead is said to be a later development.
51. Mortarium in cream clay which has slight traces of a buff slip. The white grit has almost completely worn away.
52. Section of a mortarium with the edge of the rim badly broken. Small bead. The fabric is orange on the outside but grey in fracture; white and brown grit. When the spout was made clay was smoothed over the grit for an inch or more all round. Cf. *Malton, Fig. 15—4*, which has a similar rudimentary bead.

#### *Bowls, mainly carinated.*

53. Rim of a small bowl, probably carinated, with plain slightly down sloping flange. Red ware. Diam. 5 ins. Cf. *Caerhun, No. 124*. Flavian.
54. Bowl, probably carinated, in light grey clay. Smoothed rim and exterior. Diam. 5 ins.
55. Bowl with slight carination; light grey. Diam. 8 ins.
56. Rim of a bowl, probably carinated, in light grey fabric. Diam. 6 ins. Typical of a type of flange which is intermediate between the reeded rim bowl and the 2nd cent. flanged bowls. Cf. *Caerhun, No. 142*, found in the floor of a stone building A.D. 90-120 but probably nearer to the latter date.
57. Bowl with an unusual cup-like rim. Smooth light grey ware. Diam. 8 ins. This vessel belongs to the earliest occupation of the site; it was found just above clean subsoil in the area N.E. of the Town House.
58. Bowl, probably carinated, in hard light grey ware. The rim is reeded and the outer edge upturned to hold a lid. Diam. 9 ins.



59. Section of a carinated bowl with a flat down-turned flange. Red ware. Two grooves just above the carination. Diam. 9 ins. Cf. *Newstead*, *Fig. 26—3*.
60. Bowl with a down curved flange turned up at the edge; hard grey ware. Diam. 10 ins. Cf. *Gellygaer*, *Pl. X—2*, which is Flavian; *Brough*, 1936, *No. 90* found under the flagstones covering a Flavian pit was taken to represent 'a later development of a favourite Parisian form', but the Gellygaer example makes this doubtful unless it belonged to a cohort which went from Malton to Wales during the governorship of Frontinus.
61. Bowl, probably carinated, with horizontal reeded rim of triangular section. Very hard stony fabric. Diam. 12 ins. Cf. *Leicester*, *Fig. 37*, *No. 23* dated A.D. 90-100, and *No. 62* below.
62. Bowl with rim similar to *No. 61* but not reeded. Light grey ware. Diam. 8 ins. Several of these triangular rims have been noted at *Caerhun*, *Nos. 151—8* being described as Trajanic and *Nos. 162—171* as late Flavian and Trajanic. They may represent a transition in the Trajanic period to the 2nd century bowls.
63. Carinated bowl with slightly concave and overhanging rim in hard light grey clay. Diam. 7 ins. This type does not seem to occur generally in the north except in East Yorkshire. It has characteristics similar to those of the later Norton Type 10 and was also found associated with the earliest occupation at Langton (*Langton*, *Fig. 7—17*) although the Langton example was in calcite gritted ware. It is also found with relative frequency on other sites in East Yorkshire, e.g. Elmswell and Throlam and it may represent the continuation of a Parisian tradition.
64. Lid in similar fabric to *No. 63*. It may be noted that it is designed to fit onto a flat surface rather than a ridged rim. It may have belonged to *No. 63*.
65. Section of a thin hemispherical bowl; black, grey in fracture. Diam. 5½ ins. No near parallel has been found. The fabric is 2nd cent. in character but the flange is reminiscent of Claudian mortaria. Cf. *Balmildy*, *Pl. XLII*, *Nos. 47 and 48* which are mortaria with a similar profile and with the flange broken in the same way. They were taken by Professor Miller to foreshadow the wall sided mortaria of the 4th cent. and to be late 2nd cent. in date. *Mumrills*, *Fig. 105—2* was found in a stone oven which was probably Antonine although the date is not given. There appears to be no reason, however, to regard the present piece as later than Trajanic.
66. Bowl imitating *Drag. 37* in light orange clay. Diam. 8 ins.
67. Bowl in hard red fabric imitating Samian ware. Diam. 5 ins.
68. Bowl with unsmoothed surface in light grey fabric with a slightly darker surface. Diam. 11 ins.
69. Platter section with internal step at the base; orange ware smoothed on the outside near the base. Diam. 7 ins. Cf. *Corbridge*, 1911, *No. 19* for a platter with a similar step; it is said to be 'not uncommon at Corbridge in the Flavian period'.
70. Side of a small platter in orange ware. Diam. uncertain. The outer surface consists of a series of very obtuse angled planes.

The above items form a group of pottery types in use at Malton before the first stone buildings began to be erected outside the fort. Many of these pieces are not inconsistent with occupation of the area early in the advance to the north, e.g. the rustic ware (*Nos. 6 and 7*), the globular bowls (*Nos. 34 and 35*), and perhaps some of the carinated bowls (*Nos. 37, 60 and 63*) could date from occupation under Petillius Cerialis c. A.D. 71. They certainly lend support to the theory of the late Dr. P. Corder that Malton was an early permanent camp contemporary with the foundation of York, intended to watch the Yorkshire Wolds and the Moors and secure York's eastern flank. These sherds also seem to indicate that a local pottery tradition persisted in spite of Roman influence. There is the obvious case of the native calcite gritted ware (*No. 5*) and the bowl and jars (*Nos. 80, 89 and 90*). This ware is present in the 1st cent. as a trickle, but later in the 2nd and 3rd cents. almost completely monopolised the cooking pot market. We have also noted above

the shouldered jar No. 14 and the carinated bowls (Nos. 37, 60, 63 and perhaps 65). Dr. Corder noted (*Norton Report*, p. 32) the frequency of this type of bowl in East Yorkshire and especially at the native site at Elmswell. An example was found also in the flue of one of the kilns at Norton which has been provisionally dated to the 3rd cent.

71. Part of the neck of an urn in which the shoulder, neck and lip are in one curve. Rough orange fabric. Two small grooves just below the lip and smoothed circles lower down the neck. Diam. at neck. 8 ins. Found in a rough gravel floor immediately above the subsoil. Cf. *Colchester*, *Form 32* has cordons round the shoulder; Claudian. According to Sir M. Wheeler, referring to *Brecon*, *Fig. 95—6*, dated A.D. 80—140, the type had a long life.
72. The neck of a ring necked jug with prominent upper ring; orange ware. Diam. at rim 3 ins. Cf. *Caerhun*, Nos. 310—315 from the timber building period, dated A.D. 80-110; *Balmuildy XLIII—3*, Flavian; *Leicester*, *Fig. 40—9*; one example occurred before A.D. 95 but thereafter the type was common up to A.D. 125-130.
73. Rim of jar with two grooves just below the neck; light grey with rough surface. Diam. 6 ins. Cf. *Caerhun*, 364. A.D. 80-110.
74. Rim of a wide mouthed jar with thick turned back rim; light grey. Diam. 4½ ins. Cf. *Gellygaer*, XI—2. A.D. 80-120.
75. Rim of a small jar in grey ware. Diam. 4½ ins. Cf. *Malton*, *Fig. 16—11* from the earliest occupation.
76. Rustic jar in grey fabric with mottled blue appearance inside. The rustic application is irregular and large. Diam. 4½ ins. Cf. *Malton*, *Fig. 1—16* found beneath the earliest rampart.
77. Small rough cast jar with rim and girth grooves; brown surface but orange in fracture. Diam. 3 ins. Cf. *Malton*, *Fig. 1—13* found under the earliest rampart.
78. Fragment of a flat rimmed mortarium with white grit in the rim. Diam. 13 ins. Cf. *Malton*, *Fig. 17—3*, from the earliest occupation. This piece is probably early Flavian.
79. Horizontal, slightly reeded rim doubtless from a carinated bowl. Red ware. Diam. 7 ins. Cf. *Malton*, *Fig. 17—5*, which is a rim of the same form but in dark grey fabric.
80. Section of a hand made vertical sided bowl in calcite gritted native ware, black in fracture. Diam. 7 ins.
81. Section of a shallow platter with concentric smoothed rings upon the interior of the base. Reddish fabric. Diam. 8 ins. Comparable examples were found in the earliest levels during the excavation of the fort—cf. *Malton—passim*.
82. A roughly made lid with turned up edge. Hard light grey ware. Diam. 8 ins.

The pottery group Nos. 71—82 came from the area of the façade of the house. It was found below a pink clay floor which itself lay beneath an early 2nd cent. road. It forms a clearly defined Flavian group. The floor also sealed a coin of Trajan in excellent condition which provides a *terminus post quem* for the floor and a *terminus ante quem* for the pottery.

83. Rustic jar with an almost vertical rim and globular body. Light grey. Diam. 5 ins. Cf. *Malton*, *Fig. 1—16* found under the earliest rampart and Flavian in date.
84. Small wide mouthed jar with straight, slightly overhanging rim. Cf. *Haltwhistle Burn No. 11* which is early Hadrianic; *Chesterholm*, No. 46 dated A.D. 80-125.
85. Rim of a carinated bowl. Overhanging reeded rim. Very hard light grey ware. Diam. 8 ins. Cf. *Newstead*, *Fig. 26—12* which is Flavian.
86. Rim of a bowl in buff-orange fabric imitating Drag. 29. Diam. 9 ins. Cf. *Newstead*, *Pl. LI—13*. Flavian.
87. Rim of a bowl in light orange fabric imitating Drag. 37. Diam. 10 ins.
88. Well made lid with upturned edge (as most of our lids have) in orange fabric. Diam. 5 ins.



The five sherds listed above were all found in the façade area above the pink clay floor mentioned in the preceding section, but below the early road. The items do not appear to have the chronological significance of the previous group as comparable sherds from other sites are dated to the period A.D. 80-125. Our examples probably belong to the last quarter of this period.

89. Jar with flattened rim in black calcite gritted ware; the rim may have been wheel made. Diam. 9 ins. Cf. *Malton*, Fig. 1—11 from under the earliest rampart.
90. Rim of a jar with outbent rim in hand made calcite gritted ware. Black in fracture. Diam. 10 ins. Knapton type 6 or 7 (see *Langton Report*, Fig. 30). This is like the typical East Yorkshire cooking pot used throughout the greater part of the 2nd and 3rd centuries, although later the neck becomes more irregular and more often than not the 2nd century Knapton ware is salmon pink in colour reverting to black in the 4th century. Cf. *Malton*, Fig. 16—12 from the earliest occupation east of the fort; probably A.D. 100-140.
91. Rim and neck of a jar in soft, easily broken fabric. Surface grey; dull red in fracture. Diam. 5 ins.
92. Bowl in dull orange fabric with grey core perhaps imitating Drag. 36. Diam. 9 ins. Cf. *Caerhun*, 257, which is dated A.D. 80-120.
93. Fragmentary rim of a small globular bowl in unsmoothed soft orange clay. Diam. at rim 3 ins. Cf. *Brough*, 1936, No. 98 found under the Trajanic rampart; *Templeborough*, No. 210 late 1st century.

Above are examples of the pottery found in the area of the late ditch. All these items were sealed by the heavy broken stones which were laid for the first stone buildings after the timber foundations of the earliest wooden buildings had been removed. The stone foundations were not disturbed by the digging of the late ditch.

The sherds illustrated above point to the range of early pottery types found during the 1949-52 excavations. Doctors Corder and Kirk pointed out in their report on the excavation of the fort between 1928 and 1930 that wherever the earliest levels were reached the large quantity of pottery found must point to an intensive occupation of Malton during the late 1st and 2nd centuries. This finding was fully confirmed during the 1949-52 excavations especially if the small area studied is borne in mind.

#### *Pottery found under Hadrianic and Antonine Levels.*

94. Straight sided platter with triangular and slightly chamfered base; stony hard blue grey ware with faintly scored arcs outside. Diam. 10 ins. With it was found the base of another platter with scored zig-zag lines on the underside—usually a 2nd cent. feature. It is similar in shape and fabric to the Norton type 2b (A.D. 220—280) but decoration, and especially decoration of this type, was rare at the Norton kilns discovered in 1949. It may be that kilns at Norton, not yet discovered, were already at work during the 2nd century.
95. Mortarium with low overhanging rim; bead set well below the horizon. Red fabric heavily sooted inside below the bead. Diam. 12½ ins. See *Newstead*, Fig. 34—12 which probably belonged to the Antonine occupation; *Poltross Burn*, IV—L, period 1a Hadrianic; *Wroxeter* 1912, No. 38 (A.D. 80-110) is a close parallel; see also *Oswald*, *Ant. J.*, Vol. XXIV (1944), The Mortaria of Margidunum; Fig. 5, Nos. 37-40 which are Domitianic.
96. Rim of a bowl in rough grey ware, probably imitating Drag. 29. Diam. 8½ ins. Cf. *Caerhun*, 243 which is late Flavian.
97. Rim of a bowl similar to No. 96 but with a more pronounced internal shoulder and slight notches on the outside just below the shoulder. Red ware. Diam. 8½ ins.
98. Rim of a bowl in buff orange clay imitating Drag. 30. Diam. 7 ins.
99. Composite drawing of a bowl imitating Drag. 37 in which rouletting replaces decoration. Buff orange fabric. Diam. 9 ins. *Birdoswald*, No. 60 illustrates an example from the Hadrianic period, and *Malton*, Fig. 17—11 a Flavian example from the earliest levels.

100. Rim of a cooking pot in fumed grey ware. Diam. 7 ins. This profile seems to be typical of the Antonine period, e.g. at Corbridge. Cf. *Corbridge 1936, Fig. 8—9*.
101. Rim of a straight sided platter or bowl, roughly made, Grey-brown on surface, black in fracture with a scrap of white grit. Diam. 8 ins—9 ins.
102. Rim of a jar in hard grey ware, rough on surface. Diam. 5 ins. Cf. *Chesterholm No. 29* (A.D. 80-120); *Haltwhistle Burn, No. 11*, early Hadrianic.
103. Rim of a small jar, rough hard orange fabric, grey in fracture, decorated on girth with incised hatching. Diam 4 ins. Cf. *Leicester, Fig. 27—15*. At Leicester the type was common in the Flavian level. *Corbridge 1911, No. 32* is dated A.D. 80-125.
104. Mortarium rim in very hard grey fabric with red coating. Diam. c.16 ins.
105. Straight sided platter in fumed grey ware. The wall thickens near the rim. Decorated with roughly scored diagonal lines. Diam. 8 ins. This seems to be a typical Hadrianic-Antonine piece. The type did not occur at *Haltwhistle Burn* but was present in the first period at *Poltross Burn* (*Fig. 111—31*), and was found in the second period at *Newstead* (*Fig. 32*).
106. Part of a lid in fine hard brown-grey ware. Diam. 7 ins.
107. Badly burnt and fractured handle of a calcite gritted jar. The handle is partly countersunk. Its upper edge is approximately at right angles to the body of the jar, and the hole in the handle has been made by pushing a finger through the clay. This type of handle is very characteristic of late 4th century Crambeck ware and provides another clue linking the early native tradition with its 4th century resurgence.
108. The complete neck of a double handled flagon. The wide mouth is slightly splayed. Both handles are double ribbed. Stony hard thick grey ware, darker in fracture. Surface rough. Found near it and probably, but not certainly, from the same vessel was a base in similar ware. The two combined give an approximate height of 13 ins. Cf. *Leicester, Fig. 28—22* from a predominantly Antonine group; *Munrills, Fig. 100—9* is also assigned to the Antonine period.
109. Small jar in fine red ware. Diam. 2½ ins. Cf. *Caerhun, 403*, A.D. 90-130.

The items 94 to 109 above came (with the exception of the first two) from beneath the heavy stone slabs of a road running immediately past the façades of the large house and the kiln building to the south of it. We assign this road to Period III. Nos. 100, 105 and possibly 108 make it quite certain that the level sealing the deposit falls into the period of Hadrian or later.

110. Section of a carinated bowl with a flat rim at an obtuse angle to the side. Light grey fabric with faint cross hatching below the carination. Diam. 8½ ins. Cf. *Poltross Burn, Pl. III—4*, early Hadrianic. This is a transitional type only common in the Hadrianic period.
111. Rim of a cooking pot in hard grey ware fumed on the outer surface. Diam. 6 ins.

The above are samples of the pottery found beneath the entrance hall of the Town House in the floor of the first stone building in that area, which probably dates from early in Period III.

112. Section of a carinated bowl concave above the carination; light grey with very faint lattice decoration on the upper half. Diam. 5 ins. Cf. *Brough 1936, 124* which is Antonine; *Elmswell, Fig. 9—7*. At Elmswell the type was common in early pits but unstratified elsewhere. See also *Norton, types 10 and 10a*.
113. Rim of jar in dark grey ware. Diam. 6 ins. See *Balmuildy XLV, No. 20*, which is Antonine.
114. Rim of a jar with outswept rim; smooth light grey ware. Diam. 5½ ins. Cf. *Corbridge 1936, No. 21* dated A.D. 140-160.
115. Similar to No. 114 but in thick hard grey ware. Diam. 6 ins. Cf. *Balmuildy XLV—1*. Antonine.
116. Rim of a smooth grey jar. Diam. 4½ ins. See *Newstead Fig. 28—8* which is Antonine.



117. Mortarium rim with a pronounced bead. The fabric is pink with grey core; the surface is cream washed and the grey grit is coarse. Diam. 10 ins. See *Leicester*, Fig. 58—8, which is ascribed to A.D. 125-130. The bead is like *Poltross Burn*, IV—3 which is Hadrianic, although comparable examples from *Newstead* (Fig. 34—10 and 14) are described as Antonine.
118. Rim of a smooth grey platter with flattened rim. Cf. *Corbridge 1936*, Fig. 8—3, dated A.D. 140-160, but the lattice decoration is not common at Malton.

The above are examples of the pottery found beneath the entrance hall of the town house under the floor of the second stone building on that site (Period III). All the pieces except a probable survival (No. 117) can be paralleled in the period A.D. 140-180.

119. Rim of a wide necked jar with faint lattice decoration; grey fumed ware. Diam. 3½ ins. Cf. *Corbridge 1936*, Fig. 8—7; late Antonine.
120. Section of a wide necked jar with indented sides in thick hard light grey fabric. Smoothed on the rim and shoulder and two smoothed circles just inside the rim. Diam. 4½ ins. This is very like *Norton type 17* especially in its ugly squatness.
121. Rim of a black fumed cooking pot, dark grey in fracture with a series of arcs inscribed just below the rim. Diam. 6 ins. See *Corbridge 1936*, Fig. 8—8; late Antonine, and *Lincoln Fortress*, No. 50 from the late 2nd cent. rampart strengthening.
122. Calcite gritted hand made jar with rim outbent at an obtuse angle. Black on surface but salmon pink in fracture. Diam. 6 ins. This is typical of the Knapton cooking pot Type 7, common A.D. 120-280.
123. Section of a platter with roll rim and a slight chamfer at base; faint loop decoration on the exterior. Cf. *Caerhun*, Nos. 191—8, A.D. 90-130; *Newstead*, Fig. 32—5; Antonine.
124. Bead rimmed platter with a very uneven groove. Black fumed ware with faint decoration of diagonal and vertical lines. *Corbridge 1936*, Fig. 8—5, late Antonine; *Caerhun* No. 176 is dated A.D. 90-110 but the type was very common in the second century.

The group above are samples of the pottery found immediately beneath the road which ran alongside the Oven Building and which was laid very soon after the building was erected. It is a well defined mid second century group with a terminal date between A.D. 160 and 180.

125. An almost complete example of a two-handled bowl with the rim designed to receive a lid. The upper part of the side is vertical but the lower part curves down to a small flat footstand. Diam. 7¼ ins.; height 6½ ins. The clay is light grey and contains small specks of grit. The unusual decoration consists of finely scored lines. Of the two handles only one remains. The closest parallel noted, which was found in early 2nd c. deposits (*Corbridge 1911*, No. 110), is nearer than is our example to the metal bowls which they both imitate. A similar handle was found at *Norton* (Fig. 13, No. 19) but by the 3rd c. the handle was purely decorative. An unusual bowl from *Brough* (1934, Fig. 7—6) has similar vertical combing which Dr. Corder thought derived from a Belgic prototype. The vessel is made of a clay which resembles Norton ware in many respects but because of the dating factor it cannot be a product of the known Norton kilns. We ascribe it to the period c. A.D. 200 and it may be that it is the product of kilns as yet undiscovered. The vessel was found in the Oven building in the latest and almost complete oven. It must have been left there when the building was abandoned.
126. Rim of a narrow necked jar with high outcurved rim; grey ware. Diam. 4 ins.
127. Rim similar to No. 126. Diam. 5 ins. Cf. *Newstead*, Fig. 28—10.
128. Cooking pot rim in black fumed ware with specks of white grit. Diam. 7 ins. Cf. *Corbridge 1936*, Fig. 7—6 (2nd and 3rd c.) but it was also common in late Antonine deposits (*Ibid.*, Fig. 8—9). It also occurs in the late 2nd c. deposits at *Corbridge* (1947, No. 36) but is not typical.

129. Calcite gritted jar salmon pink in colour. Knapton ware. Diam. 8 ins.
130. Platter with turned over rim; very hard grey ware; smooth finish. Diam. 7 ins.
131. Platter with curved sides and rolled rim; smooth hard light grey ware as No. 130; very faint decoration. Diam. 9 ins.
132. Black fumed platter light grey in fracture, faint decoration. Diam. 9 ins.
133. Platter similar to No. 132, with straight sides decorated with intersecting circles. Diam. 9 ins.
134. Fumed platter, light grey in fracture, taller than most other examples. Decorated with faint intersecting inverted Vs. Diam. 9 ins. Cf. *Corbridge 1947, No. 81*, late 2nd c.
135. Platter in fumed ware grey in fracture; chamfered base; rolled rim. Diam. 9 ins. This is the characteristic profile of platters of the late 2nd c. from *Corbridge. (1947, Nos. 77—80)*.
136. Platter, hard grey ware; triangular rim. Diam. 9 ins. Cf. *Corbridge 1947, No. 85*.
137. Rim of a platter similar to No. 136 but with zig-zag decoration instead of intersecting arcs. Diam. 10 ins. See *Corbridge, 1936, Fig. 8—17*, Antonine.
138. Grey platter with small rolled rim; smooth surface. Diam. 8 ins. Cf. *Lincoln, No. 53*, late 2nd c.
139. Large grey platter with smooth surface decorated with intersecting arcs. Diam. 13 ins.

The above items (Nos. 126—139) are all from the area N.E. of the site. Here there was found a complicated series of buildings and the pottery listed above was (apart from Nos. 128 and 131) sealed by a good mortar floor probably dating to the second half of the 2nd c. belonging to building X. The group is undoubtedly Antonine with many parallels from the late 2nd c. levels at *Corbridge* and the Antonine Wall forts. As on those sites the rolled rim platter is characteristic of this level at Malton. We place the terminal date of this group c. A.D. 180.

#### *Third Century Levels.*

140. Complete section of a small folded beaker in fine Rhenish ware. High moulded base. Red in fracture with grey iridescent surface. Three bands of rouletting round the body. Diam. at rim 2 ins. Parallels in Constantinian deposits are relatively common.
141. Globular beaker in Rhenish ware. Grey fabric, greenish-gold glaze iridescent. Diam. at rim  $2\frac{3}{4}$  ins.
142. Rim and decoration of a Castor beaker with part of the figure of a running dog beneath a band of rouletting. Dull black surface, cream in fracture. Diam.  $4\frac{1}{2}$  ins.
143. Castor beaker with scaled decoration. Creamy-pink fabric; the interior is painted a chocolate brown colour and the exterior black. Diam. at rim  $3\frac{1}{2}$  ins.
144. Castor ware box; white clay with brown coating. Below the shoulder the body of the box is covered with rouletting. Diam. 8 ins. Boxes of this type (and their lids) are found fairly frequently in 3rd cent. deposits.
145. A composite drawing of two sherds which probably, but not certainly, came from the same vessel. Grey ware with burnished rim and shoulder. The decoration of wavy lines is roughly inscribed. The blacksmith's emblems are made of clay applied before the vessel was fired. Several sherds of this type were found during the excavation of the fort and the type is probably a product of the Norton kilns. See *Norton Report p. 32 and Pl. VI*.
146. Fragment of a rim in calcite gritted ware. The rim is slightly concave as though to hold a lid. Diam. 10 ins.
147. Tall hand made calcite gritted cooking pot. Black fabric. Diam. 7 ins. Cf. *Malton Fig. 6—16*, from the carbonised wheat layer.
148. Fragment of a hand made cooking pot in salmon pink clay. Knapton type 1, 2nd-3rd centuries.
149. Handle in calcite gritted ware. The handle is not countersunk as was the case in the 4th cent. Salmon pink in fracture.



150. Neck of a jar with the shoulder and lip in a continuous curve; two grooves on the shoulder. Grey ware. Diam. 5 ins. Norton type 7; 3rd century.
151. Rim of a light grey jar. Similar in profile to a calcite gritted vessel from *Rudston* (1936, III. No. 16) dated A.D. 300-368. Occurs with coins of Allectus in the 3rd cent. well at *Margidunum* (VI, 10 and 31). This 'Dales ware' is common on sites in the N.E. Midlands and in Northern England. Late 3rd—early 4th centuries. Diam. 9½ ins.
152. Jar with splayed straight rim and pronounced shoulder. Light grey ware with darker surface. Probably made at Norton where imitation Castor types have been found. A.D. 220-280.
153. Straight sided rimless bowl in hand made calcite gritted ware, thinner near base than at the top; black in fracture. Diam. 8½ ins. Cf. *Malton Fig. 6—28* from the carbonised wheat layer.
154. Rim of a straight sided bowl or platter in light grey ware. Diam. 8½ ins. Norton type 2a. A.D. 220-280. See *Malton Fig. 6—28* from the carbonised wheat layer.
155. Black fumed platter with shallow curved sides which slope internally without an angle to the base. Grey in fracture. Diam. 6 ins. *Malton Fig. 6—29* from the carbonised wheat layer.
156. Fumed platter decorated with intersecting arcs outside and wavy lines scored on the base. Cf. *Bewcastle Fig. 24—30*, A.D. 200-297. Diam. 10 ins.
157. Large thick sided platter with bead rim; smooth grey fabric. Diam. 13 ins. A type intermediate between Norton 1 and 2; see especially Norton 1h and 2c; cf. also *Malton Fig. 6—26* from the carbonised wheat layer.
158. Platter with roll rim; smooth grey fabric. Diam. 12 ins. Dates from the Antonine period but still occurs in the carbonised wheat layer in the fort. Cf. Nos. 153 and 154 above.

Pottery numbered 140 to 158 all came from the unfinished well and was scattered through the filling with the exception of the stone and clay which occupied the bottom six feet. No clear structural occupation overlay the well and the pottery provides an indication of the date at which the well was filled. Most of the items are late 3rd or early 4th century types. It is noteworthy, however, that none of the characteristic Crambeck type 1 found its way into the well. As this type was very common throughout the 4th century we may infer that the well was filled before the Crambeck potteries were in production c. A.D. 305. We place the terminal date of this group c. A.D. 280-300.

159. Black fumed cooking pot with widely splayed rim and the shallow diagonal decoration typical of the late 3rd century. Diam. 7 ins. See *Birdoswald No. 19*, A.D. 297-367; *Bewcastle, 39*, A.D. 297-343. This type is not found in the carbonised wheat layer of the fort.
160. Hand made calcite gritted jar, black in fracture, pitted inside below the rim. Diam. 8 ins. Knapton ware.
161. Wall sided mortarium shaped bowl with a shallow groove in the middle of the flange. Pink fabric with cream slip, grey in fracture. Diam. 9½ ins. Cf. *Corbridge 1936, Fig. 7—1* which was sealed by a Constantinian floor.
162. Rim fragment of a flanged bowl in grey fumed ware with a small groove outside the rim. Diam. 9 ins. A well known late 3rd—early 4th cent. type which is common after A.D. 305.
163. Straight sided bi-conal bowl in hard blue-grey ware decorated with diagonal burnishings above the grooved carination. Norton type 10a, A.D. 220-280.
164. Rim and neck of a tall jar in hard light grey fabric. Diam. 6 ins. Cf. *Leicester Fig. 50—25*. A.D. 200-250.

The group of pottery Nos. 159 to 164 was found in the N.E. part of the site sealed by a poor mortar floor associated with building Y of the late 3rd or early 4th centuries.

165. Wide necked jar with an outcurved bulbous rim; hard grey fabric similar to Norton ware. Two grooves just below the shoulder. Diam. 9 ins. Cf. *Leicester Fig. 48—17*, A.D. 180-200.

166. Fragmentary rim of a grey jar. Diam.  $7\frac{1}{2}$  ins.
167. The outbent rim of a small calcite gritted jar, salmon pink in fracture. Diam. 6 ins. See *Malton Fig. 6—18* from the carbonised wheat layer.
168. Shoulder of a small flagon with shoulder groove and zig-zag decoration round the girth. Traces of one handle. Diam. at rim  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ins.; at girth 4 ins. The fabric is hard like Norton ware.
169. Bowl in fumed grey ware with shallow chamfer at the base. Decorated with intersecting arcs on the walls and with circles on the underside of the base. Diam.  $8\frac{1}{2}$  ins. A typical Antonine bowl which also occurred in the carbonised wheat layer in the fort. See *Malton Fig. 6—28*.
170. Straight sided flanged bowl with small rim. Fumed grey ware decorated on the exterior. Diam. 10 ins. See *Malton Fig. 5—2* which was found under a road which sealed coins of Gallienus and Severus Alexander.

Most of the group above seems to belong to the 3rd century. The deposit from which it came contained none of the distinctive local 4th cent. ware.

171. The short thick rim of a jar in light grey ware, darker in fracture, smooth black on the outside. Diam. uncertain. A common 3rd and 4th cent. type.
172. Base of a tall jar or flagon in hard light grey ware. The lower part is smoothed; the decorated portion above is rougher in texture and slightly lighter in colour. The base of *Bewcastle No. 20* is very similar; it was found in the strongroom destroyed A.D. 297.
173. Small jar in hard grey ware. Diam. 3 ins.
174. Rim of a jar in very hard grey fabric with a dark red core; gritty on surface. Diam.  $5\frac{1}{2}$  ins. At *Leicester (Fig. 52—17)* the type lasts until the first quarter of the 4th cent.
175. Rim of a straight sided flanged bowl in hard light grey to pink fabric with a smoothed dark grey surface. Diam. 12 ins. See *Crambeck 11*, Type I dated c. A.D. 300.

The pottery group nos. 171 to 175 was found sealed by the latest floor in the entrance to the Town House. It is an important group for it is the principal evidence for the dating of the construction of the house. Unfortunately the floor sealed only very little pottery and the examples illustrated are not perhaps sufficient to be conclusive. They are not, however, inconsistent with the assumption of a Constantinian date; No. 175 in particular, suggests that the floor cannot have been laid much earlier than c. A.D. 305.

#### *Fourth Century Pottery.*

176. A flagon, complete but for the rim, with one four ribbed handle and a pinched-neck spout opposite. Three grooves encircle the shoulder. The fabric is light grey, almost buff in fracture, but it has a dark to black matt surface which is smooth to the touch. It is well made, of an elegant ovoid shape. The holes in the body appear to have been made deliberately with a sharp instrument. It was found in the hypocaust of the mosaic room of the Town House close to the place where the floor had been destroyed. It was probably thrown into the hypocaust from the stoke-hole and pushed into the position where it was found by the stoker using a long handled rake to clear soot and ashes. *Crambeck 1*, No. 186 is almost identical. The type was not common in the later production of the *Crambeck kilns*. The only flagon of this type at Scarborough was in calcite gritted ware and it was not found at the other Yorkshire Signal Stations. Date c. A.D. 305-367.
177. Base of a small Castor ware beaker, orange fabric, black lustre glaze except for a dull brown base, rouletted decoration. Cf. *Elmswell No. 62* which is Constantinian; *Langton Fig. 4—12* from hypocaust No. 5 which had been abandoned before A.D. 367.
178. Calcite gritted jar of Knapton type, hand made, black in fracture. Diam. 5 ins. Found under the fallen roof of the entrance hall of the Town House. This type does not occur at the Signal Stations.
179. Wheel made rim of a calcite gritted jar, grey to flesh colour. Diam. 9 ins.



180. Rim similar to No. 179 but with a shoulder beginning to develop. Black surface but salmon pink in fracture, large coarse grit. Diam. 12 ins. Found on the floor of the entrance hall but not sealed by the fallen roof.
181. Calcite gritted jar with wheel made body and rim, grey to pink clay. Diam.  $5\frac{1}{2}$  ins. Cf. No. 179. Both these examples came from the hypocaust.
182. Large calcite gritted jar similar to No. 180. Black fabric, sparse grit. Diam. 15 ins—16 ins. The rim has a groove to house the lid. The profile, like No. 180, seems to foreshadow the characteristic Signal Station rim though the lid groove is not so pronounced as it later became.
183. A small wall sided bowl with slightly outbent rim and moulded base. Buff-yellow fabric; not grit. Diam.  $5\frac{1}{2}$  ins. Groups of four or five dark brown stripes painted round the rim. *Brough 1936, No. 141* was considered to be the latest stratified sherd found but the rim overhangs slightly and this is a post A.D. 367 characteristic. *Crambeck 1, Nos. 126, 127 and 128* are pre A.D. 367 examples.
184. Half a wall sided mortarium larger than, but very similar to, No. 183. The rim bends slightly inwards and its hell does not overhang. Hard orange-buff fabric with smooth surface; fine black grit below slight grooves inside. The rim is decorated with inverted Vs in light brown paint. An exact parallel has not been found. *Crambeck 11, type 7* has a slightly overhanging rim and is grooved near the top. The painted decoration resembles that of *Malton Fig. 27—1* which is dated to the early 4th century. This vessel and No. 183 above probably belong to the mid fourth century and are variants of *Crambeck 11, type 7*. Both were found in the hypocaust.
185. Section of a hammer head mortarium with reeded rim. Orange fabric, buff in fracture, uneven large black grit. Diam. 11 ins. at the outer edge of the flange. Found in the hypocaust and shows traces of burning. *Malton Fig. 7—36* came from a third century deposit although the vessel is of a type common in North Britain from the end of the 3rd century to A.D. 367.
186. Section of a straight sided flanged bowl in black fumed ware; scored arcs decorate the exterior. Diam.  $7\frac{1}{2}$  ins.
187. More than half of a straight sided flanged bowl, grey fabric with metallic finish. Internal step at base. Diam.  $7\frac{1}{2}$  ins.
188. Section of a straight sided flanged bowl in polished black ware, dark grey in fracture. Diam.  $9\frac{1}{2}$  ins. Hypocaust—which is probably why the vessel has been flaked by heat. The type is earlier than *Crambeck 1b*.
189. Rim of a bowl in hard grey fabric. Diam. 6 ins.
190. Section of a small platter in smooth hard grey ware. Diam. 6 ins. Norton type 1e, A.D. 220-280.
191. The greater part of a platter similar to No. 189. Diam.  $5\frac{1}{4}$  ins.
192. Straight sided plain rimmed platter in calcite gritted ware. Grey. Probably hand made. Diam. 8 ins. The type was made at Knapton and is also common at the Signal Stations.
193. Wheel made platter in calcite gritted ware similar to No. 192. Diam. 7 ins.
194. The rim of a wheel made calcite gritted cooking pot with pronounced shoulder and lid groove. Dull grey in fracture, sparse grit. Diam. 8 ins. This unstratified sherd is one of the relatively few examples of pottery datable to the post A.D. 367 period found on the site.

The pottery group Nos. 176 to 194 consists mainly of sherds found

- (a) in the hypocausts of the Town House mainly near the stokeholes. The pottery must have been broken shortly before one stokehole was put out of use and just before both were abandoned.
- (b) from above the latest floors but beneath the fallen material which consisted of wall plaster, roof tiles and stone roof slabs.
- (c) a small number of examples from late levels on other parts of the site.

This is then the pottery in use just before the site was abandoned. Most of it derives from the 4th century kilns at Crambeck a few miles away, but very

little is typical of the well known forms widely distributed in North Britain after the war of A.D. 367. It appears to belong to the period immediately preceding that event, i.e. c. A.D. 340-365.

#### DECORATED TERRA SIGILLATA.

Abbreviations used:

O. Oswald; An Index of Figure Types on Terra Sigillata. Liverpool 1936.  
O. & P. Oswald and Pryce. An Introduction to the Study of Terra Sigillata. London 1920.

Malton. Corder. The Defences of the Roman Fort at Malton. (Roman Malton and District Report No. 2). Leeds.

Margidunum. Oswald. The Terra Sigillata of Margidunum. Nottingham 1948.

1. Form 37. Style of CINNAMVS. Lezoux. Trajan-Antonine. Leopard (O. 1520); Eagle (O. 2167); Sea monster (O. 42); Mercury (O. 532). The right hand of the Mercury is missing. Thin ware; poor yellowish glaze.
2. From the same mould as No. 1 but much thicker fabric and good red glaze.
3. Form 37. Lezoux. Trajan-Antonine. Stag lying to left (O. 1704A).
4. Form 37. Style of CINNAMVS. His ovolo.
5. Form 37. Style of PATERNVS. Lezoux. Trajan-Antonine. Cupid (O. 440). (Pan (O. 709A).
6. As No. 5; perhaps from the same bowl.
7. Form 37. Lezoux. Trajan-Hadrian. Bird walking left (O. 2279).
8. Form 37. Style of ACVRIO. Lezoux. Trajan-Hadrian. Lion springing to left (O. 1459).
9. Form 37. Style of PATERNVS. Lezoux. Hadrian-Antonine. Horsesoldier galloping to right (O. 246).
10. Form 37. Style of CINNAMVS. Lezoux. Trajan-Antonine. Mercury (O. 532). Corn head.
11. Form 37. Lezoux. Trajan-Antonine. Siren (O. 862A). Used by PATERNVS and IOENALIS.
12. Form 37. Lezoux. Trajan-Antonine. Mercury (O. 538). Used by BVTRIO, ALBVCIVS, PATERNVS and others.
13. Base and lower part of Form 37. Lezoux. Trajan-Antonine. Horseman galloping right and hurling spear (O. 245) at nude man running right (O. 688); these figures are contained in a plain roundel; goose moving left looking back (O. 2295A); goose moving right looking back (O. 2250A); Pan (O. 709B). Each figure is repeated.
14. Form 37. Style of CINNAMVS. His ovolo (O. & P. Pl. XXX No. 92) and compound stalked scroll and large leaf (Margidunum, Pl. XLIII Nos. 14 and 15). Lion attacking boar (O. 1491).
15. Form 37. Sea horse left (O. 33). Style of PATERNVS; his ovolo (O. & P. Pl. XXX No. 90).
16. Fragment decorated with tendrils in the style of MERCATOR.
17. Form 37. Lezoux. Trajan-Antonine. Warrior (O. 188). Cf. Margidunum Pl. XLI, No. 1.
18. Form 37. Lezoux. Trajan-Antonine. Pan (O. 709); hound running right (O. 2039N); Bird (O. 2316).
19. Form 37. East Gaulish. Trajan-Antonine. Cupid (O. 430A). Style of SATTO.
20. Form 37. Lezoux. Trajan-Antonine. Horseman galloping right (O. 241).
21. Form 37. East Gaulish. Antonine. Pugilist; a slight variant of O. 1180.
22. Form 30. Rheinzabern. Antonine. Venus (O. 303).
23. Form 30. A worn fragment probably from a vessel like Margidunum Pl. XXX No. 20. Style of MERCATOR.
24. Form 37. Style of DOECCVS. Lezoux. Antonine. Lion charging left (O. 1497AA).
25. Form 37. Lezoux. Trajan-Antonine. Stamped IVSTM in a plain roundel which also has a bear moving right (O. 1578). Figures also include panther galloping left (O. 1533); panther galloping right (O. 1509).
26. Form 37. Lezoux. Trajan-Antonine. Apollo seated right, playing lyre (O. 83). Occurs at York with stamp of CINNAMVS.



27. Form 37. Lezoux. Trajan-Antonine. Aesculapius (O. 905); Apollo seated playing lyre (O. 84); deer galloping left (O. 1815). The three figures are repeated.
28. Form 37. Central Gaulish. Trajanic. Deer walking left (O. 1763).
29. Form 37. La Graufesenque. Flavian-Domitian. Pan (O. 714). Probably as Margidunum Pl. XXIII No. 5 style of BIRAGILLVS.
30. Form 29. La Graufesenque. Nero-Vespasian. Dog walking right and looking back (O. 1971).
31. Form 29. La Graufesenque. Flavian. Hound running left (O. 2004).
32. Form 37. La Graufesenque. Vespasian. Mercury with panther (O. 565); lion attacking man (O. 1493).
33. Form 37. La Graufesenque. Domitian. Leda and the swan (O. 61).
34. Form 37. La Graufesenque. Stag sitting right. (O. 1699).
35. Form 29. La Graufesenque. Flavian. Bird moving right, head turned back (O. 2250). Bird moving left, head turned back (O. 2291). Used by VIRILIS; MALCIO; BIRAGILLVS.
36. Form 37. La Graufesenque. Flavian. Pair of gladiators in plain roundel (O. 999 and 1,000). Goose flying left (O. 2286). Style of MERCATOR.
37. Form 37. La Graufesenque. Flavian. Hare running left (O. 2129) with large rosette (but not in circle as in Margidunum, Pl. XXXV, No. 2).
38. Form 37. La Graufesenque. Vespasian. Style of MERCATOR; his St. Andrew's Cross. Diana (O. 104B). Two fragments from the same bowl; cf. Margidunum Pl. XXI, No. 2 which illustrates a larger portion of a similar bowl.

#### POTTERS' STAMPS ON TERRA SIGILLATA.

1. ALBINVS. Stamp AL)BINIOF. Form 37. Lezoux. Antonine.
2. BANVVS. Stamp BANVIM. Form 37. Lezoux. Hadrian-Antonine.
3. CASVRIVS. Stamp CASVRIM. Form 37. Lezoux. Antonine. See O. & P., p. 108; O. No. 175; Margidunum, Pl. XLI, 6; XLII 2; 8.
4. CINNAMVS. Occurs twice. Stamp CINNAMI retro. Both Form 37. Lezoux. Hadrian-Antonine.
5. COSMINVS. Stamp COSMIN( Form 38. Probably 3rd cent.
6. Stamp COTTACI.
7. FLAVIANVS. Stamp FLAVIANVS F. Form 37. Rheinzabern; late 2nd cent. In 1949, when this stamp was found, Professor Birley stated that only one other example was known in this country.
8. INGENVVS. Stamp )INGENVI. Form 37. La Graufesenque; late 1st cent.
9. IVSTVS. Stamp IVSTM below the ovolo on Form 37. Lezoux. Antonine.
10. MANSVETVS. Stamp MANSVETI. Form 31. Eastern Gaul; 2nd cent.
11. MAPILLVS. Stamp )APILL. Form 37. Lezoux. Hadrian-Antonine.
12. MAPILLVS. Stamp MAP( Form 37. Lezoux. Hadrian-Antonine.
13. MALLVRVS. Stamp MA)LLVRVI as Margidunum Pl. XVLL. No. 27. Form 18. Vespasian.
14. MARO. Stamp MAROM. Form 18/31. Eastern Gaul.
15. MARCVS. Stamp MARCI( Form Walters 79/80. Occurs at Silchester and Colchester. (O. & P., p. 199).
16. MARITVS. Stamp MARITVSM. Form 37. Rheinzabern; 2nd cent.
17. M CRESTIO. Form 37. La Graufesenque; Domitian-Trajan.
18. OFIRMON. Stamp OFIR( Form 18. La Graufesenque. Flavian. An example of this stamp was found in the Malton fort. (Malton, p. 80).
19. PATERCLINVS. Stamp )ATERCL( Form 32. Eastern Gaul. Antonine.
20. PATERNVS. Stamp PATERN( Form 37. Lezoux. Antonine. Cf. Margidunum, p. 96, No. 2; Pl. XLIII.
21. PAVLLVS. Stamped PAVLLI just below the ovolo on Form 37 as O. & P. Pl. IX, No. 9. Lezoux. Antonine.
22. PEPPO. Stamp PEP( Form 31. Rheinzabern. Antonine.
23. PONTVS. Stamp OF PONT Form 37. La Graufesenque. Flavian.
24. PRIMITIVS. Stamp PRIMITIVSF retro. and with the PR upside down. Form 37. Rheinzabern. Antonine.
25. REGINVS. Stamp REGINVSF. Form 37. Rheinzabern. Antonine.
26. REGVLINVS. Stamp REGV( )F. Form 18/31. Rheinzabern. Antonine.

27. Stamp RIIVF. Cf. O., p. 95, No. 1409.
28. Q. I. BALBINVS. Stamp Q.I. BALB. Form 37. South Gaulish.
29. SEXTVS. Stamp SEXTVSF. Form 18/31. Lezoux.
30. SECVNDVS. Stamp )ECVNDI. Form 37. La Graufesenque. Domitian.
31. TALVSSA. Stamp TAL( Form 33. Lezoux; early 2nd cent.
32. Stamp VANCTIANIM.
33. VIBINVS. Stamp VIBINI. Form 37. Lezoux. Trajanic. Cf. Margidunum, Pl. XXX, No. 14.
34. VIDVCOS. Stamp VIDVC( Form 18/31. South Gaulish. Hadrian-Antonine.
35. VITALIS. Stamp OF VIT( Form 37. East Gaulish. See Margidunum p. 38, No. 5; p. 46, No. 6; p. 60, No. 17.

## MISCELLANEOUS FINDS

### FIG. 17. BONE.

1-10. (Scale 1/3). Examples of bone pins with decorative heads. Nearly one hundred samples (including broken fragments) of this type of pin were found during the excavations. 11-12. (Scale 1/3). Bone needles. No. 11 is flat at the pierced end; No. 12 is circular in section for the whole of its length. 13. (Scale 1/3). Knife handle; smoothed and decorated with incised lines forming trellis and herringbone patterns. 14. (Scale 2/3). Dice made from a cube of bone with sides measuring .5 ins.; numbered 1 to 6 the numbers being indicated by dots each surrounded by two concentric circles.

### FIG. 18. Nos. 15-23. BRONZE. (Scale 2/3).

15. Trumpet brooch. 16. A hook which may be a dental or surgical instrument. The shaft of the hook is octagonal in section whilst the handle is circular. The tip of the hook is missing. 17. Brooch; pin missing. 18-20. Penannular brooches. No. 18 retains the pin attachment; its ends are twisted into spirals instead of it having the more usual knobs. No. 19 retains its pin. 21. Disc brooch in poor condition. 22-23. D shaped harness attachments. No. 22 is approximately circular in section; No. 23 is diamond shaped in section.

### FIG. 19. Nos. 24-32. BRONZE. (Scale 2/3).

24. Scale armour consisting of thin perforated plates which overlap so that the plates can be laced together as the illustration shows. Cf. Collingwood; *Archaeology of Roman Britain*. Fig. 66-9. 25. Spike, circular in section having one end sharply pointed and the other flattened and perforated to hang on a hook. 26. An expanding bracelet made of thin bronze wire. 27. Decorated bronze strip which is perhaps part of a bracelet. The strip is .15 in. wide and the decoration consists of punched circles. 28. Button. 29. A finger ring decorated with a series of incisions at right angles to the circumference. The flattened side looks as though it is intended to carry an engraved decoration but it is in fact quite smooth. Altogether fifteen bronze rings were found during the excavation. They varied in size from two, clearly made for small children, to others which had obviously been worn by men. Three of these rings were made to carry a stone or some form of decoration. 30. A flat strip of bronze drawn into wire at the curved end. Purpose uncertain. 31. Scabbard fitting. Cf. Collingwood; *op. cit.* Fig. 66-3. 32. A perforated plate of thin metal perhaps used to decorate a wooden casket. One of several rather similar examples.

Nos. 33-35. Miscellaneous objects. (Scale 1/3).

33. Fragment of decorative lead. Cf. Slack. *Y.A.J.*, Vol. 34, Pl. 24-9. 34. Jet bracelet decorated with notched incisions round the circumference. Parts of at least twenty jet bracelets and rings were found during the excavation. 35. Melon shaped bead; clay, painted pale green.

### FIG. 20. Nos. 36-46. IRON. (Scale 1/3).

36. Part of a stirrup from which the footrest has disappeared but which retains part of the harness attachment which held it to the rider's saddle. 37. Stylus with flattened butt with which previous writing on a wax tablet could be erased. Cf. Langton; p. 73 and Fig. 20. 38. Linch pin. 39. Iron spike with one end turned into a loop. 40. Ring. 41. Nail; one of about two dozen found with the sole of a boot. 42. Two groups of nails still held by the leather



of the boot sole into which they were hammered. The drawing reconstructs a section of the boot sole and nails as it must have been when new. 43. Part of a door hinge. 44. Two samples from the large number of nails found; they varied from about 2 ins. to about 6 ins. in length. 45. An iron object of uncertain use. 46. Knife blade.

Nos. 47-50. Miscellaneous objects. (Scale 1/3).

47. Loom weight made from a potsherd cut roughly circular and pierced at the centre. 48. Ring made from a fossil which has been ground and polished; perhaps part of a necklace. 49. Top of a lamp. 50. Gaming counters made from split pebbles.

PLATE XV. This illustration shows *in situ* an iron U-shaped bracket from the end of a post probably used during the building operations. It is 8 ins. long; the arms are 2.5 ins. apart; it was fixed to the post by two nails passing through one arm of the bracket which measures 1.1 in. wide by .3 in. thick.

PLATE XVI. Stone carving of a Winged Victory in the form of a caryatid which may have formed part of the lintel of the entrance to the Town House or of the doorway to the Mosaic Room in the same building. An alternative suggestion (made by Professor Richmond) is that it was the end of a stone seat. The stone slab is so badly broken that it is impossible to be sure about its size but it may have measured about 24 ins. by 24 ins. by 9 ins.

PLATE XXXII. A collection of glass sherds together with part of a large clay vessel *in situ*. The glass sherds include (1). On the left, the base and part of the side of a large beaker with footring 2.25 ins. diam. The glass is only 1.5 mm. thick. (2). Top centre; the base of a vessel with raised boss in the centre. Diam. 1.5 in. (3). Right; rim, 3.25 ins. diam. which probably belonged to No. 1 above. (4). Three rim sections from the same vessel (probably No. 2 above) which had a moulded decoration.

The examples of small finds listed above represent only a small fraction of the everyday objects found at Malton, but as none of these is at all unusual it does not seem necessary to illustrate more than a small number of them.

### THE COINS.

A few points about the distribution of the coins deserve mention. In the fort coins of the 1st century accounted for almost 5% of the total but for less than 2% in the civilian area outside the ramparts. This supports the suggestion that the military establishment at Malton dated from the earliest advance to the north but that the civilian population (possibly of traders and shopkeepers), did not settle there until towards the end of the century. The 2nd century was a period of relative inactivity in the fort. Coins of this period only account for 1.7% of the total from the fort but reach 5.6% of the total in the *vicus* thus confirming the evidence of buildings and pottery that this was a period when the town was much busier than the fort. To a slightly less extent the same distribution pattern may be traced into the first half of the 3rd century when coins dated up to A.D. 253 represent 3.6% of the total in the *vicus* but only 1% of the number from the fort. As in the fort the 2nd half of the 3rd and the first part of the 4th centuries appear, from the number of coins found, to be the period of greatest activity in the *vicus*, and this is borne out by the evidence of the buildings. In fact the period c. A.D. 260 to c. A.D. 350 would seem to have been the period of busiest town life at Malton.

The fall in the number of coins towards the middle of the 4th century reflects the decline of the town and this again is shown in the decay of the buildings and in such things as the blocking of the stokeholes of the hypocaust in the Town House which presumably took place some time before the house was abandoned c. A.D. 350-360.

References in the following list are to R.I.C. (Mattingly and Sydenham, *Roman Imperial Coinage*), and C. (Cohen, *Monnaies frappées sous l'empire romain*). Numbers in brackets indicate the number of coins of the particular type. The name of an emperor in brackets after a reference number, e.g. Julia Mamaea (Severus Alexander) indicates that the reference numbers are those of coins listed under that emperor.

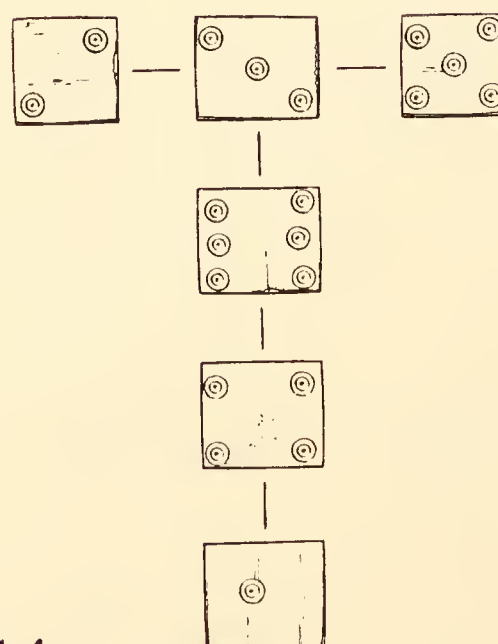
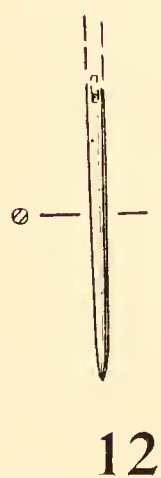
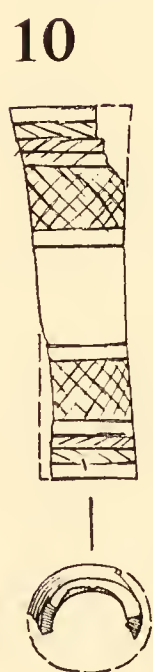
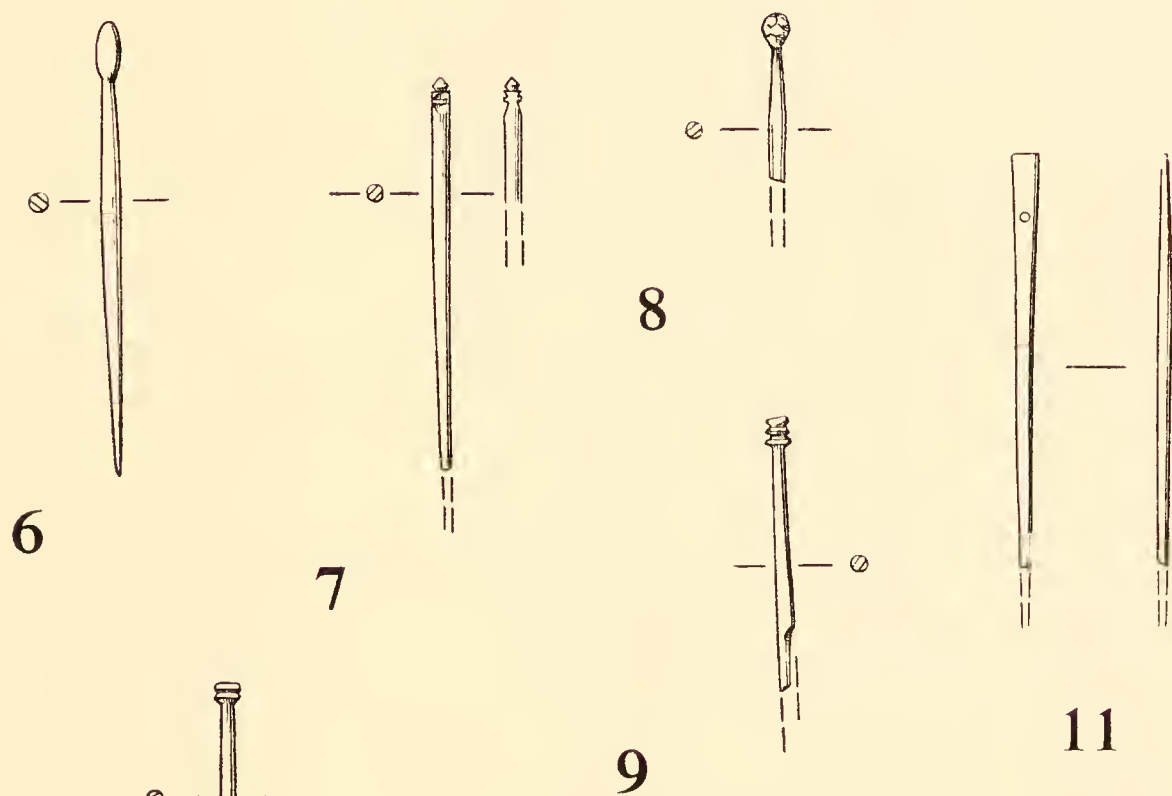
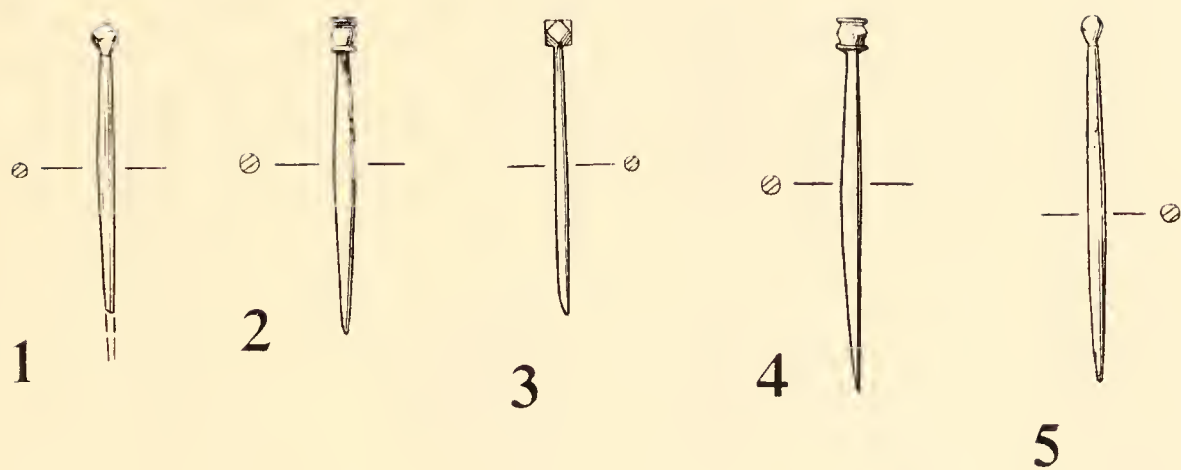


FIG. 17. Objects in bone, nos. 1-14. Scale  $\frac{1}{3}$



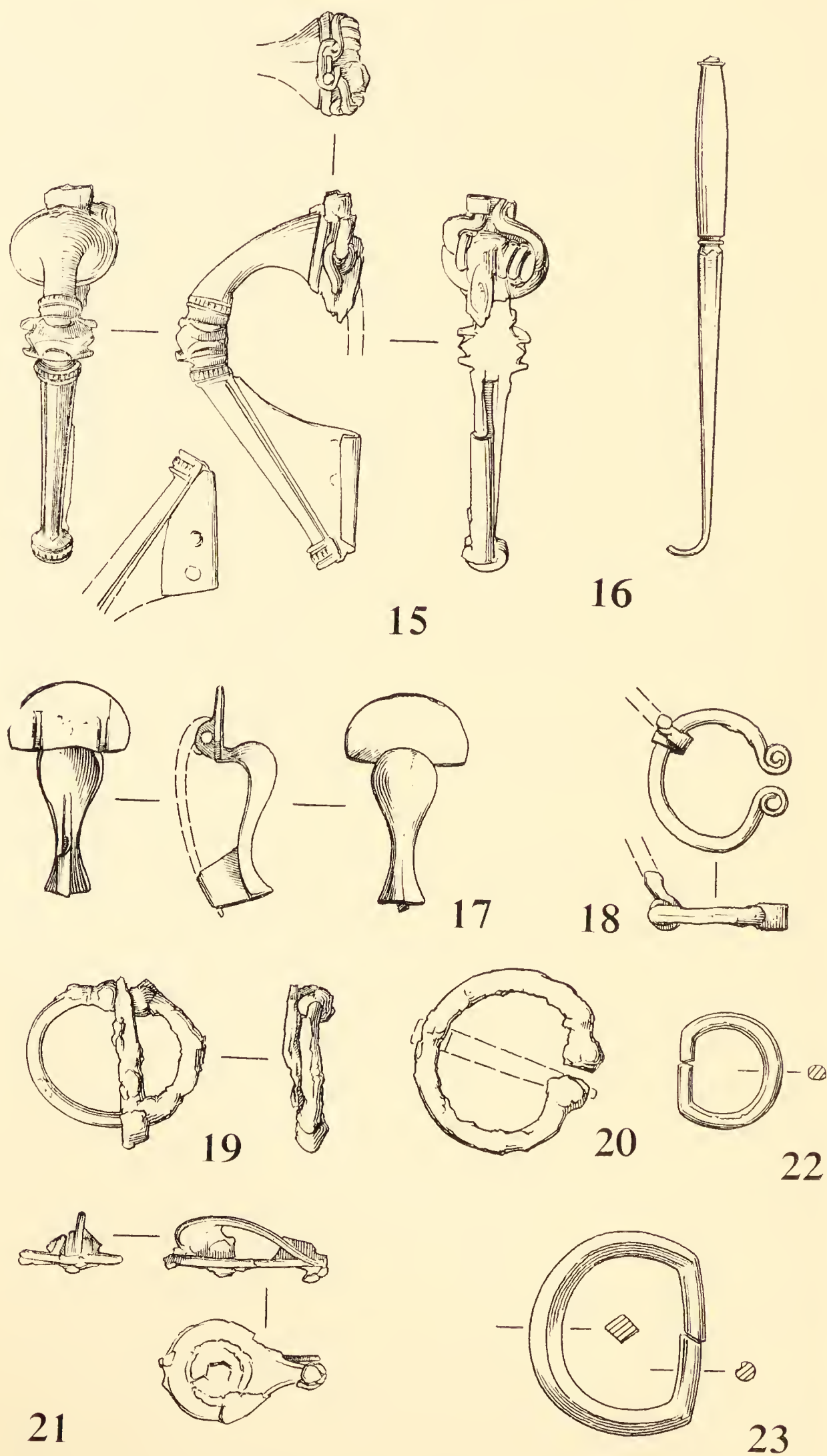


FIG. 18. Objects in bronze, nos. 15-23. Scale  $\frac{2}{3}$ .

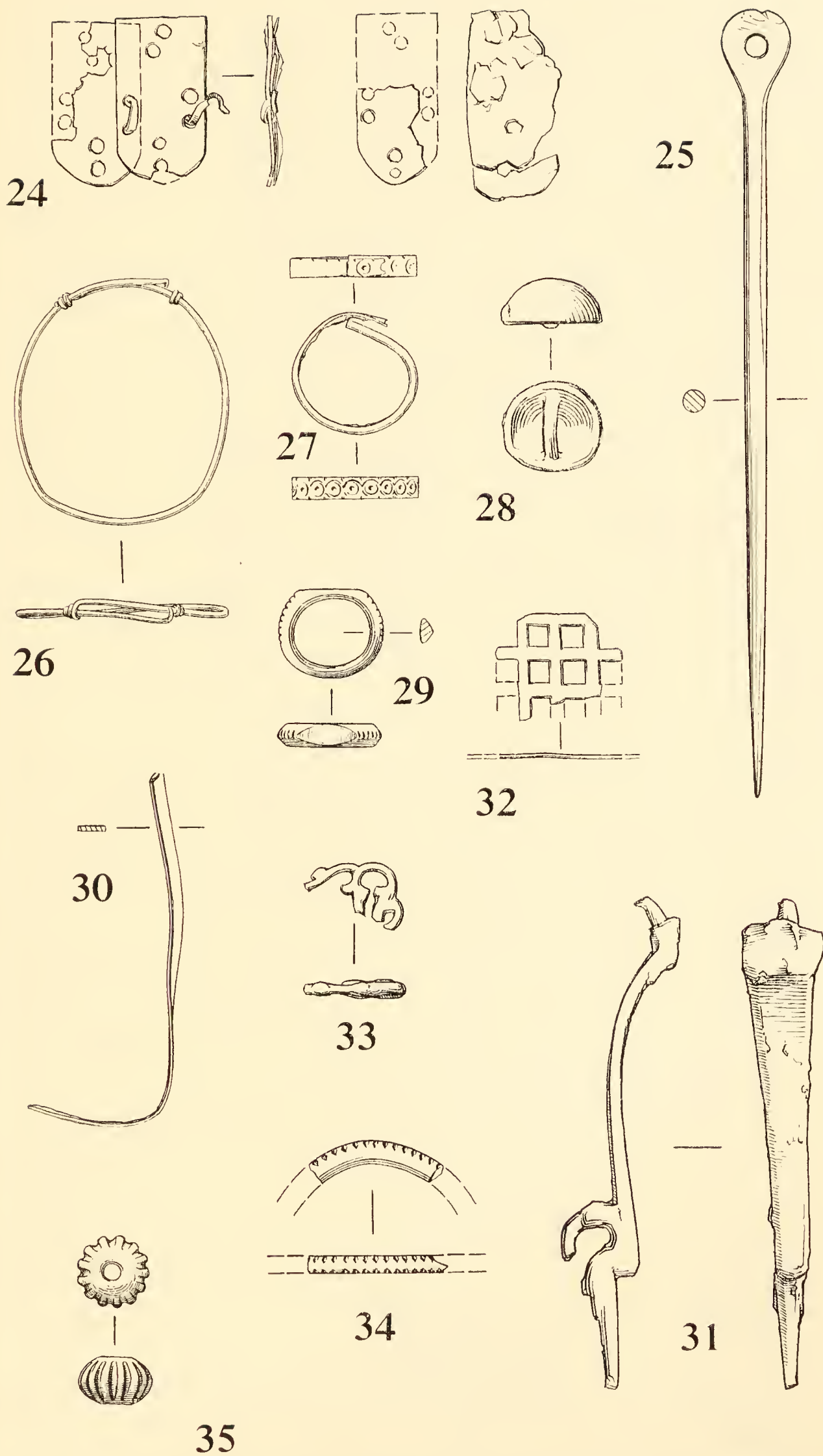


FIG. 19. Objects in bronze, continued, nos. 24-32; miscellaneous objects, nos. 33-35. Scale  $\frac{2}{3}$ .



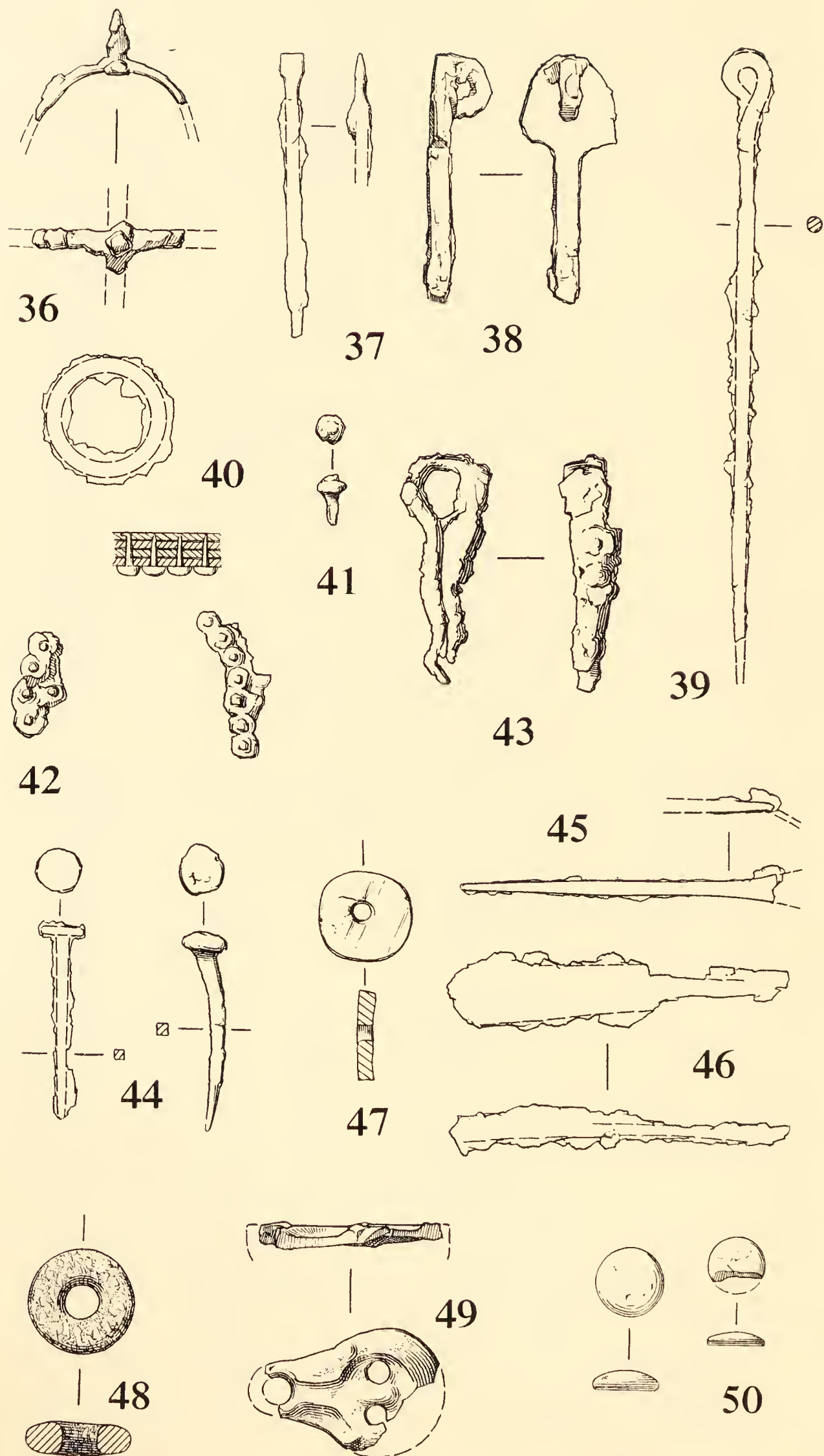


FIG. 20. Objects in iron, nos. 36-46; miscellaneous objects, nos. 47-50. Scale  $\frac{1}{3}$ .

<i>Emperor</i>	<i>Date A.D.</i>	<i>Type and References</i>	<i>Total</i>
Nero	54–68	As. C. 296	1
Vespasian	69–79	Asses. R.I.C. 478; 767	2
Domitian	81–96	As. C. 451; 1 Sestertius and one Dupondius, both indeterminate	3
Trajan	98–117	2 Denarii. R.I.C. 121(?); 228 3 Sestertii. C. 368(?); R.I.C. 401, 534 As. R.I.C. 466 or 611	6
Hadrian	117–138	As. R.I.C. 669; 3 Sestertii. R.I.C. 597(b), 636, 970	4
Antoninus Pius	138–161	As. R.I.C. 688	1
Marcus Aurelius	161–180	2 Sestertii. R.I.C. 804, 1147	2
Faustina II		Sestertius. R.I.C. 1692. (Marcus Aurelius)	1
Commodus	180–192	Denarius. R.I.C. 176	1
Lucilla		Denarius. R.I.C. 1770	1
Clodius Albinus	192–197	Indeterminate Sestertius	1
Caracalla	211–217	Indeterminate Denarius; fragments of two others	3
Plautilla		Denarius. R.I.C. 361	1
Elagabalus	218–222	2 indeterminate Denarii	2
Severus Alexander	222–235	2 Denarii, R.I.C. 101, 288 1 Greek coin. Obv. M $\Lambda$ AVP A EZAN $\Delta$ POC Bust r. cuirassed Rev. o $\Delta$ HCCEITON Sarapis wearing modius, holding patera and cornucopiae.	3
Julia Mamaea		Base Denarius, silver washed. R.I.C. 362 (Severus Alexander)	1
Philip I	244–249	Denarius. R.I.C. 109	1
Valerian	253–260	Antoninianus; not in R.I.C. but cf. R.I.C. 24 which has Rev. VIRTVS AVG whereas this coin has VIRTVS AVGG Antoninianus, R.I.C. 27	2
Gallienus	260–268	Antoniniani; R.I.C. 157, 193, 214, 283, 297, 574. C. 157 (2). 2 indeterminate	10
Salonina		Antoninianus, R.I.C. 12/13	1



<i>Emperor</i>	<i>Date A.D.</i>	<i>Type and References</i>	<i>Total</i>
Claudius II	268–270	Antoniniani; C. 9 (3), 50 (2), R.I.C. 14, 15, 48, 56, 68, 82, 96, 98, 104, 206 1 indeterminate. 1 with Obv. uncertain; Rev. with altar of a type not previously noted	17
Postumus	258–267	Antoniniani, R.I.C. 86, 311	2
Victorinus	268–270	Antoniniani, C. 79. R.I.C. 40, 50, 112. The following coin does not appear to have been noted previously; Obv. VICTORINVS Bust r. radiate. Rev. CONSECRATIO Altar	5
Tetricus I	270–273	Antoniniani, C. 17. R.I.C. 68, 70, 76, 87 (2), 92, 100 (4), 136, 148. 7 uncertain. 1 double struck; first strike, Obv. IMP C TETR rays of radiate head dress. Rev. —s AVG part of human figure. Second strike, Obv. on Rev. IMP C — — CVS P F AVG bust of Tetricus, r. radiate, draped. Rev. on Obv. COMES AVG Victory st. left with wreath and palm.	21
Tetricus II	270–273	Antoniniani, C. 5, 58 (3), R.I.C. 256, 260 (2), 270. 1 indeterminate. 1 coin apparently not noted previously, Obv. C E P TETRICVS CAES bust r. radiate. Rev. PAX AVGG Pax st. left with branch and sceptre. This obv. is not known with PAX but cf. R.I.C. 271 with SPES	10
Tacitus	275–276	Antoninianus, R.I.C. 93	1
Probus	276–282	Antoniniani, R.I.C. 116, 392, 480. One uncertain	4
Carausius	287–293	Antoniniani, C. 122, 209, R.I.C. 98 (3), 475 (3), 803	9
Allectus	293–296	Antoninianus, R.I.C. 28  Indeterminate radiates of the period of Postumus, Victorinus, Tetricus I and Tetricus II. Probably Postumus 1, probably Victorinus 3, Tetricus I or II 12	1  16
Diocletian	284–305	Antoninianus, R.I.C. 15 (Carausius)	1
Maximianus	286–305	Antoninianus, R.I.C. 34 (Carausius)	1
Maximinus Daza	308–314	Antoninianus, C. 58	1
Licinius	307–324	Follis, C. 53	1

<i>Emperor</i>	<i>Date A.D.</i>	<i>Type and References</i>	<i>Total</i>
Constantine I	306–337	Follis, C. 39, 218, 521, 525 (2). Small bronze, C. 253 (5), 255, 454 (2), 487, 530, 534, 536 (3)	19
Crispus	320–324	Small bronze, C. 25, 41	2
Urbs Roma	330–337	C. 17 ff	15
Helena	330–337	Small bronze, C. 4 (3), 5	4
Theodora	330–337	Small bronze, C. 4	5
Constantinopolis	330–337	C. 21 (8), 1 barbarous	9
Period of Constantine I	330–337	GLORIA EXERCITVS One standard	20
		GLORIA EXERCITVS Two standards	3
		GLORIA EXERCITVS Labarum	1
		FEL TEMP REPARATIO Legionary sp. fallen horseman	20
		VICTORIAE DD AVGG QNN Two victories	3
		Barbarous	3
Constantine II	317–340	Small bronze, C. 12, 113 (3), 114 (2), 122 (8), 124 (3), 165	18
Constantius	324–361	Small bronze, C. 45 (4), 92 (4), 93 (5), 99, 104 (4), 277, two barbarous F.T.R. types, A new coin; Obv. – – STANTIVS AVG Bust r. laureate. Rev. – – FELICITAS. Type of F.T.R. Legionary sp. fallen horseman.	22
Constans	333–350	Small bronze, C. 18, 51, 65 (3), 179 (13)	19
Constantius Gallus	351–354	Small bronze, C.17 (?)	1
Magnentius	350–353	Small bronze, C. 5, 6, 68 (2), Middle bronze, C. 6	5
Julian	361–363	Small bronze, C. 159	1
Valentinian	364–375	Small bronze, C. 37	1
Valens	364–378	Small bronze, C. 11 (2), 12	3
Gratian	367–375	Small bronze, C. 13 (2)	2
Theodosius	375–395	Uncertain	1
Arcadius (?)			1
		Indeterminate coins:	
		Middle bronze	1
		Small bronze	19
		Minim	8
		TOTAL COINS	343



# AN ANGLIAN CEMETERY AT LONDESBOROUGH IN EAST YORKSHIRE

By MICHAEL SWANTON

## *Introduction*

Sporadic digging at various times between the early eighteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth has brought to light an amount of material from an Anglian cemetery at Londesborough, but such grave goods as were preserved have been considerably dispersed since that time. Certain small reference has been made to specific pieces of jewellery in general works *en passant*, but there having been published no accurate or unconfused notice of the finds as they occurred, it has been considered convenient to publish this summary note of the cemetery and the grave goods in so far as they may be currently appreciated.<sup>1</sup>

## *The site; historical considerations*

The present village of Londesborough<sup>2</sup> is situated within a sheltered re-entrant into the western escarpment of the East Yorkshire Wolds, and at a point where Lower Lias clays and the Keuper marl outcrop from beneath the chalk to form a regular spring line more or less on the 250 Ordnance datum.

This part of the Wolds has been an obvious area for settlement since earliest times, naturally attractive to Beaker people, Urn folk and Parisi in turn, and forming, by the end of the fifth century, the nucleus of what was to become the Anglian kingdom of Deira. Evidence for settlement in the Roman period, however, is minimal, but the village lies just off the line of the Roman road<sup>3</sup> running north from the cantonal capital at Brough *Petuaria* to the important fort at Malton *Derventio*, both sites with attested occupation throughout the fourth century, so that there can be little doubt but that the road joining the two would have been kept open and in use during the primary period of Deiran settlement. The line of this Roman

<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to the governing authorities of the following museums for permission to publish material in their keeping: the Ashmolean Museum Oxford, the British Museum London, the Mortimer Collection at Hull, the Hancock Museum Newcastle, the Museum of Antiquities of the University and the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle, and the Yorkshire Museum at York. Specific reference is made in the text.

<sup>2</sup> *N.G. Ref.* SE. 868455.

<sup>3</sup> Route no. 29. Margary I. D. (1957). *Roman roads in Britain*, vol. II, pp. 150-1. The line described here leaves Towthorpe Corner and enters Londesborough Park at a point where field names include *Street Closes*. Drake, F. (1736) *Eboracum, or the history and antiquities of the city of York*, p. 32, recalls the line of the road clearly discernible beneath the artificial lakes when they were drained in the early part of the eighteenth century. Thence the course is marked across the remainder of the park and towards Nunburnholme Wold Farm by a line of fences and the faint indication of an *agger*.

road might well cut right through the later cemetery, as in the instances at Faversham, Sittingbourne and others along the line of Watling Street, which is not considered to have been in disuse at any time.

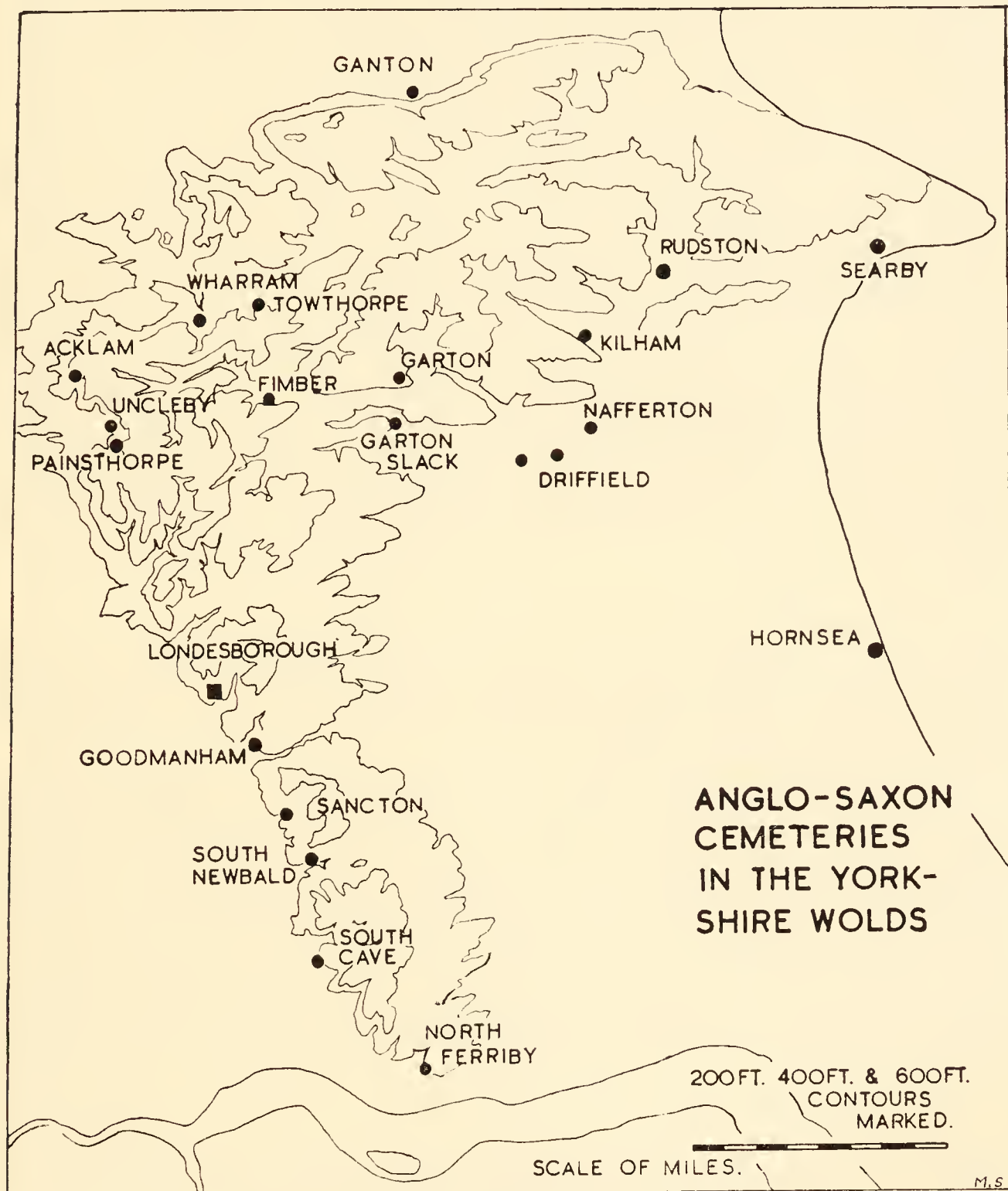


FIG. 1.  
Anglo-Saxon cemeteries in the East Yorkshire Wolds.

Documentary evidence for the Anglo-Saxon period is scarce, and for Lonsborough, like so many of the long line of settlements along this western chalk escarpment, South Newbald, Sancton or South Cave, there is no historically attested indication of occupation before the Domesday survey of 1086. The only exception is Goodmanham, which finds a place in Bede due to the particularly graphic part this village played during the seventh century conversion.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ostenditur autem locus ille quondam idolorum non longe ab Eburaco ad orientem, ultra amnem Doruuentionem, et vocatur hodie Godmunddingaham. Bede; Historia Ecclesiastica lib. II cap. xiii, ed. Plummer, C. (1896).*



In *Domesday Book* Londesborough appears as *Lodenesburg*, incorporating the Old Norse personal name *Lodinn*, which appears again in a lost name, *Lothenhaues*, on the boundaries of Londesborough and Middleton, and meaning Lodinn's fortification, and is not likely to have derived, as a name, therefore, from a time much earlier than the ninth century Scandinavian land taking. Of course the cemetery that we are considering need not have served just the one village of Londesborough, but much the same sort of pattern is to be found in all the local names. Within the same parish, Easthorpe, *Domesday Book* *Estorp*, east village, and Towthorpe, *Domesday Book* *Tolethorpe*, *Toli's* village, both derive from entirely Scandinavian elements. Cleaving Grange, however, is noted in *Domesday Book* as *Clevinde*, or *Clevinge*, the former variant a frequent enough eleventh century transposition for the latter Old English norm. Smith<sup>1</sup> considers that this might well derive from the group name, Old English *Cleofungas*, that is, 'the people who live by the cliff', but on the other hand, it may simply form the Old English derivative noun *cliofung*, meaning 'cleft' or 'fissure', and applying to any one of the innumerable small re-entrants into the chalk at this point.

### *The Excavations*

These have taken place at various times between 1736 and 1905, with varying degrees of competence, and accuracy or completeness of detail in the record made.

The first reference to discoveries of this nature comes as early as 1736 when Drake describes how '... a great many repositories for', what he took to be Roman, 'dead have been discovered in digging in and about the town, park, gardens, and even under the Hall. The bones were found to lie in pure clean chalk, seven, eight, or more bodies together, side by side, very fresh and entire, though in some places not above 20 or 22 inches deep from the surface.'<sup>2</sup> There was apparently nothing found to date these graves as certainly Roman, and in view of the general nature of the find, and accounting for the state of Anglo-Saxon scholarship at a time before even Douglas had produced his series of relics in *Nenia Britannica*, it seems just as likely, or even probable, that what Drake refers to in 1736 is, in fact, an indication of the Anglian cemetery at Londesborough. If this be accepted as an hypothesis, then Drake's statement is certainly a valuable indication as to the extent of this cemetery in area, providing, that is, that the interments were made at regular and continuous intervals. The reference is to some extent ambiguous, however, and it is by no means sure whether the graves found at that time numbered 'seven, eight or more' in all, or whether there were several groups varying in number from 'seven, eight or more'.

<sup>1</sup> Smith, A. H. (1937). *The place names of the East Riding of Yorkshire and York*, p. 232.

<sup>2</sup> Drake, F. (1736), *op. cit.*, p. 32.

Then Mortimer describes how, between 1870 and 1895, in the course of quarrying chalk from near the summit of the hill on Londesborough Wold, some three quarters of a mile north of the village, workmen had 'met with many Anglo-Saxon graves, apparently containing inhumed interments only. These were in several instances accompanied by glass and amber beads, bronze fibulae, bronze and iron buckles and iron knives, as well as earthenware vessels'.<sup>1</sup> He goes on to say that at the time of writing, that was in 1905, all of the relics he had mentioned had been dispersed, and that their whereabouts was uncertain. It is highly probably, however, that the material presented to the Ashmolean Museum in 1886,<sup>2</sup> and referred to below as groups 1 to 3, represents at least part of the material from the graves mentioned by Mortimer as excavated at this time. Other of the relics seem to have found their way to the collection of the Yorkshire Museum,<sup>3</sup> and this may account for groups 4 to 6 below. In 1891 Raine refers to 'Ornaments discovered in a grave dug in the chalk at Londesborough, consisting of a fine fibula plated with silver, beads etc.' and 'A finely shaped spearhead from an Anglian grave at Londesborough'.<sup>4</sup> These refer respectively to groups 4 and 5 below.

'On May 27th, 1895, the members of the East Riding Antiquarian Society visited Nunburnholme and Londesborough. To add to the interest of this visit Mr. Chowen, the estate agent, employed two labourers to excavate near the margin of the chalk pit, where bodies had previously been found. A skeleton was discovered at a depth of about 2 ft. . . partly on its back and left side, with the knees slightly pulled up, the head to the east, and was probably that of a female.'<sup>5</sup> Further particulars add: two bronze clasps at the loins, and two more below a cruciform brooch on the breast; an earthenware vessel behind the skull. An entirely garbled version of this discovery appears in the *Victoria County History*,<sup>6</sup> but there can be little doubt but that the grave goods recovered at this time form our group 7, currently not in the Yorkshire Museum, but at Newcastle.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mortimer, J. R. (1905) *Forty years researches* . . . , p. 353.

<sup>2</sup> Ashmolean Museum accession numbers: 1886 1345-1347.

<sup>3</sup> Yorkshire Museum accession numbers: 277/47—293/47.

<sup>4</sup> Raine, J. (1891) *Handbook to the museum of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society*, p. 211.

<sup>5</sup> Mortimer, J. R. (1905) *op. cit.*, p. 353.

<sup>6</sup> Smith, R. A. (1912) *Victoria County History, York*, vol. II, p. 77.

<sup>7</sup> Museum of Antiquities Newcastle accession numbers H. 25-35. Mortimer (1905) *op. cit.* states that the relics were taken at that time to the Rev. Canon Wilton at Londesborough Rectory, but they seem, in fact, to have formed part of the collection of Mr. W. Young, a subsequent estate manager of Londesborough Park, from whom they were acquired by the Hancock Museum in 1946. The relevant accession note in the *Report of the Natural History Society of Northumberland, Durham and Newcastle* for 1945-6 records this as: 'a pottery food-bowl and a series of bronze ornaments, beads, etc., from a pre-historic grave'. They are at present on permanent loan to the Museum of Antiquities Newcastle.



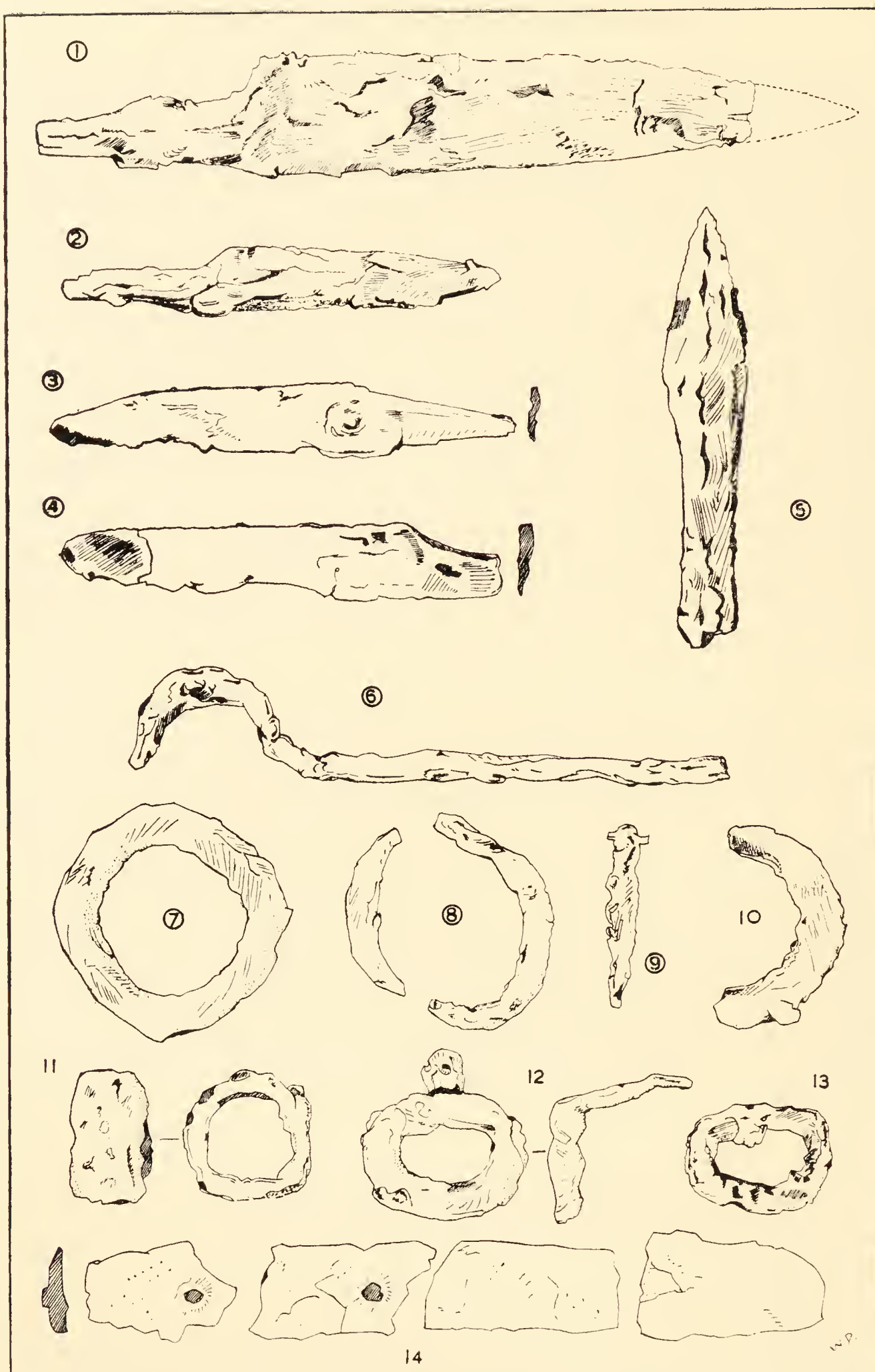


FIG. 2. *Miscellaneous Ironwork.* Scale  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1-2. Scramaseax and domestic knife, gr. 8. | 8. Ring, gr. 6.  |
| 3. Domestic knife, gr. 3.                  | 9-10. Brooch pin, and fragmentary annular brooch, gr. 1. |
| 4. Domestic knife, gr. 1.                  | 11. Ferrule, gr. 7.                                      |
| 5. Small spear or javelin head, gr. 8.     | 12. Buckle, gr. 6.                                       |
| 6. Latch-lifter, gr. 2.                    | 13. Buckle loop, gr. 8.                                  |
| 7. Ring, gr. 7.                            | 14. Strip mounting, gr. 6.                               |

Most recently of all, about the year 1905, a further series of graves were disinterred, the material from which was acquired by the Mortimer Collection at Hull,<sup>1</sup> and which was briefly and variously noted at different times by the then Curator.<sup>2</sup> These published notes are vague, and on occasion even inaccurate, but they certainly seem to refer to groups 8 and 9 below. Nothing can be adduced as to the disposition of the grave goods in number 8, save that it contained a male grave accompanied by weapons. Grave 9, however, presents us with fuller details; cut into the chalk to a depth of about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ft. from the surface, containing a female skeleton, apparently buried chest downward, the head being turned to the right, the hands crossed at the wrists beneath the pelvis, and the knees partially flexed. Beads, and the lesser cruciform brooch were found at the neck, and on the lower ribs the large pair of cruciform brooches, the girdle hangers, deer antler annular brooch, wrist clasps and belt mounts. Other graves were apparently discovered at the same time, but no details are available concerning these.

The number of directly or indirectly ascertainable Anglian graves amounts to some nine or ten, but it seems likely that far more have been discovered in the past than notice of which has survived. The reference by Bowman<sup>3</sup> to fragments from three contracted graves discovered during quarrying at Nunburnholme, might possibly emanate from this cemetery, but seems more likely to form a small separate group on the other side of the Wold. It is probable that this present survey represents no more than a fragment of what may well prove ultimately to be an extensive and important cemetery. In summary it may be said that the Londesborough cemetery consisted of a large number of inhumation graves, stretching over a large area downwards from the summit of Londesborough Wold, and across the Roman Road towards the Park and Village of Londesborough; and probably disposed for at least some part of this, in what continental authorities refer to as *reihengräber*.

### *Description of the grave contents*

#### GRAVE 1

*Small domestic iron knife*, single edged, with the back curved; tanged. A small part of the tip, and a larger part of the tang missing. Maximum length remaining, 10.2 cms. (fig. 2, 4.)

*Fragmentary flat iron annular brooch*, with the remains of one end of the iron fastening pin. Originally of a maximum diameter 5.0 cms., and the width of the ring 1.0 cms. (fig. 2, 10.)

<sup>1</sup> Mortimer Collection, unregistered series.

<sup>2</sup> Sheppard, T. (1906). *Antiquary*, vol. 42, pp. 333-338; reprinted as *Hull Museums Quarterly Record of Additions*, vol. 33, pp. 10-18. (1907) *East Riding Antiquarian Society Transactions*, vol. 14, pp. 77. A note in the *Report of the British Association* for 1906 purports to deal with the contents of an Anglian grave near South Cave, but the details coincide so exactly with the account of grave 9 at Londesborough that it seems likely that this in fact deals with the same material, but with the provenance confused.

<sup>3</sup> Bowman, W. (1855). *Reliquiae Antiquae Eboracenses*, pp. 62-3, plate xii.



*Bronze annular brooch* added to the complement of this grave, but this now seems to be missing. It is likely, however, that the corroded iron pin, (fig. 2, 9) maximum length 4.2 cms., originally formed the fastening pin of this piece.

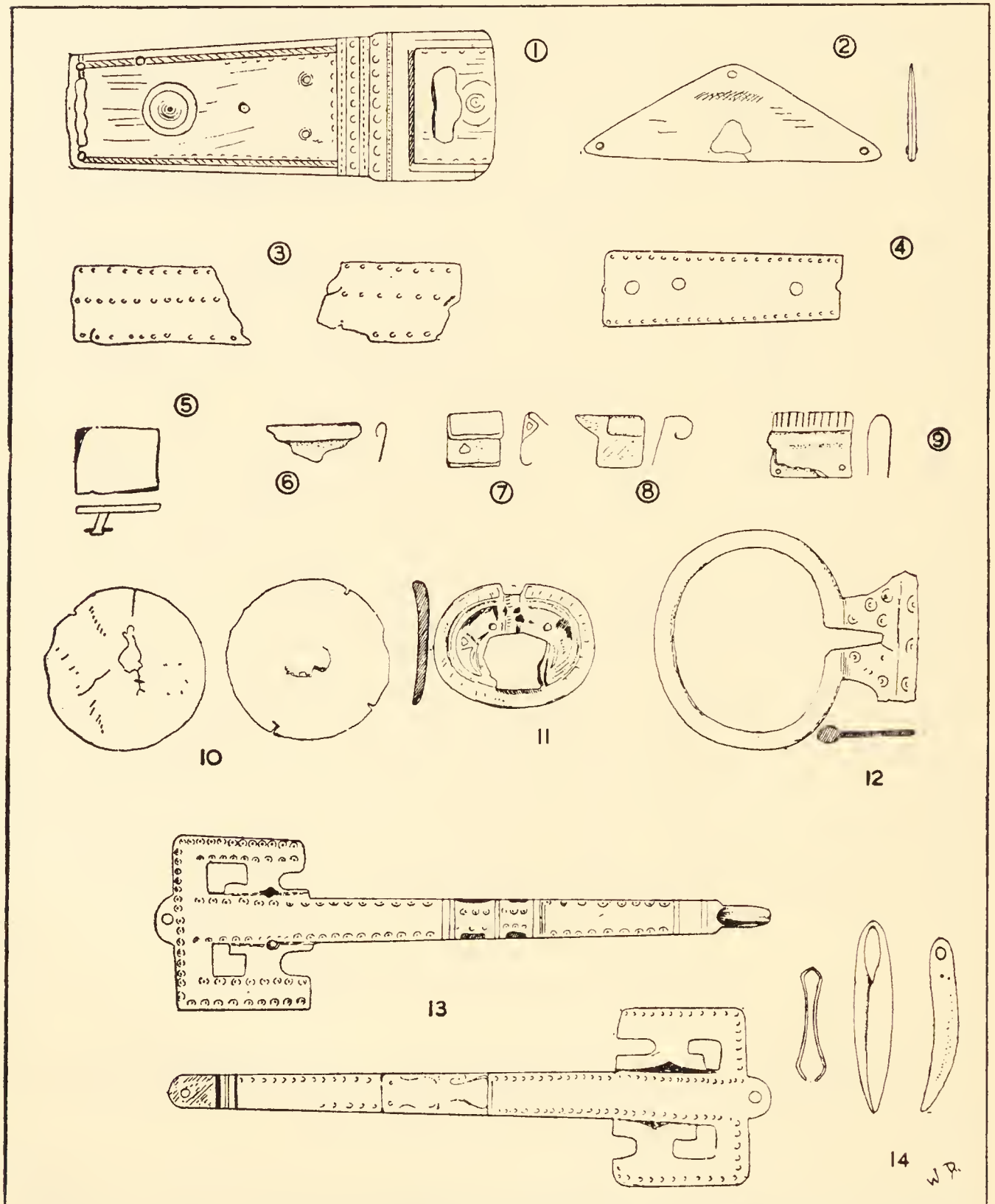


FIG. 3. *Miscellaneous Bronze.* Scale  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

- |                            |                            |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Strap mount, gr. 9.     | 10. Disc brooch, gr. 4.    |
| 2-3. Strap mounts, gr. 10. | 11. Buckle loop, gr. 6.    |
| 4. Strap mount, gr. 7.     | 12. Strap mount, gr. 7.    |
| 5-6. Strap mounts, gr. 6.  | 13. Girdle hangers, gr. 9. |
| 7-9. Strap mounts, gr. 3.  | 14. Toilet set, gr. 10.    |

#### GRAVE 2

*Iron latch lifter*, simply shaped out of 0.6 cm. diameter rod, with a maximum length of 14.2 cms. It is possible that part of the unshaped end is missing. (fig. 2, 6.)

*Pair of bronze annular brooches*, cast, with a plano-convex cross-section, and ornamented by closely spaced groups of four transverse score lines. Only one of these now remains, and this is broken into two halves on the line of extensive corrosion at the point of contact with the iron fastening pin. Maximum diameter 3.4 cms., and the width of the ring at the least worn part, 0.5 cms. (fig. 5, 6.)

*Half a wrist clasp in bronze*,<sup>1</sup> cast, with a panel of garbled zoomorphic ornament, corresponding, in all probability to a hind limb and claw in Style I; transversely ribbed either end, the bar relatively narrow, backed by quasi scalloped edge containing a line of five pierced holes. This piece was never located. Maximum length 4.4 cms. (fig. 4, 9.)

*A bronze band*, apparently a strip metal ring, and probably an armlet, now missing.

### GROUP 3

*Small domestic iron knife*, single edged, with the back increasingly curved towards the tip; tanged. Maximum length 10.7 cms. (fig. 2, 3.)

*Bronze strap mounts*; three small pieces of folded strip metal, clearly intended as some sort of binding or mount. That of fig. 3, 8 is unornamented, and without holes for attachment, but has the edge curled over sufficiently to grip whatever material it had bound; partly missing, but originally rectangular, 1.4 × 1.1 cms. Fig. 3, 9, a completely doubled piece, with the face and the back decorated with a series of scored lines to give a ribbed effect, and with small attachment holes at the lower corners. Rectangular, 1.5 × 1.3 cms. Fig. 3, 7, plain and unornamented, a large rivet hole pierced from the back, leaving burred metal on the inner side, and retaining fragments of leather. Rectangular 1.1 × 1.1 cms.

A further *bronze belt fastening*, and a single *blue glass bead*, with no recorded description, remain at present unlocated.

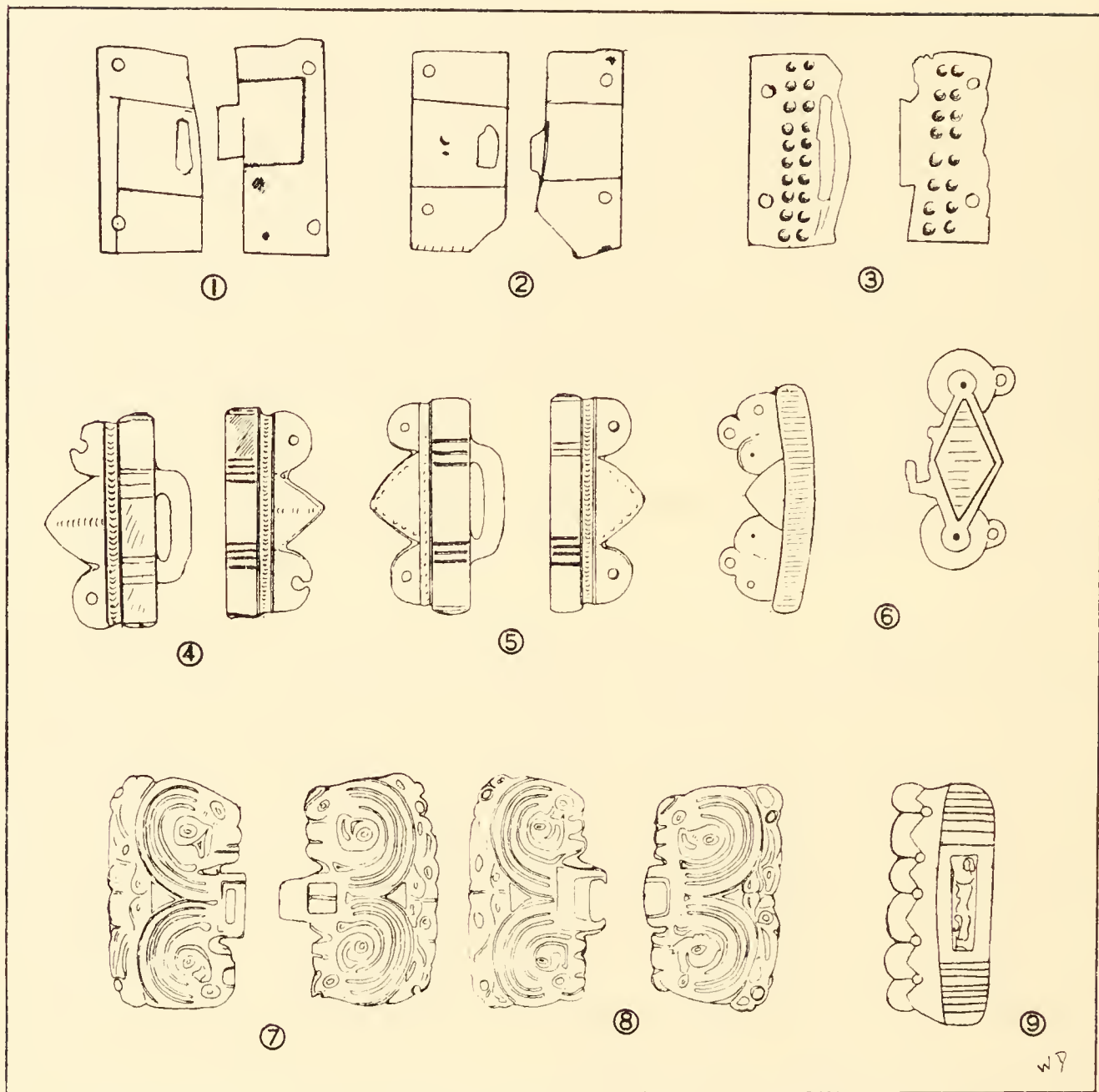
### GRAVE 4

*Great square-headed brooch* of Leeds' class A4,<sup>2</sup> the head-plate, typical of its type, large in proportion to the rest of the brooch, and formal decoration restricted to just a single zoomorphic motif cramped up to fit closely into a small interior panel, together with the uniform, but curiously indecipherable zoomorphic design possible within an undivided foot, which is so regular among the others that Leeds lists as belonging to this particular class. Much of the decorative effect of this brooch is obtained by setting cast and chased bronze panels off against simple and relatively large pieces of silver plate, skilfully applied to the three lobes of the foot, and square in each corner of the head-plate. Maximum length 10.9 cms. (fig. 7, 1.)

<sup>1</sup> Leeds, E. T. (1945) *The Distributions of Angles and Saxons archaeologically considered*. *Archaeologia*, vol. 91, p. 57, fig. 32(1).

<sup>2</sup> Leeds, E. T. (1949) *Early Anglo-Saxon Great Square-headed Brooches*, p. 30, plate 35.



FIG. 4. *Bronze Wrist Clasps.* Scale  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

- 1-2. Sheet metal, gr. 7.  
 3. Sheet metal, gr. 6.  
 4-5. Cast metal, gr. 9.  
 6. Cast metal, gr. 10.

7. Cast metal, gr. 6.  
 8. Cast metal, gr. 7.  
 9. Cast metal, gr. 2.

*Bronze disc brooch*, originally mounted with a simple undecorated silver plate, now detached, some 0.7 mm. in thickness. The cast bronze backing, with pin and catch-plate missing, is proportionately thin, some 2.00 mm., but of equal diameter, 3.4 cms., so that the silver plate must have covered the entire surface of the brooch originally. (fig. 3, 10.)

*Amber, glass and paste beads* (fig. 8, 4.). A series of sixteen amber beads (fig. nos. 1-7 and 17-25), largely of irregular form at present, but originally either roughly cuboid or a truncated bi-conoid, and roughly graduated in size; three squat melon beads in opaque grey glass (fig. nos. 8, 10 and 14); one blue glass melon bead (fig. no. 11); two ring beads, one in plain opaque grey glass, the other dark blue glass marvered with a single white meander, (fig. nos. 13 and 16 respectively). Two simple paste beads, one green with a pentagonal section, fig. no. 15, the other grey with a quadrangular section (fig. no. 9); a larger composite paste bead,

made up of three alternately twisted discoid sections, basically yellow, marvered with red and black lines (fig. no. 12). All of these are displayed made up into a single string, but it is likely that some displacement may have occurred at some time since their discovery. In addition is a single large bead, roughly spherical with an irregular bore, made up basically of a dark green and blackish paste, marvered with streaks of red and yellow. (fig. no. 26.)

#### GRAVE 5

A male grave, the only recorded deposition with which was 'a finely shaped spear-head',<sup>1</sup> now missing.

#### GRAVE 6

*Iron ring*, corroded but originally circular in section, now in two pieces, and with a small section missing, but maximum diameter 5.0 cms. (fig. 2, 8.)

*Iron buckle*, with a simple oval loop, maximum length 3.6 cms., and the tongue corroded into a fixed position at an open and almost vertical angle, maximum height, 3.2 cms. (fig. 2, 12.)

*Iron band*, in four fragments, about 2.1 cms. wide, and 2 mm. in thickness, with the remains of two rivet heads on the outer side. Obviously a mount of some sort, and possibly part of a bucket binding. (fig. 2, 14.)

*Great square-headed brooch*,<sup>2</sup> heavily cast in bronze, the catch-plate intact, but with the pin missing. Basically Leeds' class B1,<sup>3</sup> but partly hybridised with his class A3 to provide the highly complex form of ornamentation found here: the borders of the head-plate with two pairs of descending animals,<sup>4</sup> enclosing the three sides of an interior panel which is largely dominated by a staring mask, with marked contour lines delineating the brows, and flanked by pellets. The bow is of the grooved type, but retains a small stud in the centre; the median bar of the foot-plate capped by a simple mask at its upper end, and with a pear-shaped version at the lower end, repeated in either lobe; the whole divided off from plain outer bands by a series of running spiral scrolls. Drooping and downward biting animal heads in profile on either side of the foot above the two lateral lobes, the jaws made up of a single scrolled line. A clean fracture in the lower part of the foot. Maximum length 14.2 cms. (fig. 7, 2.)

*Small annular brooch* in bronze, the pin missing. Circular, though slightly flattened in section, maximum cross-section diameter 3 mm.; maximum diameter of the whole, 2.1 cms. (fig. 5, 3.)

*Wrist clasp* in thin sheet bronze, rectangular, with decoration on either half in the form of two rows of *repoussé* dots. Each half has two circular attachment holes punched in the outer edge. Maximum length 2.5 cms. (fig. 4, 3.)

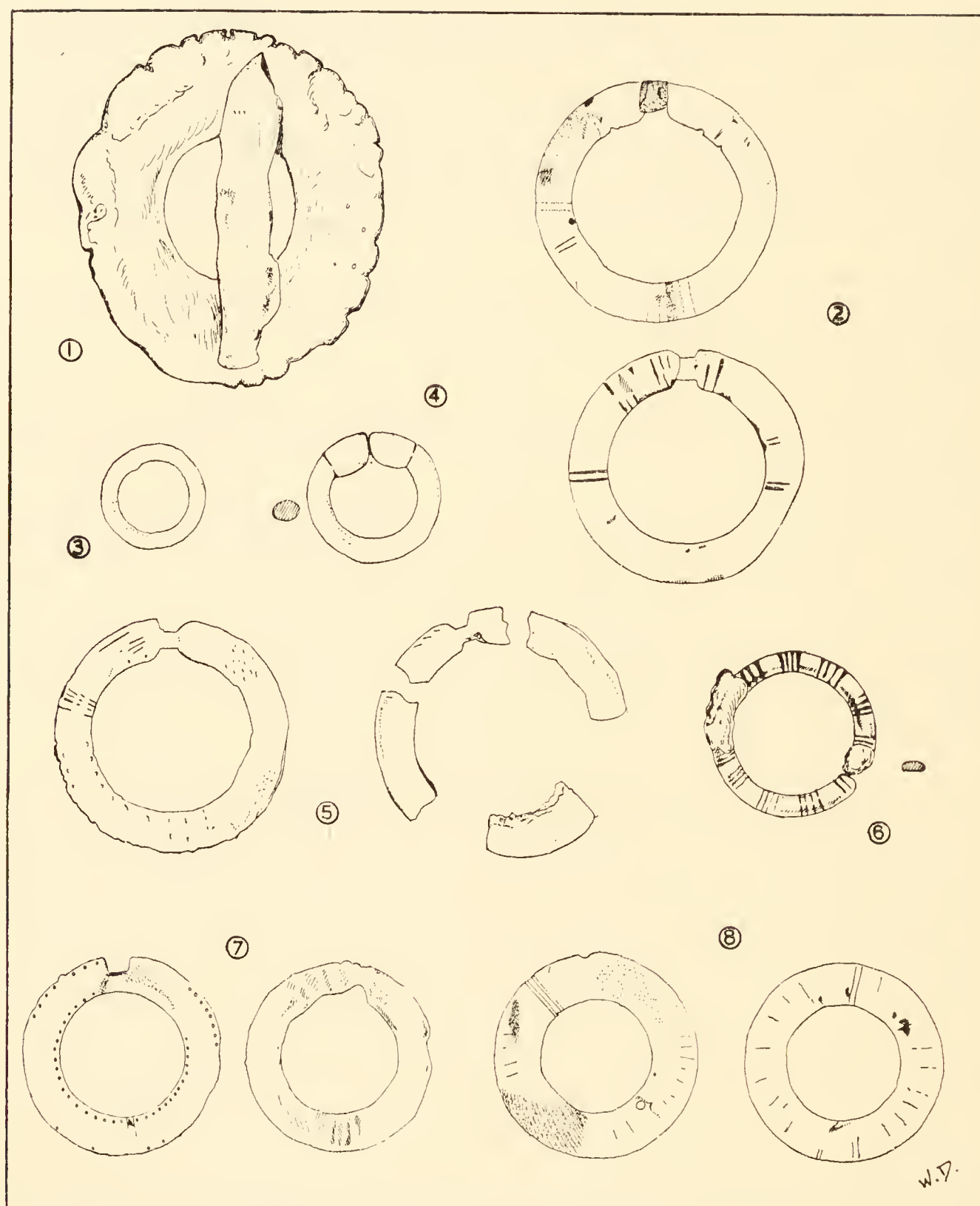
<sup>1</sup> Raine, J. (1891) *op. cit.*, p. 211.

<sup>2</sup> Leeds, E. T. (1949) *op. cit.*, pp. 38-41, plate 59. Åberg, N. (1926) *The Anglo-Saxons in England*, fig. 110.

<sup>3</sup> Leeds, E. T. (1949) *op. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> Leeds, E. T. (1949) *op. cit.*, p. 92 quotes parallels.



FIG. 5. *Annular Brooches*. Scale  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

- |                                     |            |
|-------------------------------------|------------|
| 1. Deer antler, gr. 9.              | 5. gr. 4.  |
| 2. gr. 10.                          | 6. gr. 2.  |
| 3. gr. 6.                           | 7. gr. 10. |
| 4. Pseudo-penannular brooch, gr. 7. | 8. gr. 9.  |

*Wrist clasp*, skilfully cast in bronze, the underside dished, and the whole gilded.<sup>1</sup> Each half has more or less identical *kerbschnitt* decoration, the basis of which is an *epsilon* shaped composite band, made up of two confronting crook-beaked bird or animal heads, the inner curve of each band forming the animal's neck piece, and containing the spiral of the beak. And further zoomorphic motifs along

<sup>1</sup> Smith, R. A. (1912) *op. cit.*, fig. 3. Baldwin Brown, G. (1915) *op. cit.*, vol. III, plate lxxviii (9).

the back and outer edge: a very highly stylised bird's head around each of the corner attachment holes, and the space in the middle filled by a conventionally grotesque mask. Maximum length 4.3 cms. (fig. 4, 7.)

*Buckle loop* in cast bronze, dished on the underside, the upper surface containing a highly stylised zoomorphic motif of two hinder limbs, the foot and claw curved forward, one placed symmetrically on either side of the inset and groove provided for the tongue. Remains of iron are seen as stains at this point. Maximum length 3.4 cms. (fig. 3, 11.)

*Strap mounts* in bronze. One simple and unornamented fragment of curved thin sheet metal, maximum length 1.9 cms. (fig. III 6); the other a rectangular mount of thick bronze, still containing an eccentrically placed sturdy rivet of the same metal, stained with iron and with the remains of a thin burred washer; the upper surface covered with the remains of a thin silver plate. Rectangular 1.7 × 1.3 cms. (fig. 3, 5.)

*Roman coin*, third brass of Constantine, and dated to approximately 300 A.D. Unpierced, and likely to have been merely a chance find.

#### GRAVE 7

*Iron ring*, corroded but obviously with an originally circular cross section, some 9 mm. in diameter. Diameter of the whole, 5.7 cms. (fig. 2, 7.)

*Iron ferrule*, apparently made of bent and overlapping strip. Maximum height 2.0 cms., maximum diameter 3.0 cms. (fig. 2, 11.)

*Cruciform brooch* in cast bronze, conforming to Åberg's group IV,<sup>1</sup> with simple knobs, and expanding wing pieces to the head-plate; the foot merely provided with plain plate lappets, notched below, but with an evolved horse head having expanded nostrils from which even the hint of a scroll-like form has disappeared, and with the large projecting tongue taking on a slightly lop-sided crescentic form. Much of the plane surfaces, on the head-plate, lappets and foot, are further decorated by punched ornament in the form of dot and crescent motifs. Maximum length, 11.3 cms. (fig. 6, 4.)

*Pseudo-penannular brooch*, with simple expanded and slightly waisted terminals very close together; the pin missing. Cast in bronze with a flattened oval section of which the maximum diameter is 5 mm., this is merely a smaller version of that from grave 30 at Driffield.<sup>2</sup> Maximum diameter of the whole, 2.7 cms. (fig. 5, 4.)

*Pair of bronze wrist clasps*, similar if not identical in pattern; both made from thick sheet metal, and decorated by means of a hammered central panel, irregularly quadrilateral, raised to a higher plane than the remainder of the field. This seems to have been achieved by hammering the piece across a straight line ridge of

<sup>1</sup> Åberg, N. (1926), *op. cit.*, pp. 42-49.

<sup>2</sup> Mortimer, J. R. (1905), *op. cit.*, fig. 825.



harder metal, perhaps the edge of an anvil, but certainly an edge of sufficient length to have left scored indications over the surface of the clasp of the method used. On the one pair (fig. 4, 1), this raised panel is restricted to a relatively small rectangular area containing the catch-piece on either half; on the other (fig. 4, 2), the panel

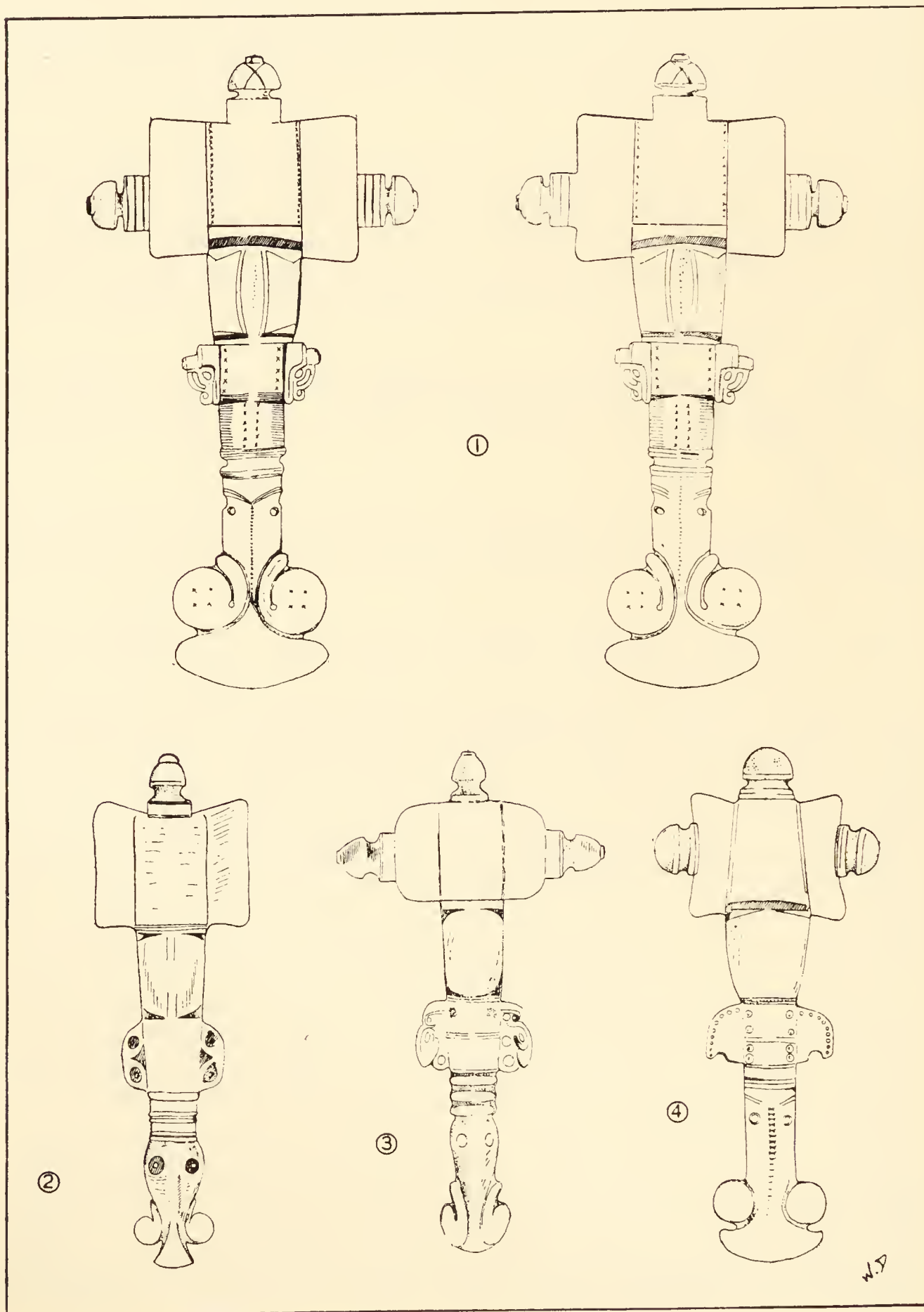


FIG. 6. *Cruciform Brooches*. Scale  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

1, 3. gr. 9,

2. gr. 10,

4. gr. 7,

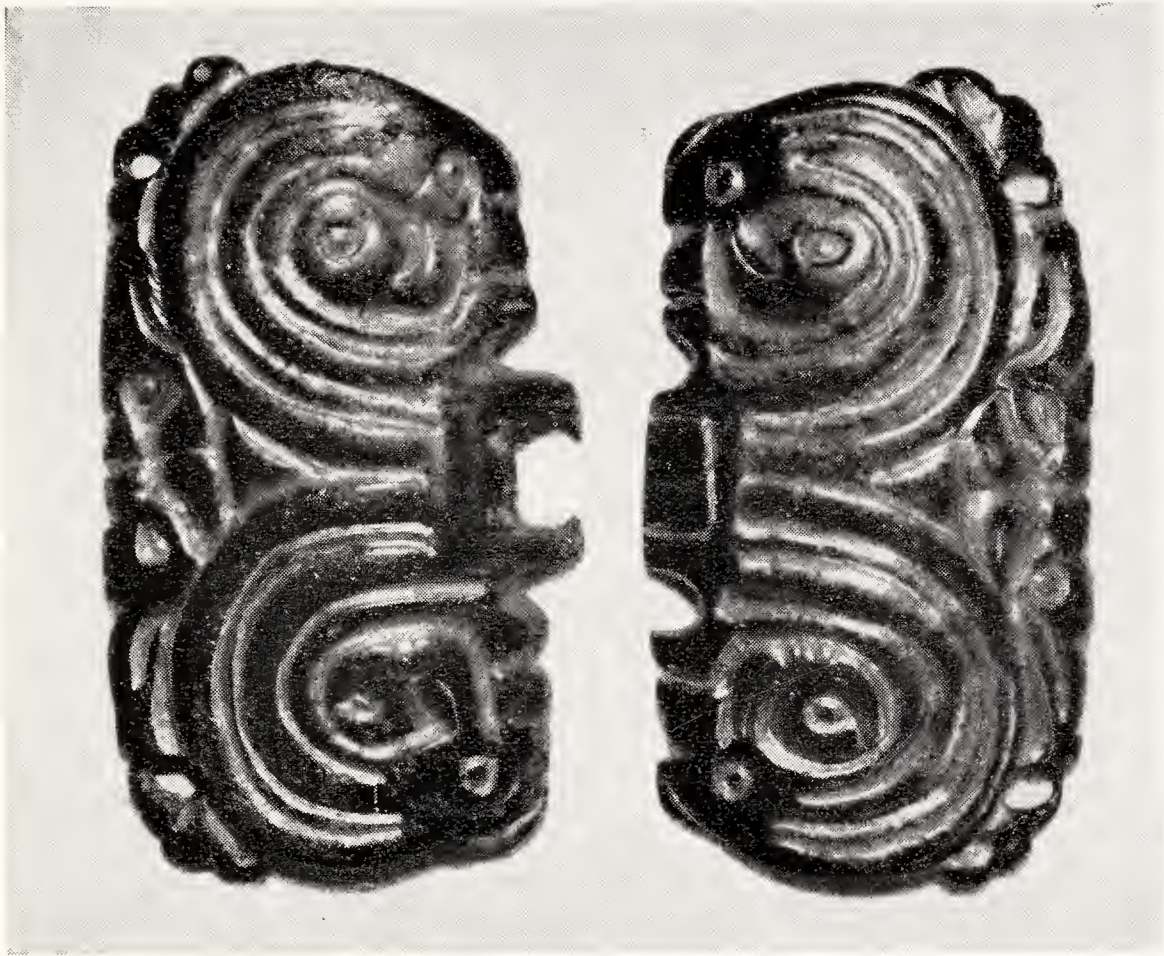


PLATE I.

Cast bronze wrist clasp with zoomorphic motif, gr. 7. (Length 4.1 cms.)

*Photograph : Newcastle University.*





extends right across the middle of the clasp. This latter piece presents some subsequent modification in the trimming of the lower internal corners, perhaps to allow for the dress gusset. The lower edge of the left hand half, as drawn, has a line of triangular punching, clearly not intended as regular ornament for this particular clasp, and perhaps left over from the ornament cut out previously from the contiguous piece of sheet metal. Both these pieces, however, present the usual pierced attachment holes on the outer edges, and being very much of a size (maximum length of both, 3.9 cms.), could very easily have made up a pair.

*Cast bronze wrist clasp*, gilt, with zoomorphic ornament more or less identical to that from grave 6, and probably from the same mould. The hook and catch piece are both broken. Maximum length 4.1 cms. (fig. 4, 8, plate I.)

*Bronze strap mounts*. One (fig. 3, 4), a rectangular piece of thin strip bronze, broken at one end, pierced with two pairs of large round holes, probably for attachment, and decorated along the edge of either side with a single line of punched crescents. Maximum length 4.9 cms. The other (fig. 3, 12), in the form of a thin pen-annular ring, maximum diameter 4.6 cms., of circular section, diameter 4 mm., to which is attached, at the slotted end, a fragmentary thin plate, decorated with a series of circle and dot motifs. It may be that, with the pin missing, this formed some unusual type of buckle, or perhaps served in some other way to join together two pieces of belt, but in any case, it is certainly likely to represent some form of strap attachment. Maximum overall length, 5.5 cms.

*Pottery bowl*, of roughly globular form, with a slightly everted and uneven rim, and flattened base. Thick and coarse hand made blackish self-coloured ware. Maximum height 10.6 cms., maximum diameter 15.4 cms. (fig. 8, 1.)

*Amber, glass, paste and bone beads*, making up a string of eighteen in all. (fig. 8, 6.) Fourteen amber beads, largely irregular in shape, or at the most only roughly cuboid, and very much of a size (fig. nos. 1, 3, 5-9, and 11-17); in glass just two, one small green melon bead, and one colourless, or light grey opaque ring bead. (fig. nos. 2 and 4 respectively.) One large paste bead, tripartite and alternately twisted, very much like the one in grave 4, and similarly basically yellow but with red and dark green marvered lines. (fig. no. 10.) Another bead or pendant completes the string: the fragment of a small boar's tusk, pierced at the upper end and bound with a thin bronze band. (fig. no. 18.)

*Fragmentary double-cut comb*; part of one end, the greater part missing, together with the strengthening rib which clearly at one time ran down the centre of the bar, fixed by iron rivets, which remain now merely as rust staining. Maximum width of the fragment, across the teeth, 3.8 cms. (fig. 8, 3.)

*Spindle whorl*, of simple discoid form, with a large hour-glass bore. Made of some calcareous material, and probably bone, like



one from Basset Down in Wiltshire.<sup>1</sup> Maximum diameter, 4·5 cms. (fig. 8, 2.)

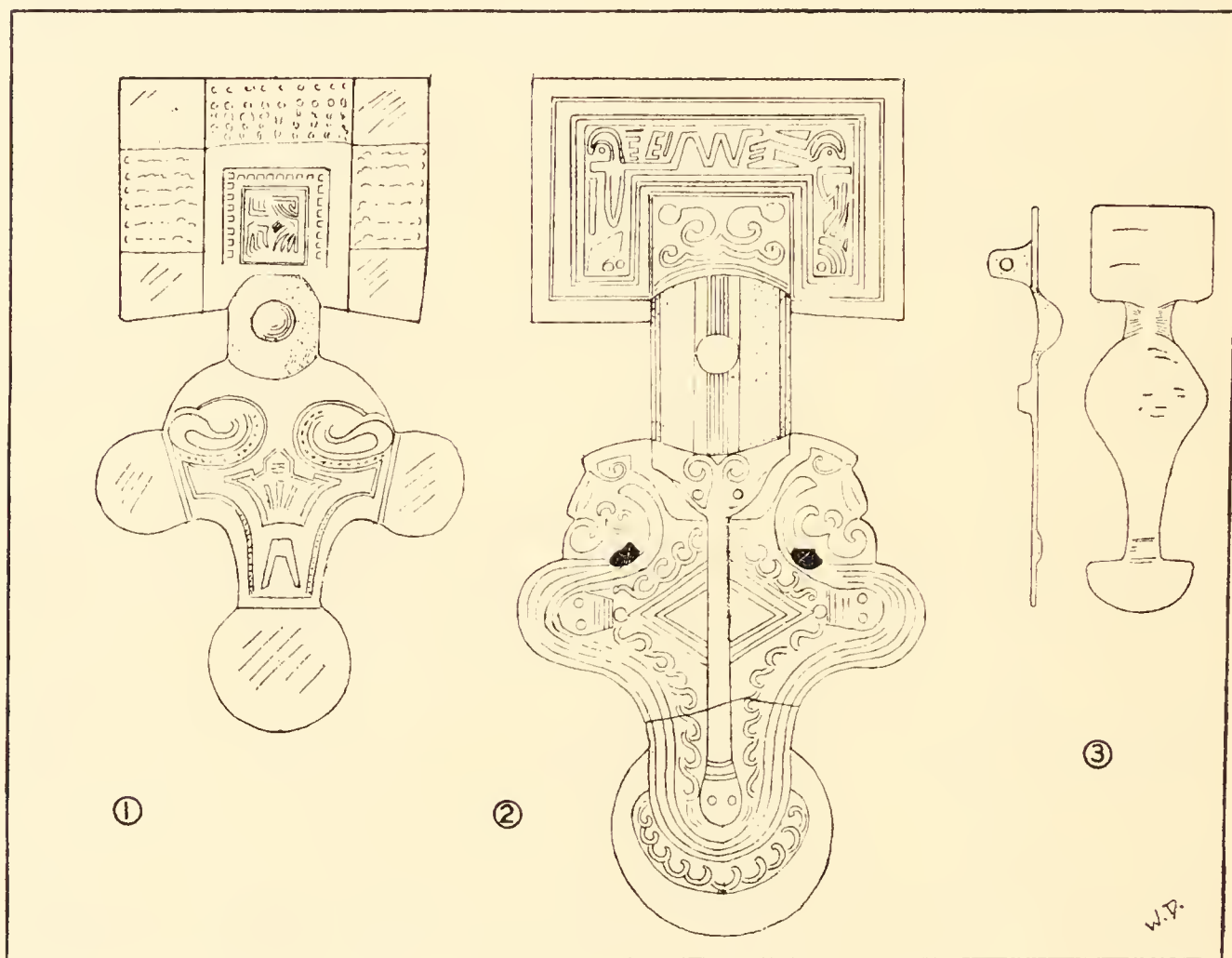


FIG. 7. Scale  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

1. Great Square-headed brooch, gr. 4.
2. Great Square-headed brooch, gr. 6.
3. Small long brooch ascribed to Londesborough (see text).

## GRAVE 8<sup>2</sup>

*Iron scramaseax*, single edged, with straight sloping back, tanged; the tip of the blade missing. Maximum remaining length 15·6 cms. (fig. 2, 1.)

*Small domestic iron knife*, single edged, the back curved towards the tip; tanged. Maximum length 10·2 cms. (fig. 2, 2.)

*Small iron javelin head*, with a relatively short and narrow leaf shaped head, and a relatively long socket piece, probably partly missing at the open end. Maximum length 10·1 cms. (fig. 2, 5.)

*Iron buckle loop*, of a simple oval type, with part of the iron pin remaining. Maximum length 3·3 cms. (fig. 2, 13.)

<sup>1</sup>Goddard, E. H. (1895). *A Saxon interment on Basset Down. Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine*, vol. 28, pp. 104-108.

<sup>2</sup>Sheppard, T. (1906) *Hull Museum Quarterly Record of Additions*, vol. 33, p. 17, fig.

GRAVE 9<sup>1</sup>

*Pair of large cruciform brooches*, of Åberg's group IV,<sup>2</sup> heavily cast in bronze, quite unworn, and perhaps almost new when deposited. Clearly from the same mould, and apart from differing patina, the only visually apparent difference between the two comes in the form of subsequent chasing, and even this difference is quite minimal. Relatively large representatives of the group, with expanded wings to the head-plate, and simple knobs; the bow basally faceted, and with a median groove; lappets below in the form of stylised animal heads hanging downwards with a curled scroll snout. The horse head of the foot-plate has clearly delineated brow ridges, and a generally expanded nose piece, the nostrils large and flat enough now to be capable of supporting scribed ornament, but still retaining the scroll formation of earlier times. The one as drawn on the right has a maximum length of 13.5 cms., that is 0.3 cms. longer than the other, but this is accounted for in the larger having had more extensive hammering out of the tongue piece, into the crescentic wedge that it forms. (fig. 6, 1.)

*Smaller cruciform brooch* of Åberg's group IV, in cast bronze, the pin missing, and generally very much more worn than the former pair, especially round the head-plate. A simple head-plate with plain knobs, and an unornamented bow. The foot-plate provided with zoomorphic lappets of a fairly advanced kind, stylised birds' heads hanging down, the beaks crooked and pierced below. Below transverse ridges the horse head moulding is very ordinary, with little expansion of the nose piece, and simple scroll shaped nostrils. Maximum length 10.9 cms. (fig. 6, 3.)

*Pair of annular brooches*, of cast and hammered bronze, dished on the underside, and with a slightly convex upper surface. Unornamented save for plain lines scored transversely at the point where the pins, now missing, would have been in contact with the ring. There is iron staining at these points now, and on the first piece, a small attachment hole for the pin at one side, very similar to that from grave 18 at Driffeld.<sup>3</sup> Maximum diameter 4.2 cms. Width of the ring 9 mm. (fig. 5, 8.)

*Pair of wrist clasps*, in cast and panelled bronze,<sup>4</sup> the ribbed bar at a higher plane, backed on the outer edge by three lobes, the central one triangular, the outside two circular containing the round attachment holes. Perhaps from the same mould, the only difference apparent is that one (fig. 4, 4) has the triangular lobe decorated with a vertical line of punched crescents, and is now slightly damaged at two of the attachment holes, whereas the other (fig. 4, 5) has the central triangular lobe decorated with the same crescentic punch marks, but on the two outer edges instead of vertically down the

<sup>1</sup> Sheppard, T. (1906) *ibid.*, pp. 12-16, figs. 1-7.

<sup>2</sup> Åberg, N. (1926) *op. cit.*, fig. 76. Baldwin Brown, G. (1915) *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 268, plate xlv. Jessup, R. (1950) *Anglo-Saxon Jewellery*, p. 106, pl. xiv.

<sup>3</sup> Mortimer, J. R. (1905) *op. cit.*, p. 280, fig. 785.

<sup>4</sup> Baldwin Brown, G. (1915) *op. cit.*, vol. III, plate lxxviii (4).



centre. There can be little doubt, however, that the two were intended to form a pair. Maximum length of both, 3.9 cms.

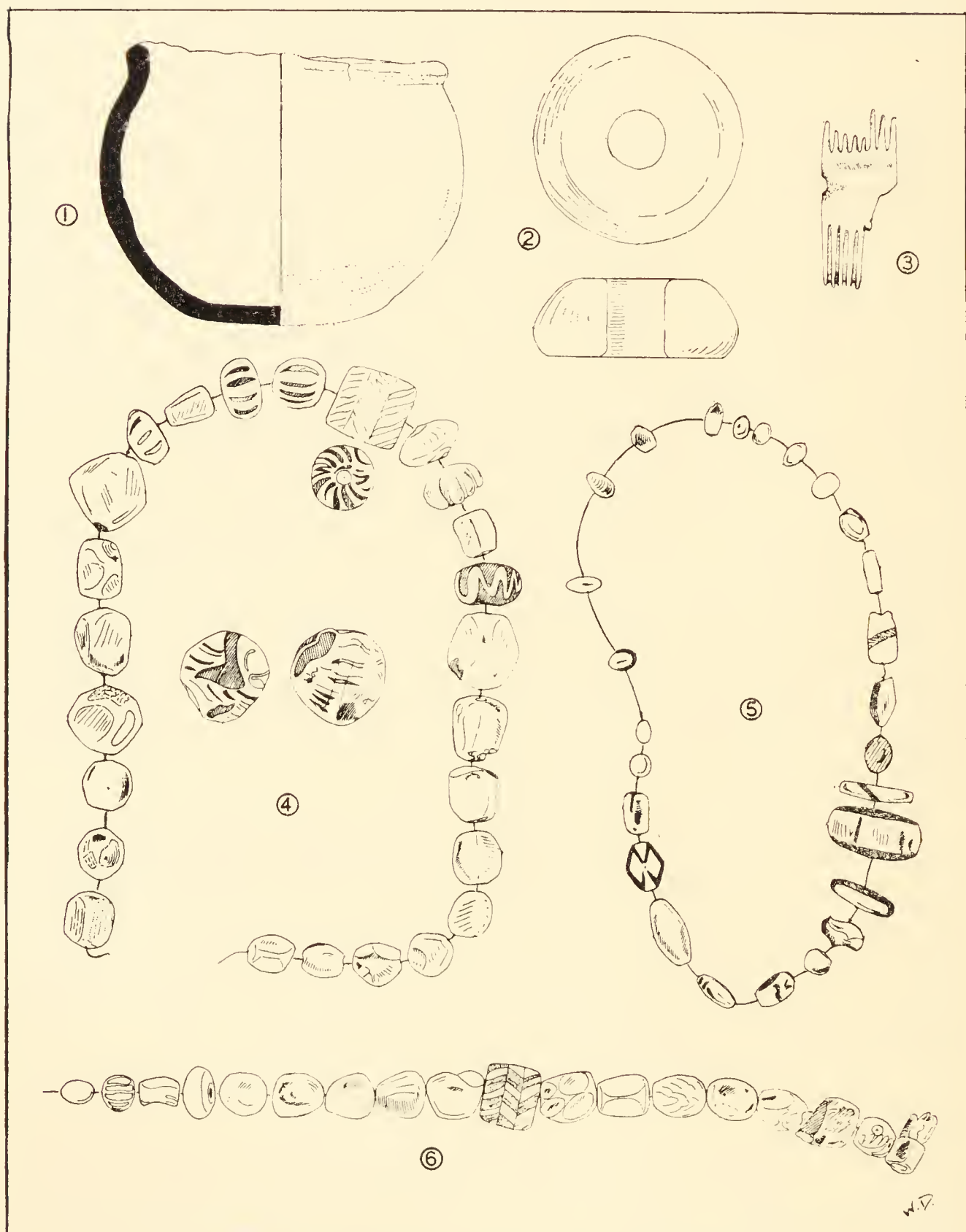


FIG. 8. Scale no. 1 =  $\frac{1}{4}$ , nos. 2-6 =  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

- 1-3. Pottery bowl, bone spindle whorl and fragmentary bone comb, gr. 7.
4. Amber, glass and paste beads, gr. 4.
5. Amber, glass and paste beads, gr. 9.
6. Amber, glass, paste and bone beads, gr. 7.

Individual beads are numbered in the text from left to right, and clockwise.

*Pair of girdle hangers*, cast flat in bronze, with ornament in the form of punched crescent or circle-and-dot motifs over the greater part of the surface. The bronze bow link, depicted by Baldwin

Brown<sup>1</sup> in two pieces, is now missing altogether, together with the iron eye rivets, remaining now just as stains. The terminal plate of both halves is symmetrically pierced by an angled slot and pseudo-piercing is evident above each of these by a heavily scored vertical line containing a drilled circular depression. Save for details within the chased surface ornament, the only apparent difference between the two pieces, comes half way down the vertical, where the one has two faceted panels, one above the other, divided by scored lines, but decorated with very much the same sort of punched ornament as the rest of the surface, while this section on the other piece has been hammered into a quite definite, though crude, horse head, reminiscent of that on the foot of the smaller cruciform brooch in the same grave, with a long nose piece, extended tongue and drilled eyes. Maximum lengths 12·9 and 12·7 cms. respectively. (fig. 3, 13.)

*Strap mount* or buckle attachment plate in flat cast bronze; a square plate extending into a long wedge-shaped piece; overall length 8·8 cms. A roughly cut rectangular slot either end, the lesser end showing two rivet holes in addition, together with another on the upper edge. The whole surface is decorated with scribed lines and a series of concentric circles, together with rows and a border of punched crescents. (fig. 3, 1.)

*Amber, glass and paste beads* (fig. 8, 5), forming a string of twenty-six. Ten amber beads of various form: discoid (fig. nos. 1, 2, 25 and 26), a truncated biconoid (fig. no. 6), and roughly cuboid or spherical shape (fig. nos. 3, 15, 20, 23, and 24). Various glass beads: of opaque grey glass with a quadrangular section (fig. nos. 8 and 14), spherical (fig. no. 16) and onion-ribbed (fig. no. 13); of green glass, cylindrical (fig. nos. 5 and 21) and a ring bead (fig. no. 12); two spherical beads in light blue (fig. nos. 10 and 18), and one unusual faceted example in dark red (fig. no. 7). There are only six paste beads in this string: four small spherical beads in green (fig. nos. 9, 11, 17 and 19), and two cylindrical beads, dark red, marvered with a yellow band flecked with green. (fig. nos. 4 and 22.)

*Bone annular brooch*, unusually large, made from the corona of a deer antler. Part of the proportionately large iron pin, as depicted by Sheppard,<sup>2</sup> is now missing, but it was never, apparently, attached in any firm way to the ring of the brooch, although it may have curled round at one end originally. It is likely, in view of this, that the manner of attachment would be to remove the pin altogether, and then to run it through a bunch of the dress material pulled through the centre of the ring. Maximum diameter 17·3 cms. (fig. 5, 1.)

#### GROUP 10

*Cruciform brooch* of Åberg's type IV, cast in bronze, small and worn, with the side knobs of the head-plate missing. Relatively

<sup>1</sup> Baldwin Brown, G. (1915) *ibid.*, vol. IV, plate xc (4).

<sup>2</sup> Sheppard, T. (1906) *op. cit.* In Baldwin Brown, G. (1915) *op. cit.*, vol. III, plate li (5), this pin is missing altogether.



simple, with widely angled wing pieces, and the single remaining knob of a straightforward kind; the bow, however, faceted, and with a median groove, now partly rubbed; lappets formed out of highly schematised bird or animal heads, merely an eye, and a curved beak made out of three countersunk areas. The horse head foot below a series of transverse ribs, simply moulded with scroll nostrils very much like that of the smaller example from grave 9, but with a much more expanded crescent tongue. Maximum length 11.2 cms. (fig. 6, 2.)

*Small long brooch*, derivative from Leeds' cross pattee type; a square topped head with basal notches, and two perforations. Leeds merely lists this<sup>1</sup> without further details, and the specimen is now missing.

*Two pairs of annular brooches*, in flat sheet bronze, both with rebated notches for the pin catch, but missing the iron pin, which remains in each case, only in the form of iron stains. The larger pair (fig. 5, 2), maximum diameter 5.2 cms., are worn, but present the remains of a scheme of decoration consisting of groups of transverse score lines, but insufficient remains to show any regular schema. The smaller pair (fig. 5, 7), maximum diameter 4.2 cms., are of thinner gauge metal, and altogether more flimsy. On one, the only ornament seems to be in the form of transverse scored lines opposite the pin rebate, but on the other, in addition to this, both inner and outer borders of the ring have a line of punched circlets.

*Wrist clasp* in cast bronze, made up of two dissimilar halves. (fig. 5, 6). One half is a more elaborate form of the pair from grave 9, a long ribbed bar backed by three composite lobes, the central one triangular, the outer two made up of three overlapping roundels, two of which are pierced for attachment, the remaining one merely marked with the drill; maximum length 4.2 cms. The other half is made up basically of a lozenge with a large roundel either end, and the whole emphasised by a scribed border. Two small additional roundels contain the attachment holes; the catch piece is fragmentary; maximum length 4.0 cms.

*Miniature toilet set*, of tweezers, shears and knife, in sheet bronze, clearly at one time all retained on a ring, but this is already missing by the time of Baldwin Brown,<sup>2</sup> and the whole set is now lost. Maximum length of the shears, 4.0 cms. (fig. 3, 14.)

*Bronze strap mounts*; one (fig. 3, 2), a triangular plate in thick gauge metal, wedge shaped in section towards the apex, and containing a triangular slot, which, like the single rivet holes at each of the corners, is stained with rust. Maximum length 6.3 cms. The other (fig. 3, 3) is in the form of two fragments of a band of thin sheet metal, 1.6 cms. wide, decorated with three evenly spaced rows of *repoussé* dots.

<sup>1</sup> Leeds, E. T. (1945) *op. cit.*, p. 95 (e)1.

<sup>2</sup> Baldwin Brown, G. (1915) *op. cit.*, vol. IV, plate lxxxvii (7).

*Summary Discussion:*

The five cruciform brooches from Londesborough make up a more or less formal group, each falling within what is the relatively wide range of Åberg's group IV.<sup>1</sup> All seem to show compositely both more and less evolved features, but on the whole, the typologically earlier pieces seem to be the smaller worn piece from grave 9 together with that from group 10, both retaining the simply moulded horse head foot-plate with prominent eyes and transverse ridges of Åberg's group III,<sup>2</sup> but lacking both subtle brow ridges and the vertical score down the middle of the nose piece, while retaining a clear scroll form for the nostrils. Both still have simple knobs on the head-plate, though with the beginnings of a nipple on the top, but comparison of the schematised zoomorphic side lappets, together with the expanded tongue, serves to put the piece from group 10 slightly later, if anything, than that from grave 9. No exact parallels are available, but sources for the most significant elements here are to be found at Kenninghall,<sup>3</sup> Woodston<sup>4</sup> and other places within the region of Middle Anglia.

Stylistically later than these two are the large pair from grave 8, and that from grave 7. The latter piece exhibits the simplest kind of knobs on the head-plate and plain downward hooked plate lappets, whereas the former shares the beginnings of development in the head-plate knobs with those from grave 7 and group 10, and has zoomorphic lappets. Both show a fairly developed form of the foot-plate, however, with clearly delineated brow ridges and the nose piece considerably expanded into a large crescentic tongue, and nostrils in the form of circular plates large enough to support scribed ornament. A hint of an earlier scroll form remains in the large pair, but not on the smaller piece from grave 7. Parallels for these elements are to be found at Driffild<sup>5</sup> and Darlington,<sup>6</sup> but there can be little doubt that it is again to Middle Anglia that we must look for the source of this type, and to such cemeteries as that at Tuddenham.<sup>7</sup>

The two Great Square-headed brooches similarly present very much the same regional and chronological connotations as the cruciform brooches already discussed. The earlier example, that from grave 6, seems clearly to have been, with the exception perhaps of the median bar of the foot-plate, inspired by a model from Holywell Row,<sup>8</sup> with general parallels in East Anglia, like that from Kenninghall.<sup>9</sup> The closest parallel available, however, is one for

<sup>1</sup> Åberg, N. (1926) *op. cit.*, pp. 42-49.

<sup>2</sup> Åberg, N. (1926) *ibid.*, pp. 40 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Åberg, N. (1926) *ibid.*, fig. 71, and Smith, R. A. (1923) *British Museum Guide*, fig. 17.

<sup>4</sup> Unpublished brooch in Peterborough Museum.

<sup>5</sup> Mortimer, J. R. (1905) *op. cit.*, fig. 869.

<sup>6</sup> Hodges, C. C. (1905) *Victoria County History, Durham*, vol. I, plate x, p. 214.

<sup>7</sup> Unpublished brooch in the Museum of Ethnology and Archaeology at Cambridge.

<sup>8</sup> Leeds, E. T. (1949) *op. cit.*, pp. 17-20, plate 11.

<sup>9</sup> Leeds, E. T. (1949) *op. cit.*, pp. 35, 41, plate 60.



which, unfortunately, no provenience has been recorded.<sup>1</sup> Leeds considers that this piece might, in fact, be a copy of that from grave 6, and it is certainly so similar in details, that it is very likely to have come from the same workshop if not the same hand. There are minor differences which suggest that the Londesborough example is the anterior. Probably the most significant point of contact between the two is the provision of the lobes of the foot-plate with a wide border or bib, that on the terminal lobe being further enriched by a running spiral. This seems not to have any parallel in this country, and is likely to have had a continental source, the nearest forms being from France<sup>2</sup> and the Rhine Valley.<sup>3</sup> If the stylistic form of the brooch from grave 6 only passed through East and Middle Anglia on its way to the north, the other Great Square-headed brooch from Londesborough, that from grave 4, does seem to have stemmed more directly from the seminal area of Middle Anglia, with the closest parallels to be found at Ipswich,<sup>4</sup> Market Overton<sup>5</sup> and Finningham.<sup>6</sup>

Of the two small long brooches listed by Leeds<sup>7</sup> as deriving from the Londesborough cemetery, only one, that from group 10, can with any certainty be ascribed to this particular series of graves. This type, like so many of the small long brooch types, seems to have originated in Middle Anglia, and may be traced from Girton,<sup>8</sup> Holywell Row<sup>9</sup> and Little Wilbraham<sup>10</sup> through Sleaford<sup>11</sup> where there is a particularly high concentration of this particular type, to Londesborough in the north.

The other (fig. 7, 3) is less certainly from this particular cemetery,<sup>12</sup> but does fall more or less congruently into the general typological and chronological pattern presented here. Square-headed, with a lozenge-shaped foot and crescentic terminal, and in all probability with the bow faceted like that from Minety in Gloucestershire,<sup>13</sup> ribbed moulding at the base of the foot preserves an original feature first found on examples from migration or pre-migrationary Slesvig,

<sup>1</sup> Currently in the Pitt-Rivers Museum at Farnham. Leeds, E. T. (1949) *op. cit.*, plate 59(a).

<sup>2</sup> Caranda. Åberg, N. (1922). *Die Franken und Westgoten in der Völkerwanderungszeit*, fig. 138.

<sup>3</sup> Pfullingen. Lindenschmit, L. (1886). *Die Alterthümer der Merovingischen Zeit*, vol. I, p. 424. taf. xvi 1 and 2; xvii 1-3.

<sup>4</sup> Layard, N. F. (1907) *Archaeologia*, vol. lx, p. 334, fig. 9 (4).

<sup>5</sup> Crowther-Beynon, V. B. (1911). *Archaeologia*, vol. lxii, p. 482, fig. 1(c).

<sup>6</sup> Smith, R. A. (1911) *Victoria County History, Suffolk*, p. 335.

<sup>7</sup> Leeds, E. T. (1945) *op. cit.*, pp. 95 and 101.

<sup>8</sup> Hollingworth and O'Reilly (1925). *The Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Girton College, Cambridge*, graves 11 and 33, pp. 9-10.

<sup>9</sup> Lethbridge, T. C. (1931) *Recent excavations in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries in Cambridgeshire and Suffolk*, p. 22, fig. 10(a)2.

<sup>10</sup> Neville, R. C. (1852) *Saxon Obsequies*, plate 10.

<sup>11</sup> Thomas, G. W. (1882). *An Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Sleaford*. *Archaeologia*, vol. 50; graves: 2, 66, 97, 126 etc.

<sup>12</sup> British Museum Regs. 79 5-24 127. The Museum registers indicate that this is more likely to have emanated from the extensive collection of Lord Londesborough, acquired at about this time.

<sup>13</sup> Leeds, E. T. (1945) *op. cit.*, p. 38, fig. 23(e).

but the half-disc or crescentic terminal addition serves to place this particular example probably considerably later than the period of the first settlement. On the other hand this type of brooch presents a very wide and thinly spaced geographical distribution, which Leeds considers to be indicative of a relatively early date. Apart from the example at Minety, interesting parallels are to be found from Bishopstone<sup>1</sup> and Churchover.<sup>2</sup>

None of the sheet and cast bronze annular brooches present any significantly unusual features, and all are paralleled extensively in the Anglian area, but that made up from the corona of a deer antler is much more unusual. Bone seems to have been used frequently enough throughout the Anglo-Saxon period to make buttons or toggles for instance, but there are very few brooches made up of this material, and certainly no exact parallel to the example from grave 9. Thin and flat annular brooches made from animal bone have been found in the East Riding before,<sup>3</sup> and these are to be paralleled by examples from Standlake Down,<sup>4</sup> but more similar to the Londesborough piece are those made from deer antler, like the flattish example from Wingham grave 1<sup>5</sup> about 6 cms. in diameter, and the one from Yelford<sup>6</sup> which still retains the iron pin folded over one side of the ring, which is engraved with a series of four circle-and-dot motifs. Another, plain, example, though more bulky, comes from Newnham<sup>7</sup> and probably from the sixth century. Others come from Sleaford<sup>8</sup> and Little Wilbraham,<sup>9</sup> but none are quite as bulky nor clumsy as the piece from grave 9 at Londesborough.

The series of cast and sheet bronze wrist clasps are probably one of the most interesting features in the material from Londesborough. Both the cast panelled type from grave 9, and the sheet *repoussé* example from grave 6, are to be paralleled frequently enough both in East Yorkshire cemeteries and elsewhere.<sup>10</sup> More interesting are the identical clasps from graves 6 and 7. Clearly one of the most expensive types, heavily cast in bronze and subsequently gilded, the whole surface is compactly and decisively decorated with a *kerbschnitt* motif of confronting birds' heads, with a mask on the back

<sup>1</sup> Loundes, C. (1878) *Anglo-Saxon relics in Stone. Records of Buckinghamshire*, vol. 5, p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> Smith, C. R. (1848) *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. I, p. 36, plate xviii(9).

<sup>3</sup> There are two, but of doubtful provenience, in the Mortimer Collection at Hull; unregistered.

<sup>4</sup> In the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

<sup>5</sup> In the British Museum; regs. 54 12-2 22.

<sup>6</sup> In the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

<sup>7</sup> In the Northampton Museum.

<sup>8</sup> Thomas, G. W. (1882) *op. cit.*, grave 50, p. 391.

<sup>9</sup> Neville, R. C. (1852) *op. cit.*, plate 23, no. 102.

<sup>10</sup> The panelled type is paralleled by examples from Staxton and Sancton, both in the Mortimer Collection at Hull, and by one from Kilham in the Yorkshire Museum. The sheet *repoussé* type has parallels from Staxton, in the Mortimer Collection, and from Driffeld, Mortimer, J. R. (1905) *op. cit.*, fig. 852.



between them. Leeds fails to mention<sup>1</sup> all the parallels available, but the line of development is clear: out of these pieces from Londesborough, intelligently designed and well cast, through generally flatter and more schematised examples from Bifrons<sup>2</sup> still quite well cast, but with openwork and some punched ornament in addition, and a very similar example from Cambridge<sup>3</sup> with the *epsilon* band cut up into billets, and presenting T-shaped lugs instead of congruently designed attachment holes at the corners. The line continues through to an example from North Luffenham<sup>4</sup> where the design has now been incompletely understood, especially in the nature of the fuller animal on the triangular gusset plate, and other examples from West Stow Heath<sup>5</sup> and Kingston,<sup>6</sup> which show a latish looking combination of *guilloche* and pellets within the *epsilon* band.

This does seem to be a type, however, in which there are few substantial variations on the basic form, and on stylistic grounds they must belong to the later part of the period during which the deposition of grave goods was in vogue. The dominating zoomorphic motif, the confronting Style II birds' heads may be compared with those on a series of cast bronze buckles<sup>7</sup> from various sites in England, often gilded, or on more lavish gold buckles and pendants.<sup>8</sup> Paired Style II birds' heads are found commonly enough on the continent too, on pendants, for example, from Soest<sup>9</sup> and Nordendorf.<sup>10</sup> Examples in which a mask is enclosed between the birds come from Skåne,<sup>11</sup> Zealand<sup>12</sup> and northern France.<sup>13</sup> Where, in some cases, the position of the mask is occupied by a fish,<sup>14</sup> it may be that a late date is indicated through Christian symbolism. From Faversham<sup>15</sup> come two filigree gold buckles with this confronted birds' heads motif doubled, one pair either end of the plate, so that formally, this makes for a far closer parallel with the Londesborough wrist clasps. Technically closer, however, is the same motif executed in *kerbschnitt* around the catch plate of a composite disc brooch from Sarre.<sup>16</sup> In general terms then, these two wrist clasps from graves 6 and 7, present very much the same chronological and

<sup>1</sup> Leeds, E. T. (1945) *op. cit.*, pp. 53-61.    <sup>2</sup> In Maidstone Museum.

<sup>3</sup> Smith, R. A. (1923) *op. cit.*, fig. 99.    <sup>4</sup> Oakham School Museum.

<sup>5</sup> Bury St. Edmunds Museum.    <sup>6</sup> Lewes Museum.

<sup>7</sup> For instance: a fragmentary gilt buckle from Faversham, British Museum regs. 1102 70; Holborough, *Archaeologia Cantiana*, vol. lxx, p. 94, fig. 16 (8); Icklingham, Bury St. Edmunds Museum, a buckle cast in one piece with the loop, and decorated with a *kerbschnitt* design.

<sup>8</sup> For instance, that from Sutton Hoo, Åberg, N. (1943) *The occident and the orient in the art of the seventh century*, figs. 26 and 39.

<sup>9</sup> Stieren, A. (1930) *Ein neuer Friedhof fränkischer Zeit in Soest. Germania*, vol. 14, pp. 166-175.

<sup>10</sup> Jenny, W. A. (1943) *Die Kunst der Germanen*, plate 61. Compare the bronze buckle with a triangular openwork plate made up of two birds' heads in: Ypey, J. (1955) *Kunst en Schoonheid*, plate 72.

<sup>11</sup> Salin, B. (1935) *Die Altergermanische Thierornamentik*, fig. 314.

<sup>12</sup> Brønsted, J. (1940) *Danmarks Oldtid*, vol. III, p. 291, fig. 268.

<sup>13</sup> Jenny, W. A. (1943) *op. cit.*, plate 59.

<sup>14</sup> For instance the bronze gilt buckle with an immovable loop from Faversham, Smith, R. A. (1923) *op. cit.*, fig. 42.

<sup>15</sup> Leeds, E. T. (1936) *Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology*, plate xviii (a).

<sup>16</sup> Åberg, N. (1943) *op. cit.*, fig. 39 (6).

geographical connotations as the odd half of a wrist clasp with a schematised Style II lower limb from grave 2 for which parallels are to be drawn from Little Wilbraham<sup>1</sup> in Middle Anglia, and through Sleaford.<sup>2</sup>

From the strings of beads in graves 4, 7 and 9, few things require particular comment. The large cylindrical tripartite beads found in graves 4 and 7, made up of alternately twisted sections of a basically yellow paste marvered with lines of red and black are more or less identical to one another, and may be paralleled exactly at Little Wilbraham<sup>3</sup> and approximately, by two truncated biconoid examples from Ipswich.<sup>4</sup> Similarly paralleled at Ipswich is the spherical blue glass bead marvered with a white trail from grave 4.<sup>5</sup>

Included in the string from grave 7 was a small, and now fragmentary, boar's tusk bound at one end with sheet bronze, and pierced for suspension. Tooth ornaments like this seem to be frequently enough found in the period as grave goods, but a clear distinction is to be drawn between the use of amulets of this particular kind, and the quasi-military ornamental pairs of bronze mounted boars' tusks from the later Imperial *limes* to which Mrs. Hawkes has recently drawn our attention.<sup>6</sup> Perhaps the most significant distinction is that the amulet form is found invariably strung within a set of beads, and is essentially a type found in female graves. But many of the examples can have had little inherent aesthetic value, and with the examples of the eagle's talon from a grave at Alfriston<sup>7</sup> or the piece of animal bone cut into a talon or canine shape from the same cemetery, it does seem that it was the idea of what it symbolised, rather than the thing itself, that was important to the owner. The instance at Camerton<sup>8</sup> with the skeleton of a woman together with a completely formed foetus in the womb, lends graphic support to the ethnological indications that such amulets as these may well have been thought to have some active power as parturition charms.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Neville, R. C. (1852) *op. cit.*, grave 117.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas, G. W. (1882) *op. cit.*, grave 227, plate xxiii (4).

<sup>3</sup> Neville, R. C. (1852) *op. cit.*, plate 20. Compare an example from Cheese-cake Hill, Driffield, in the Yorkshire Museum.

<sup>4</sup> Layard, N. F. (1907) *An Anglo-Saxon cemetery in Ipswich. Archaeologia*, vol. 60, plates 32 and 33.

<sup>5</sup> *ibid.*, plate 33.

<sup>6</sup> Hawkes, S. C. (1962) *Soldiers and Settlers in Britain. Medieval Archaeology*, vol. 5, pp. 29-30.

<sup>7</sup> Griffith, A. and Salzmann, L. (1914-5) *An Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Alfriston. Sussex Archaeological Collections*, vols. 56-57; grave 43.

<sup>8</sup> Horne, E. (1929-34) *Saxon cemetery at Camerton. Proc. Somerset Archaeological Society*, vols. 74-9, grave 100.

<sup>9</sup> Instances may be cited from cemeteries at: Bricklehampton, Cassington, Glen Parva, Milton next Sittingbourne, Petersfinger, Sleaford, Stamford, Stowting, Wheatley and Wheeler Street, Maidstone. The deposition of these sort of amulets has a long history, and on the continent examples from pre-historic graves are to be found in Sweden, Sternberger, M. (1939) *Das Västerbjersfeld. Acta Archaeologia*, vol. 10, pp. 60-105, grave numbers 24, 65 and 66, and from Germany, Kraft, G. (1928) *Der Heidenstein bei Neiderschwöstadt. Germania*, vol. 14, p. 69, abb. 4. From our period there are examples from Latvia, Bahr (1850) *Gräber de Liven*. tafs. 39.10, and the *limes*, Behrens, G. (1947) *Merowingerzeit*, p. 52, abb. 115, and bear claws from Migration period Norway, Sjøvold, T. (1962) *The Early Iron Age in Arctic Norway*, p. 120.



*General Conclusions:*

From the relatively scant remains that survive from these few graves, it seems clear that what we have represented here, is the fragment of what might ultimately prove to be one of the larger and more significant cemeteries within the Deiran sphere. General parallels are to be looked for in such neighbouring cemeteries already excavated as Driffild, where similarly, the deposition of grave goods seems to have stretched from the middle throughout the latter part of the sixth century, but as with so much artistic production in this area during the pagan period, the aesthetic dynamic seems to have stemmed most forcibly from the seminal districts of East and Middle Anglia.

*Note:* Spectrographic and non-destructive analysis of the silver plating of ornaments from the Londesborough cemetery revealed a completely homogenous grouping: in each case the major constituent proved to be silver, though there were very small amounts of copper, lead, zinc, cobalt and iron. At a rough estimate, there may have been around two or three percentage by weight of copper, and of the remaining elements much less than one per cent. There were no apparently significant differences in composition between the various samples.

## TWO ENTRIES FROM THE REGISTER OF JOHN DE SHIRBURN, ABBOT OF SELBY, 1369-1408

By G. S. HASLOP

### (1) A LETTER OF ALEXANDER NEVILLE ONCE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK

Historical sources have provided but little information concerning the five years of exile which followed Alexander Neville's enforced flight from London in November 1387 and which were to end on the 16th of May 1392 at Louvain in Brabant. But the copy of an interesting letter in Anglo-Norman written by this prelate from Rome to the Abbot of Selby (John de Shirburn), dated 4th of December 1390, has come to light, surviving in two parts each found in separate manuscripts of the Cotton collection in the British Museum.<sup>1</sup> Each part is written in the same distinctive hand and shows the same mannerisms of the scribe.<sup>2</sup> When put together a comprehensible whole is formed. Incidentally here was a first indication that these two collections of Selby manuscripts together once formed the general monastic current during the abbacy of John de Shirburn (1369-1408).

In the transcript which follows, punctuation has been modernized, lost text shown by dotted underline or supplied within brackets when considered probable. No other occurrence of the date '*le xxii jour de Nowell*' has been found and it has been taken to mean mid-January.

#### *Vitellius*

*E XVI* f.122v. 'Ista litera transmissa fuit Abbati de Selby xvi die mensis Marcii anno &c. nonagesimo primo<sup>3</sup> ex parte domini Alexandri quondam Ebor. Archiepiscopi. Item notandum quod dictus dominus Archiepiscopus obiit apud Loven xvi die (mensis Maii nonagesimo secundo).<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The first part survives on f.122v of *Cotton Ms. Vitellius E XVI* of which ff. 97-163 is the bulk of the register of Abbot Shirburn's time. It was damaged in the fire in the Cotton library in 1731 and was not available to scholars till its restoration some 50 years ago. Its folios are warped and shrunk and text in or near margins too often lost. The second part of the letter is found on f.194r. of *Cotton Ms. Cleopatra D III* of which ff.185-202 are a detached part of the first named register. It is well preserved.

<sup>2</sup> Unnecessary contraction signs after the final-'er' in 'proper', 'trier' etc. The inconsistent use of 'vous' for possessive 'vostre'. The writing of 'la postoile' for 'l'Apostoile'.

<sup>3</sup> Modern dating 1392.

<sup>4</sup> The introductory note in Latin is in a different and coarser hand.



Trescher et tresfiable et tresbien amy. Nous vous saluons tressovent de cuer et vous . . . . . de toutez maners dez choses a nous faitz, toutez jours desiraunt savoir bon saunte de vostre . . . . . et de toutz autres bienz voulliauntz a nous en vous partiez. Et, sir, volez savoir qe nous . . . . . a Parys en l'ostell de nostre trescher compaignon Michel de Poyle le xi jour de Decembre l'an (le) Roy Richard d'Engleterre xiiime.<sup>1</sup> et un semaigne apres le dit Michel fuit mort et son testament . . . ordene et oue lez mainz de son proper person ad doigne a nous pur compler nostre droit (al Courte) de Rome xx<sup>mz</sup>· livers d'or oue qel, oue la grace de Dieu, nous esperons nostre desire avoir. Adonqe vous prions entierment de cuer et pur l'amour de Dieu, qe vous facez chanter toutz jours pur nous et pur alme de nostre trescher compaignon Michel de Poyle III messez en vostre abbaie, ceste assaver, un da la Trinite, l'autre de Seint Esprit et la trier de Nostre Dame, et, oue la grace de Dieu, nous vous ferrons satisfaction de toutz maners dez naturez a nous faitz deins brief temps.

*Cleopatra.*

*D III. f.194r.*

Oultre ceo, trescher amy, nostre primer venu al courte de Rome fuist le xxii jour de Nowell l'an le Roy d'Engleterre xiiime.<sup>2</sup> et illeoge nous avons nostre meson et tenoions tresbien meson, Dieu soit mercy et Sa Douce Moire.<sup>3</sup> Et checon jours nous fumus<sup>4</sup> ovesqe nostre seignour l'Apostole,<sup>5</sup> et nostre dit seignour l'Apostole ad graunte a nous nostre Archiveskere d'Everwyk. Et nous en(v)/érons nostres bullez ovesqe nostre trescher frere William Nevyll a nostre seignour le Roy et a son conseil monstraunt coment nostre seignour l'Apostole ils chargeaunt pur nostre droit. Autres novellez nolons maunder a vous a present, mes pensez de touz nous amys en vous partiez, et nous vous prions entierment de cuer qe cest nostre lettre soit conseil al temps qe nostre frere soit venu en vous partiez. Trescher amy, pensez de toutz maners dez choses avaunt ditz si com nous nous grauntement affions de vous.

Escrit a Rome le iiii jour de Decembre l'an le Roy Richard d'Engleterre puis le Counqueste quatorzime.<sup>6</sup>

Et ceste lettre nous avons maunde a vous par un cardinall a Calays.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> December 1389.

<sup>2</sup> Mid-January 1390.

<sup>3</sup> Presumably for 'meire' or 'mere'.

<sup>4</sup> Difficult to read; possibly a confusion with the Latin.

<sup>5</sup> In both parts of the letter in all cases 'l'Apostole' is written 'la postoile' in the manuscripts.

<sup>6</sup> 4th December 1390.

<sup>7</sup> The document is translated in Appendix I.

What happened to this letter after the completion of the dating clause is not known. It is presumed that, for certain reasons, it was not despatched but travelled later in Neville's baggage to Louvain from where it was forwarded to the Abbot of Selby in March 1392, that is, some fifteen months after its date and some five weeks before the exile's death on May 16th of the same year.<sup>1</sup> No record has been found of any cardinal travelling from Rome at about this time while the brother William Neville does not occur in the historical record after July 1390, that is, five months before he seems to have been expected in Rome.<sup>2</sup>

The note in Latin preceding the registered copy suggests a covering note accompanying the original but whatever information this provided, together with any brought by the bearer, are lost. The original may have been circulated among Abbot Shirburn's friends and it was thought fit to make a copy in the current monastic register. Traces of two words in a different hand in the left margin of the Vitellius E XVI folio cannot be made out (they are opposite two lines relating Neville's arrival in Paris and the death of de la Pole) and the right margin is completely lost. The margins of the Cleopatra D III folio are perfectly preserved and devoid of any added notes.

Yet there is much in this letter that calls for comment. Michael de la Pole died in the September of 1389<sup>3</sup> and not, as stated in the letter, in the December of that year. Again the enormous gift or bequest of £20,000 greatly strains the credibility of the account and even if this sum were expressed in 'pounds paris' represently probably something under £2,000 sterling the amount remains considerable.<sup>4</sup> It is however the relation of the granting by Boniface IX to Neville of his former archbishopric of York, of the arrangements made to carry the relevant bulls to the King and his council in England, and the writer's confidence in his return from exile that are most difficult to reconcile with the state of affairs in England, both as known to modern readers as well as to contemporary viewers of the English scene who must surely have been aware that Richard II was in no position to recall any of his former friends.

In spite of these inconsistencies it would be unwise to reject this letter out of hand as spurious; indeed the fact that it was registered is not without significance. Instances have been cited of the authority

<sup>1</sup> Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford &c., had, as related later, travelled with Michael de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, and Alexander Neville to Paris in 1389. He later went to Louvain and may have had a hand in the onward despatch.

<sup>2</sup> This brother William Neville had been a Knight of the Bedchamber in 1381 and as such the bearer of a letter of Privy Seal touching a money loan to the Abbot of Selby in 1382. (*Cotton Ms. Cleopatra D III* f.188r.) He is last mentioned in July 1390 his death being unrecorded. (T. F. Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History of Medieval England*, Vol. IV. (Manchester 1928) p. 342 and note 1, p. 345.

<sup>3</sup> *The Complete Peerage* (under Suffolk) gives September 8th 1389.

<sup>4</sup> See Note 2, p. 439 in Hilda Johnston's 'The County of Ponthieu 1279-1307.' in *English Historical Review*, Vol. 29. The 'pound paris' fell in value to about one eleventh of the pound sterling.



the episcopal register was sometimes deemed to have<sup>1</sup> and similar respect would be afforded the monastic register, one such instance being found in the very register into which Neville's Rome letter was copied.<sup>2</sup> Again this copy was made after Neville's death when it was commonly known that his hopes of returning from exile had come to nothing, and, since it is unlikely that any suspect document would be registered without comment, we may safely accept the introductory note to the copy itself.

It is quite possible that Boniface IX, successor to the Pope who had translated Alexander Neville to the see of St. Andrews (where the authority of Rome was not acknowledged) had shown sympathy or even made promises. But it is a fact of history that the exiled archbishop did not regain his former positions nor, by modern appreciation, did such an event seem at all likely at this time. It is therefore to be concluded that Neville was completely out of touch with reality or in no normal state of mind. Perhaps the exile made to deceive himself in day dreams, or, out of a strange vanity, an acquaintance who had known him in his splendid days. There seems to be no ready explanation for the error in date of the death of de la Pole unless it be a lapse of memory or a copyist's error. Similarly also the sum of money bequeathed by de la Pole to Neville, though here it seems probable that some money gift was in fact made. It is related that de la Pole at his death willed all his wealth to Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford,<sup>3</sup> and it seems likely that provision was also made for Alexander Neville who had apparently not been able to arrange for his exile as had de Vere.<sup>4</sup> As to the former archbishop's journey to Rome, as related in his letter, there is no real evidence of disproof in contemporary accounts and it is well within the bounds of possibility. Indeed many clerics of much more lowly standing had sought, and were still to seek, redress from the Roman Court.

And so a more detailed account of the exile of Alexander Neville, Archbishop of York 1374-1388 becomes possible and it is to be noted that the sole authority for the period September 1389 to December 1390, is the letter now under review. There is little doubt that in his secret flight from the Lords Appellant in November 1387 Neville came to the North of England, most of his effects being abandoned in Lincolnshire.<sup>5</sup> Of the several contemporary accounts that of the Westminster continuator of Higden's Polychronicon is

<sup>1</sup> E. F. Jacob. *The Medieval Registers of Canterbury and York*, London 1953, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> 'Que quidem memoranda supradicta predictus Laurencius manu sua propria in isto registro scripsit in testimonio premissorum.' *Cotton Ms. Vitellius E XVI*, f.151r.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, ed. H. T. Riley. Rolls Series 1863-4. Vol. 2, p. 187.

<sup>4</sup> *The Complete Peerage*, Vol. X, p. 230. Note j. He had previously sent gold, silver, plate etc. to Bruges via the Lombards and a large sum was awaiting him in francs from the ransom of Charles de Blois.

<sup>5</sup> For an inventory see *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, Vol. XV, pp. 476-485.

to be preferred, namely that Neville was placed in the custody of the mayor of Newcastle-upon-Tyne in July 1388 from which he mysteriously escaped in the following November.<sup>1</sup> He would cross to the Low Countries where he seems to have met Michael de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, and Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford. The three fellow exiles came to Paris in late summer 1389,<sup>2</sup> according to Neville's letter, a week before the death of de la Pole on September 8th (erroneously placed by Neville in December). With the aid of whatever money gift de la Pole was able to make, Neville would then journey to Rome, to seek his rights, arriving there in mid-January 1390,<sup>3</sup> his stay lasting till at least December 4th of that year, the date of his letter to the Abbot of Selby. Whatever it was that led to the non-dispatch of this letter is only to be surmised. Perhaps the exile's brother William making a ghostly appearance in the historical record arrived as expected, but with news that convinced Neville that however promising his conversations with the Pope might appear the King in England was not, and might not for some time, be able or willing to recall him from exile. So would follow, in December 1390 or early 1391, the journey to Brabant where, in Louvain, he would serve a cure for some twelve months or so before his death on May 16th 1392 and subsequent burial in the church of the Carmelites there.

It is plain enough that important influences were at work to effect the safe escape abroad of those three friends of Richard II who were to journey together to Paris in the late summer of 1389.<sup>4</sup> It is quite possible that the Abbot of Selby, personally or through agents, had been of service to the fleeing Neville during his flight to the North, for such is the implication of the opening sentence of his letter. Some eighty miles to the north of London, close to the old Watling Street, lay the Selby manor of Stanford-on-Avon, the manor-house of which was used as a staging post for the abbots and monastic officials travelling in those parts and for monk scholars journeying to and from Oxford.<sup>5</sup> As related earlier, Neville's baggage was found, apparently abandoned, in Lincolnshire in which county the Selby community had considerable possessions not too distant from the Trent-Humber-Ouse waterway to the North.

That the relationship between Abbot Shirburn of Selby and Alexander Neville was one of friendship rather than of formal

<sup>1</sup> *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden* ed. J. R. Lumby, Rolls Series 1886. Vol. IX, pp. 183-4.

<sup>2</sup> Neville in his letter to Abbot Shirburn states that he came to Paris in the household of Michael de la Pole, who was also accompanied by Robert de Vere (*The Complete Peerage*, Vol. X, p. 227).

<sup>3</sup> So '*le xxii jour de Nowell*' is interpreted.

<sup>4</sup> The King seems to have arranged the smuggling of de Vere from Queenborough Castle (*Polychronicon*, Vol. IX, cited above, p. 112). The second escape of de la Pole, from Hull (*Chronicle of England of John Capgrave*, ed. J. Raine, Rolls Series 1858, p. 249), and the escape of Neville from Newcastle related above can only be so explained.

<sup>5</sup> When this manor was farmed in 1377 the associated lessees undertook to maintain this hospitality. (*Cotton Ms, Vitellius E XVI*, f.152r. and v.)



acquaintance is indicated by the salutation in the Rome letter and by the request for the three perpetual masses to be said in Selby Abbey. Then, the copying into the current Selby register of the letter of Signet excusing Neville, when Archbishop of York, from attending the coronation of Richard II<sup>1</sup> suggests that Abbot Shirburn was of the circle of the Archbishop's friends among whom letters of interest were circulated. Archbishop Neville also seems to have shown favour to the Selby monks by granting them in 1382 licence to farm their tithes and other incomes,<sup>2</sup> a privilege, for example, that the nearby monastery of St. Mary's, York, was not to obtain till 1397, and that from the Papal See.<sup>3</sup>

In the October of 1390, which year, according to his letter, Neville spent in Rome, a passport was made out in favour of the Abbot of Selby<sup>4</sup> but no evidence of John de Shirburn leaving the country has been found. This same year was in any case one of pilgrimage and the copying into the Selby register of an indulgence (dated May 1390) in favour of Bishop Waltham of Salisbury and twelve other faithful Christians to choose a confessor to make the pilgrimage on their behalf<sup>5</sup> suggests there was an interest at Selby if not an intention. But there is altogether too little evidence of certain events and the journey abroad apparently intended by Abbot Shirburn may have been quite unconnected with Neville's efforts to return from exile. And clearly if contact had been made in Rome by the abbot or by an agent the letter need not have been written.

If letters similar to that received by the Abbot of Selby were sent to other friends and well-wishers they have not survived and at the present the copy transcribed above remains unique in the light it throws on the middle years of Alexander Neville's exile.

## (2) A RARE COPY OF THE WRIT REVOKING THE PARLIAMENT CALLED FOR JANUARY 30TH 1402.

The form of the writs of summons calling a parliament to meet at Westminster on the 30th of January 1402 was duly entered on the Close Roll<sup>6</sup> and that to the Abbot of Selby copied into the current monastic register.<sup>7</sup> Early scholars looked in vain for records of such parliament, or for any writ revoking or postponing it, but noted that a Great Council sat on January 29th of that year. A Writ of Privy Seal summoning this council was later found in the Exchequer Records<sup>8</sup> and another copy, not complete, in Hoccleve's Formulary.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Cotton Ms. Cleopatra D III* f.185r.

<sup>2</sup> *Cotton Ms. Vitellius E XVI* f.123v.

<sup>3</sup> *Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland* ed. W. H. Bliss and J. A. Twemlow, Vol. 5, p. 7.

<sup>4</sup> *British Museum Additional Charter* 45837.

<sup>5</sup> *Cotton Ms. Cleopatra D III* f.194v.

<sup>6</sup> *Calendar of Close Rolls 1399-1402*, p. 485. Printed in *Report Touching the Dignity of a Peer*, IV, p. 776.

<sup>7</sup> *Cotton Ms. Vitellius E XVI* f.130r.

<sup>8</sup> J. F. Baldwin, *The King's Council during the Middle Ages*, Note 2, p. 149.

<sup>9</sup> H. G. Richardson and G. O. Sayles 'Parliamentary Documents from Formularies' in *Bulletin of Institute of Historical Research*, Vol. XI. Pages 158-60.

And now, as though to formalize this state of affairs, in that a parliament summoned by writ under the Great Seal should properly be revoked by instrument under the same seal, a copy of such has come to light in a register of Selby Abbey.<sup>1</sup> The volume in which this is preserved was badly damaged in the fire in the Cotton Library in 1731 with some loss of text which in the transcript which follows is shown by dotted underline

f.130r. 'Henricus Dei gratia Rex Anglie et Francie et Dominus Hibernie dilecto sibi in Christo Abbati de Selby salutem.

Licer nuper pro quibusdam arduis et urgentibus negociis nos, statum et defensionem regni nostri Anglie et ecclesie anglicane contingentibus, quoddam parliamentum nostrum apud Westmonasterium die Lune proximo ante Purificationem Beate Marie proximo futurum ordinaverimus, nos tamen considerantes magnam et excessivam caristiam grani que ubique infra dictum regnum nostrum ad presens existat et ex continuacione diversarum tempestatum et pluviarum maxime citra tempus summonacionis parliamenti predicti plus solito ingruentium verisimiliter . . . . . obsit

f.130v. accrescere formidatur, necnon immensa et gravia onera/ . . . . . liegi nostri regni nostri predicti hactenus diversimodo sustinerint ac eos occasione dicti parliamenti, si teneretur, sustinere oporteret in verisimilem depauperacionem eorundem ligeorum ac eorum statum, in hac parte pie compacientes et affectum et ut ipsi corda assumant hillariora erga nos in fide et dilectione fideliter permanere volumus, ex causis premissis et pro quiete et tranquillitate ligeorum nostrorum predictorum, quorum sumus et semper esse intendimus in singulis necessitatibus continui protectores, pro statu et defensione predictis, de avisamento consilii nostri, quousque aliud parliamentum cum indignerit quietius pro ligeis nostris predictis tenere poterimus, favente Domino, salubriter ordinare dictumque parliamentum in forma predicta summonitum ad diem predictum ex mero motu nostro teneri nolumus ista vice, set quod vos et omnes et singuli prelates, magnates et alii ligei nostri qui ad parliamentum predictum pretextu brevium nostrorum in hac parte factorum venire debuissent ad veniendum ad idem parliamentum sitis penitus excusati ista vice, que omnia et singula tenore presentium vobis significamus.

Teste me ipso apud manerium nostrum de Eltham xii die Januarii anno regni nostri tertio.<sup>2</sup>

The constitutional significance of a Great Council being deemed competent to undertake the business of a parliament has been noted<sup>3</sup> but of more present interest are the reasons for the revoking of the summoned parliament and the calling of the Council. For, whereas

<sup>1</sup> Cotton Ms. cited above ff.130r. & v.

<sup>2</sup> The document is translated in Appendix II.

<sup>3</sup> H. G. Richardson and G. O. Sayles loc. cit. supra, where the writ is printed.



the writ summoning the last named states that the King wished the business to be transacted with the least trouble to his people, that in Latin printed above gives more specific reasons for the revocation, namely a widespread grain shortage and storms and rains that might well lead to the very impoverishment of his lieges if the parliament were held. One can scarcely help feeling that the milk of solicitude had in some way mingled with the scribe's ink or noticing the attempt to create an image of the King as the loving protector of his subjects.

As to the grain shortage Rogers did not find the year one of great dearth<sup>1</sup> nor does it find mention in later studies.<sup>2</sup> Of the several contemporary chroniclers three only thought fit to note the price of corn in 1401. One account records a scarcity of wheat this year the price per quarter reaching sixteen shillings so that corn had to be imported.<sup>3</sup> The same price obtained in London<sup>4</sup> while Adam of Usk relates how about Michaelmas this year the price of wheat suddenly rose from one noble to two, and in some parts of England to three<sup>5</sup> (that is from six shillings and eightpence to twenty shillings). The evidence of the three chronicles cited above cannot well be rejected and it would seem that there was some grain shortage perhaps confined to certain localities. Nevertheless this (described in the writ under review as obtaining throughout the whole realm) was of a nature not to reveal itself in the researches of Rogers or in more modern assessments of his statistics, nor to merit notice by the more important contemporary chroniclers.

Nor is there to be found any supporting evidence of an unusually wet or stormy winter in 1401. Indeed in a meteorological survey widely based on the chronicles and other accounts of this period this year finds no mention though flooding of the Humber is recorded in 1400 and a violent thunderstorm in 1402.<sup>6</sup>

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries seven parliaments, not including that called for January 30th 1402, were summoned but did not meet. In five cases the reasons are apparent<sup>7</sup> but not so in

<sup>1</sup> J. E. T. Rogers, *History of Agriculture and Prices in England*, Vol. IV, p. 282.

<sup>2</sup> These mainly are as follows:—

N. S. B. Gras, *The Evolution of the English Corn Market*. For comparison the mean price of wheat in the 15th century is given as 6s. 3¼d. with extremes of 5s. 6¼d. in Bristol and 7s. 8½d. in Essex.

W. H. Beveridge, *Economic History Review, New Series*, Vol. 8. The decennial mean for the years 1401-10, based on Winchester Account Rolls, is given as 7.69 shillings.

E. F. Jacob, *The Fifteenth Century*. In a table of food prices indirectly based on the statistics of Rogers the average wheat price for 1401-10 is given as 5s. 8¼d. per quarter (p. 383).

In none of these studies is there any indication of grain shortage or of unusually high prices in the months following the harvest of 1401.

<sup>3</sup> *The Brut or The English Chronicle*, ed. F. W. D. Brie, p. 363.

<sup>4</sup> *A Chronicle of London*, ed. H. H. Nicolas, p. 87.

<sup>5</sup> *Chronicon Ade de Usk*, ed. E. M. Thompson, p. 192.

<sup>6</sup> Britton C. E., *A Meteorological Survey to A.D. 1450*, p. 70.

<sup>7</sup> *13th February 1312*. Edward II fled to the North from the Ordainers in January 1412 and recalled Piers Gaveston to York. The Ordainers advanced northwards finally to take the favourite after the siege of Scarborough Castle. *27th January 1318*. Postponed to March, then to June and finally revoked.

the remaining two cases.<sup>1</sup> But in no case was the English weather a factor. The position of Henry IV towards the end of 1401 was not as sound as, for example, that of Edward III in 1331, nor as dire as that of Edward II in 1318 or of Richard III in 1483. Yet it was bad enough. His popularity was certainly on the wane; he had met with no success in his Welsh expedition; there were riots in Somerset and an ingenious attempt had been made on his life, and failed. Perhaps the disturbing rumours that Richard II was still alive, to be commonly voiced in the following year, were now to be heard.

There is no record of the business discussed when the Great Council sat in January 1402. One of the items the King wanted on the agenda was the aid for the marriage of his daughter Blanche<sup>2</sup> while at a Council meeting held in August 1401 he is said to have resolved to go to war with France and Scotland,<sup>3</sup> a proposal which would scarcely have been well received by a full parliament. There was at least one good reason why a parliament should meet in early 1402; the grants of tenths and fifteenths previously allotted had run out in November 1401 and were due for renewal.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless the parliament called by writ dated 2nd December 1401 was revoked by similar instrument on the 12th January following. It would appear that the grain shortage mentioned in the revoking writ was not so severe, nor the weather so excessively inclement as to occasion undue hardship to those summoned<sup>5</sup> and it seems reasonable to conclude that the King wished the business he had in mind to be transacted with the least trouble to himself and his circle.

The reasons for the non-enrolment of this writ and for the rarity of surviving copies are not apparent though further ones may be found in registers and similar manuscripts not yet fully examined.

## APPENDIX I

### ALEXANDER NEVILLE'S LETTER. A FREE TRANSLATION

Right dear, trusty and worthy friend we greet you full heartily and (thank) you for all the kindnesses shown us ever wishing you well and also our other wellwishers in your parts. Sir, please to know that we (came) to Paris in the household of our dear com-

Such was the helplessness of Edward II that parliaments summoned could not be brought together.

19th January 1349. Did not meet on account of the Plague.

22nd January 1469. Edward IV a prisoner in Middleham Castle, Warwick found the country too disturbed for the parliament to meet. The writ revoking it refers to 'great troubles in this our land not yet appeased.'

6th November 1483. Prevented by Buckingham's rebellion.

<sup>1</sup> 15th April 1331. Revoked. Another parliament called for September 30th.

14th October 1392. Prorogued sine die. Another parliament called for 20th September.

<sup>2</sup> W. Stubbs, *Constitutional History of England* 1910, Vol. 3, p. 37.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* Note 2.

<sup>4</sup> The parliament that met in September 1402 made this grant together with a wool subsidy and tonnage and poundage. *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, III, p. 493.

<sup>5</sup> Seven bishops, all abbots and priors, eleven lords and all the commons summoned to the parliament were not called to the Great Council.



panion Michael de la Pole on the 11th of December 1389 and a week later Michael was dead and his will arranged and with his own hands gave us, to achieve our right in the Roman Court, the sum of twenty thousand gold pounds with which, with God's help, we hope to attain our desire. And so we beg you full heartily, and for love of God, to have three masses said for ever in your abbey for us and for the soul of our dear friend Michael de la Pole, the one of the Trinity, the second of the Holy Spirit and the third of Our Lady, and, with God's grace we will shortly make satisfaction for all kindnesses made us. Further, dear friend, we first arrived at the Roman Court on the 22nd day of 'Nowell' 1390 and there we lodged right well, thanks be to God and His Gentle Mother. We were daily with the Holy Father who granted us our Archbishopric of York and we shall send our bulls by our dear brother William Neville to our lord the King and his Council showing how the Holy Father enjoins them in respect of our right. We do not wish to send you further news at present but think you on all our friends in your parts and we pray that this our letter be counsel to you until our brother arrives. Dear friend, think on all the foregoing matters as we greatly put our trust in you.

Written in Rome the 4th day of December 1390.

We have sent this letter to you to Calais by a cardinal.

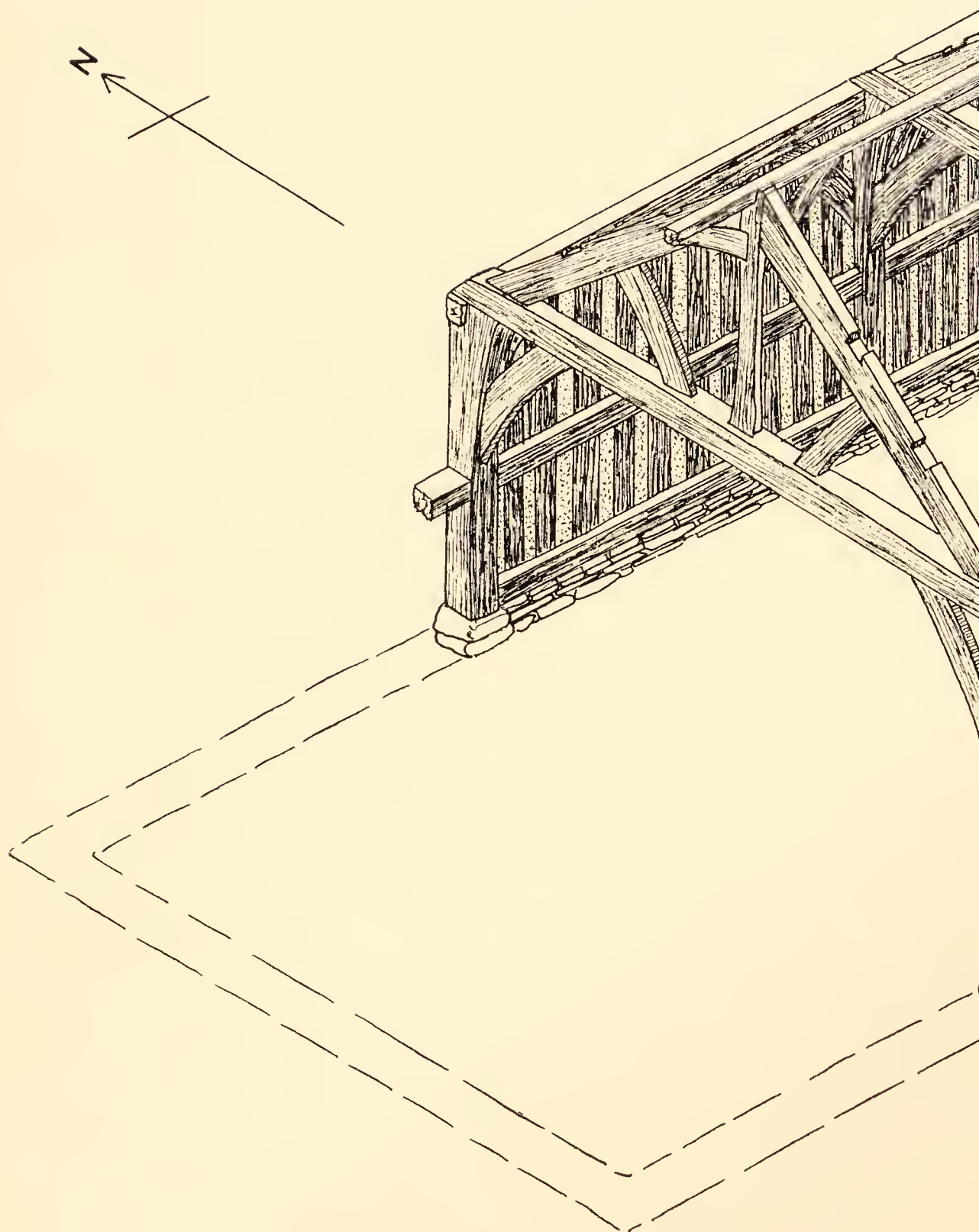
## APPENDIX II

### THE WRIT. A FREE TRANSLATION

Henry, by the Grace of God King of England and France and Overlord of Ireland to his beloved in Christ the Abbot of Selby Greeting.

Notwithstanding that, for certain urgent business touching ourselves, the state and defence of our English realm and of the English Church, we had arranged our parliament for the Monday before the Purification, considering the excessive dearth of grain which obtains at present everywhere within our realm and because of the continued storms and rains usually befalling at the time preceding the summoning of this parliament, and which it is feared will become worse, and also of the heavy burdens borne by our lieges which are likely to lead to their very impoverishment should this parliament be held, we, out of sympathy in this state of affairs, and with the hope that they may feel more cordial towards us, for the well-being of our said lieges whose protector in times of difficulty we are and always intend to be, on the advice of our Council do not wish this parliament to meet this time so that you and all prelates, magnates and other lieges are excused from attendance at the same and this is notified you by these present letters.

Attested by myself at our Manor of Eltham on the 22nd day of January in the 3rd year of our reign.



Isometric view of the framework of F



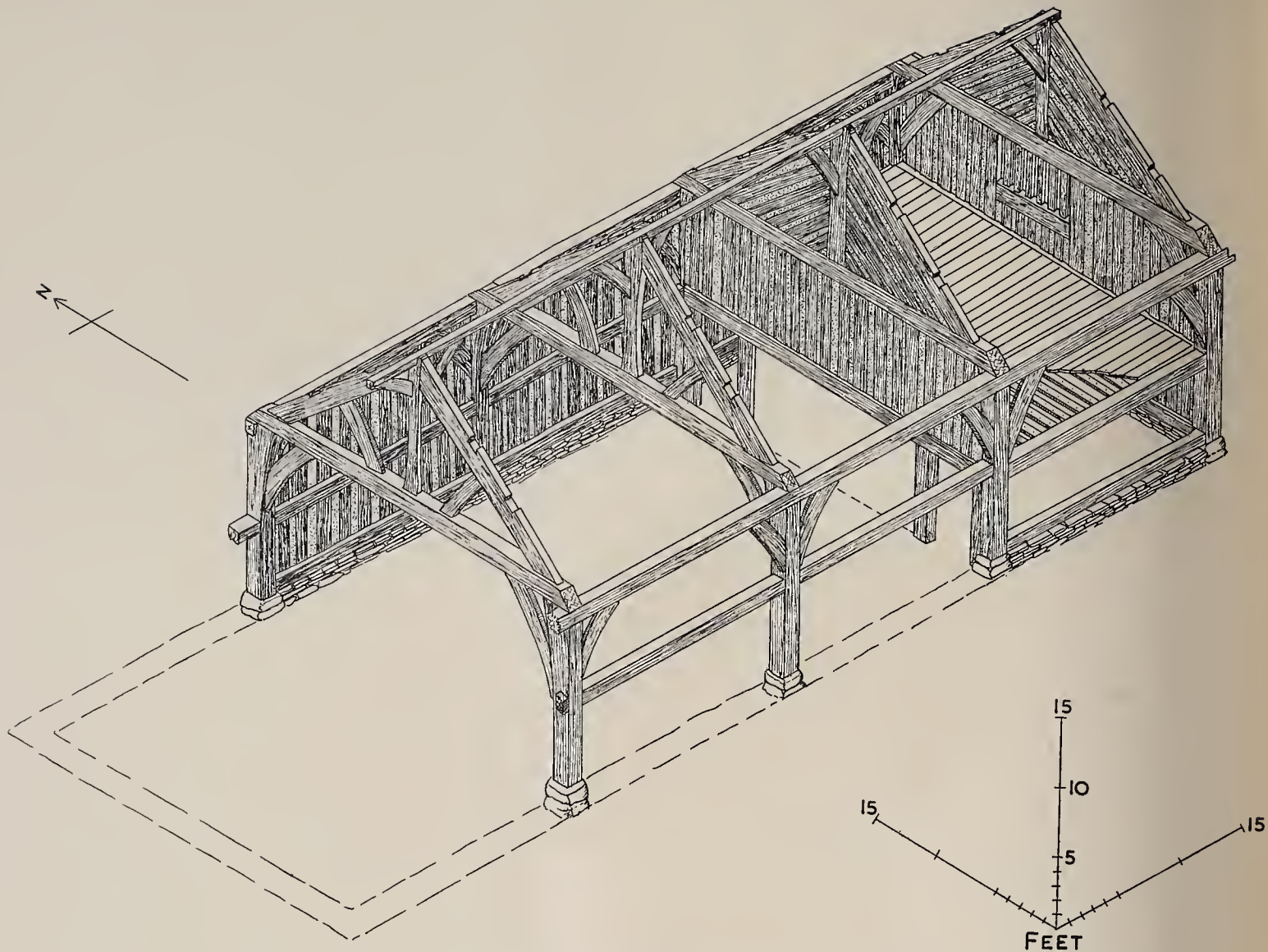


FIG. 1.  
Isometric view of the framework of Fletcher House with studding and flooring partially reconstructed.

# FLETCHER HOUSE, ALMONDBURY

## A Late Mediaeval Timber-framed Building

### Near Huddersfield

By T. G. MANBY.

#### *Introduction*

Fletcher House (Nat. Grid ref. SE 161/139) comprises of a dwelling house and farm buildings situated at 475 ft. O.D. on the floor of the valley of the Rushfield Dyke, in the Parish of Almondbury, West Riding of Yorkshire.

The farm buildings belong to the 19th and 20th centuries and are of no interest, but the house shows evidence of many phases of repair and reconstruction. The only external evidence of timber framing is seen on the southern side (Pl. I), but internally the timber framework of the house is self evident despite the later partitions and decoration.

Attention was first drawn to the existence of more extensive timber framing in 1960 by Mr. F. Taylor of the Huddersfield Corporation Estate and Property Department. Mr. Taylor noted vertical studding in the second bay of the northern side of the house when the modern tile covering was temporarily removed during building operations. During 1961, by the kind permission and interest of Mr. and Mrs. J. S. Stringer, the Tolson Memorial Museum was able to make a survey of the house. The original drawings and photographic records prepared from this survey are available for study at the Tolson Memorial Museum. I wish to express my thanks to Dr. E. A. Gee and Mr. T. W. French of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England) for advice on the interpretation of some of the structural features of the house.

#### *Historical*

The earliest occurrence of the name Fletcher House is in the will of Thomas Hepworth of 'the Flecher House' in 1542<sup>1</sup> and again in the will of John Hepworth in 1546.<sup>2</sup> From the Hepworths the property passed by marriage to Richard Blackburn who is mentioned as tenant in the right of his wife in the 1554 survey of the Manor of Almondbury.<sup>3</sup> Since the middle of the 16th century the name has been in continuous use and the property passed at various

<sup>1</sup> 'Wills in the York Registry 1514-1553', *Y.A.S. Record Ser.* xi (1891) 84.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* This and the above will were kindly examined for the writer by the Rev. Canon J. S. Purvis, at the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York. Unfortunately they contained no details of the structure or furnishings of Fletcher House.

<sup>3</sup> Information kindly supplied by D. Whomsley.



times to the Wormal, Kaye and Dartmouth families and ultimately the Ramsdens, until the Ramsden Estate was purchased by Huddersfield Corporation in 1919.

The origin of the name Fletcher House, like many other houses with family names in the Huddersfield area, commemorates the original family to settle there; examples are Dives House<sup>1</sup> and Fleming House<sup>2</sup> both in Dalton. Canon Hulbert suggested the name originated in the family of John Fletcher, mentioned in the survey of the Manor of Almondbury in 1488.<sup>3</sup> The relevant portion of this survey is quoted by Taylor Dyson<sup>4</sup> and records John Fletcher holding a messuage and a bovate of land of John Feney for rent, goods and service. The Fletcher family are not mentioned in the previous survey of Almondbury in 1425, so the family must have arrived sometime between 1425 and 1488 (say a generation either side of 1450), and died out by the time of the Hepworth occupation in the early 16th century.

#### *The Present Building*

The house is aligned east to west along the contour and three and a half bays remain. The dwelling house occupies the western 3 bays and the most easterly bay is used for agricultural storage. The northern side of the house is stone walled on the ground floor and the first floor is hung with 19th century red tiles. On the south face the ground floor is also stone walled and the upper portion is filled with red brick in the two easterly bays; the third bay has been concrete rendered in recent times replacing 19th century tile hanging. The whole of the westerly half bay and the east end wall is stone built; the roof is covered with stone slates.

#### *The Timber Framed Building*

The timber framing indicates a structure of at least four bays, and the carpenter's marks indicate the present first bay to be the most easterly. The internal width of the building is 25 ft. from wall plate to wall plate, and the height to the ridge 25 ft. 10 ins. Sawn and planed oak was used throughout and secured by pointed wooden pegs 1 in. diameter. A very high standard of carpentry is displayed throughout.

The house was a rectangular building with gables at the ends. Internally, the plan was an open hall comprising of the 2nd, 3rd and 4th bays and a room with a chamber over, in the first bay (fig. 1). The feet of the principals rest on double or single stylobates of undressed sandstone (Pl. V).

The first bay is 16 ft. 11 ins. between principals and had closed trusses on both sides. Only the principals, tie-beam, king post and principal rafters remain of Truss 1. Sawn-off tenons and peg holes

<sup>1</sup> Atkinson, *Y.A.J.* xl (1960) 192; Tolson, *History of the Church and Annals of Kirkheaton*, (1929) 155-156.

<sup>2</sup> Tolson, *Ibid.*, 148-150.

<sup>3</sup> Hulbert, *Annals of the Church and Parish of Almondbury, Yorkshire* (1882) 216 & 526.

<sup>4</sup> Taylor Dyson, *History of Huddersfield* (2nd Ed. 1951) 76.

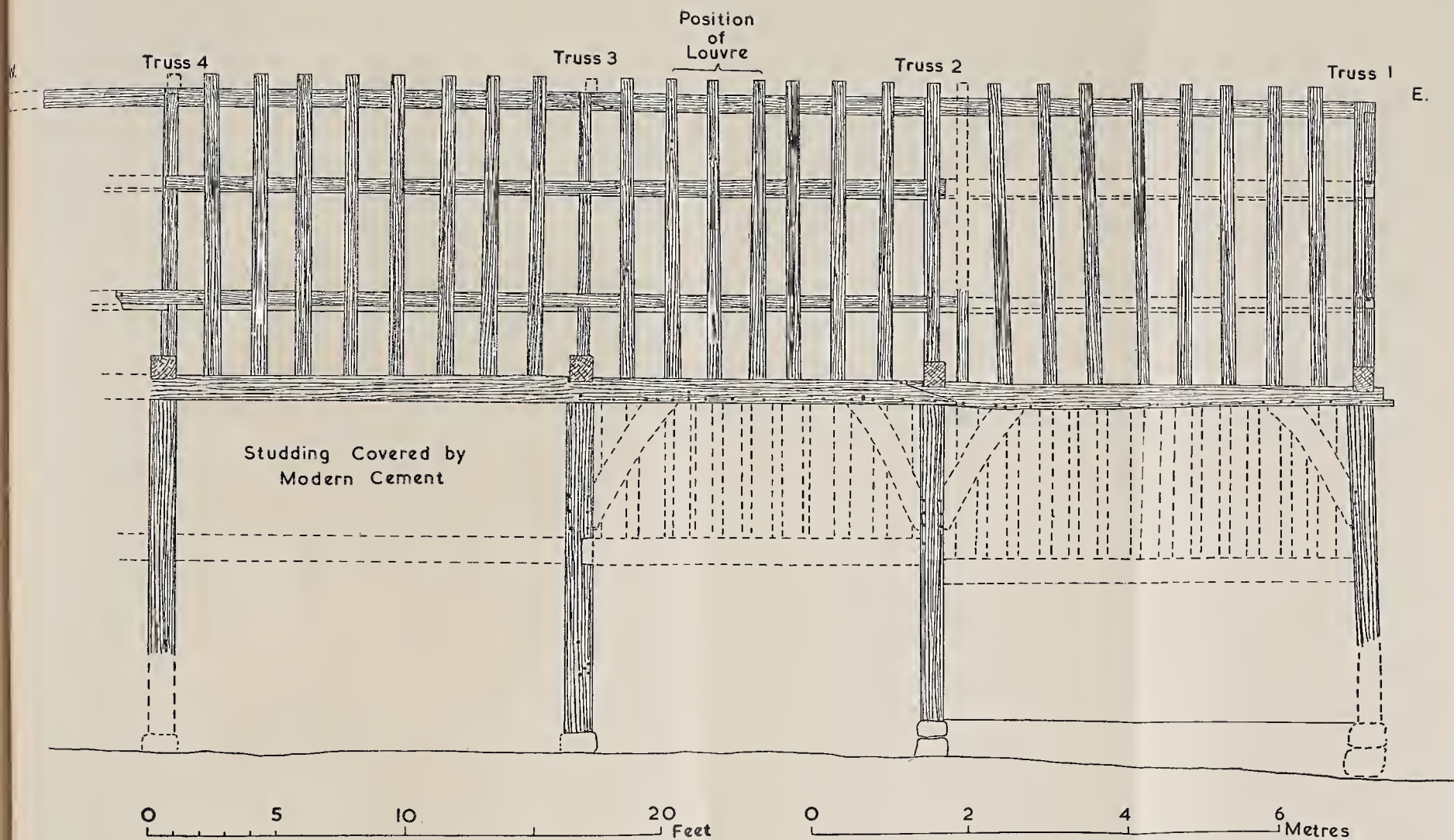


FIG. 2.  
South Elevation of Fletcher House.









PLATE I.  
Fletcher House, South side.





PLATE II.  
Studding of 2nd Bay, North side.



indicate the position of the studs, braces and bresumer. These indicate an arrangement of the studding identical with Truss 2 (fig. 4); i.e. diagonal studding in the gable from king post to tie-beam, and vertical studding below. The first truss was an external wall and the wall plate extends beyond the truss and has a recessed end to carry the tie-beam of a second external gable that would overhang and protect the truss from the weather, leaving a hollow space or cove between the two. The character of the studding beneath the bresumer is uncertain; the second truss (fig. 4) has diagonal studding filling the gable, and had continuous vertical studding beneath the tie-beam. The underside of the bresumer has only two peg holes, close to the north principal, in the length of beam available for inspection, suggesting it was not filled with studding.

The first bay is at present divided by a floor at bresumer level, the floor joists are north to south, 9 ins.  $\times$  6 ins.; the ends rest on the 17th century stonework of the ground floor walls. The floor boards are 10-11 ins. wide and 1 in. thick sawn oak planks; the marks of joists on the underside of the boards and peg holes (14 ins. apart) indicate the floor is not in its original position. The joists and boards are unlike any 17th and 18th century floors in the district and they must be the materials of the original floor of the chamber re-used after the bresumers were sawn out in the 18th century. No trace of a stair exists in this bay and access to the chamber would be by ladder, a feature common in local houses until the 19th century.

The 2nd bay is 13 ft. long and the 3rd bay 15 ft. 2 ins.; the width of the 4th bay is uncertain as only a length of ridge piece and bresumer survive of this bay. The blackening of the roof timbers and peg holes for a louvre indicates the hearth was located in the 2nd bay. Trusses 3 and 4 are identical open trusses (fig. 4).

#### *Roof Structure (fig. 3)*

The roof trusses of Fletcher House are all king post trusses with a heavy square-set ridge piece morticed into the head of each post (fig. 5), curved braces further link the king posts and ridges together (fig. 3). The king posts are supported by principal rafters (fig. 4) and the latter are linked by curved braces to the tie-beams in the open trusses 3 and 4. A feature of note is the waisted profile of the king posts, especially in trusses 3 and 4 (Pl. IV). Set into the back of each principal rafter is a pair of purlins on each side. The common rafters rest on the ridge piece and the purlins, their lower ends are slightly recessed into the wall plates. The tops of each pair of common rafters were tongued and pegged together (fig. 5) and further pegged alternately to the upper and lower purlins (seen in the 1st bay).

#### *Louvre*

The roof of the 2nd bay was smoke blackened and three of the four westerly pairs of common rafters showed peg holes; the outer pairs having two sets (fig. 2). To these would be fastened a square wooden framework of the Louvre to allow the escape of smoke from the hearth below.



*The Walls*

Extensive studding remains along the northern side of the building but it is only at present exposed to view in the first bay (Pl. II). This is massive vertical studding with narrow spaces between. The sides of the studs are grooved and into these are wedged diagonal pieces of split oak supporting the filling of clay mixed with hay and straw (fig. 5). Much of this original filling remains. The studding which remains on the 1st floor is all vertical and diagonal in the gables of trusses 1 and 2. Studs usually have single pegs top and bottom; double pegging is infrequent; in the north wall the end studs are pegged into the undersides of the curved braces between principals and wall plates. The partition wall between the 1st and 2nd bays has the studs set on the western side of the truss and the pegs were driven in from that side. A length of bresumer on the north side, 4th bay, has peg holes indicating studding filled the ground floor walls, and sawn up sills can be found amongst the timber work of the later partitioning and flooring of Fletcher House. No peg holes can be found in the principals to indicate the position of these sills, but they must have rested on low sleeper walls of the stone slabs that can be detected by differences in stone and weathering at the base of the 17th century stone walls in the 1st and 4th bays (Pl. V).

The filling of the ground floor wall between room and hall in the 2nd truss is a problem; the two peg holes at the northern side are in the right position for door jambs, the rest of the wall could be filled with plank screening, and a similar doorway may have existed at the southern side as well.

*Joints* (fig. 5)

The jointing of the Fletcher House framing is very elaborate and shows a high standard of carpentry, and a whole series of joints were used on the framework:—mortice and tenon:—studs, king post, rafters, tie-beams and braces: splice/mortice and tenon:—ridge piece (at the head of 3rd truss); and wall plates. Half mortice and tenon:—purlins, 1st and 4th bays.

The tie-beams are recessed into the top of the wall plate which are morticed and tenoned to the top of the principals.

*Carpenter's Marks* (fig. 5)

An extensive series of carpenter's marks are incised onto the timber, especially on the king posts of the trusses, and on the surviving studding between the chamber and hall in truss 2.

*Windows*

No windows older than the 18th century survive in the building, but in the first truss beneath the king post, the tie-beam shows a group of 5 peg holes with 6 ins. to 8 ins. spacing instead of the usual 12 ins. spacing of the pegs for studs. The extent of these closely spaced pegs is obscured to the south by modern plaster. The peg holes are either for a window of vertical slats, like Norland Hall,<sup>1</sup> or they are connected with a casement beneath the gable;

<sup>1</sup> Kendall, *Trans. Halifax Ant. Soc.* 1911, 19.

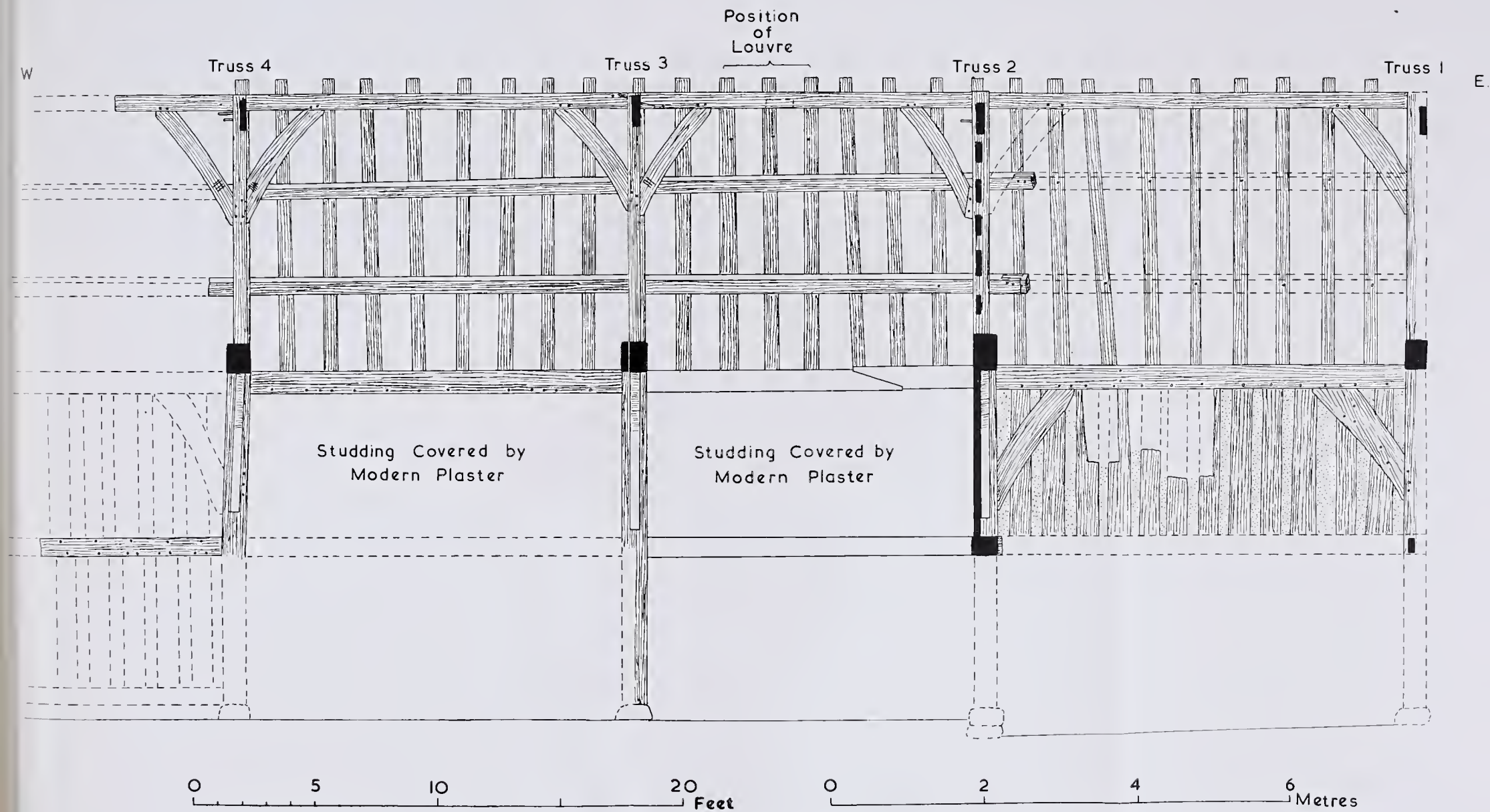


FIG. 3.  
Elevation through Fletcher House, showing the North side.









PLATE III.

The Upper part of the King Post of Truss 2 from the west, showing the diagonal studding, ridge piece and brace.



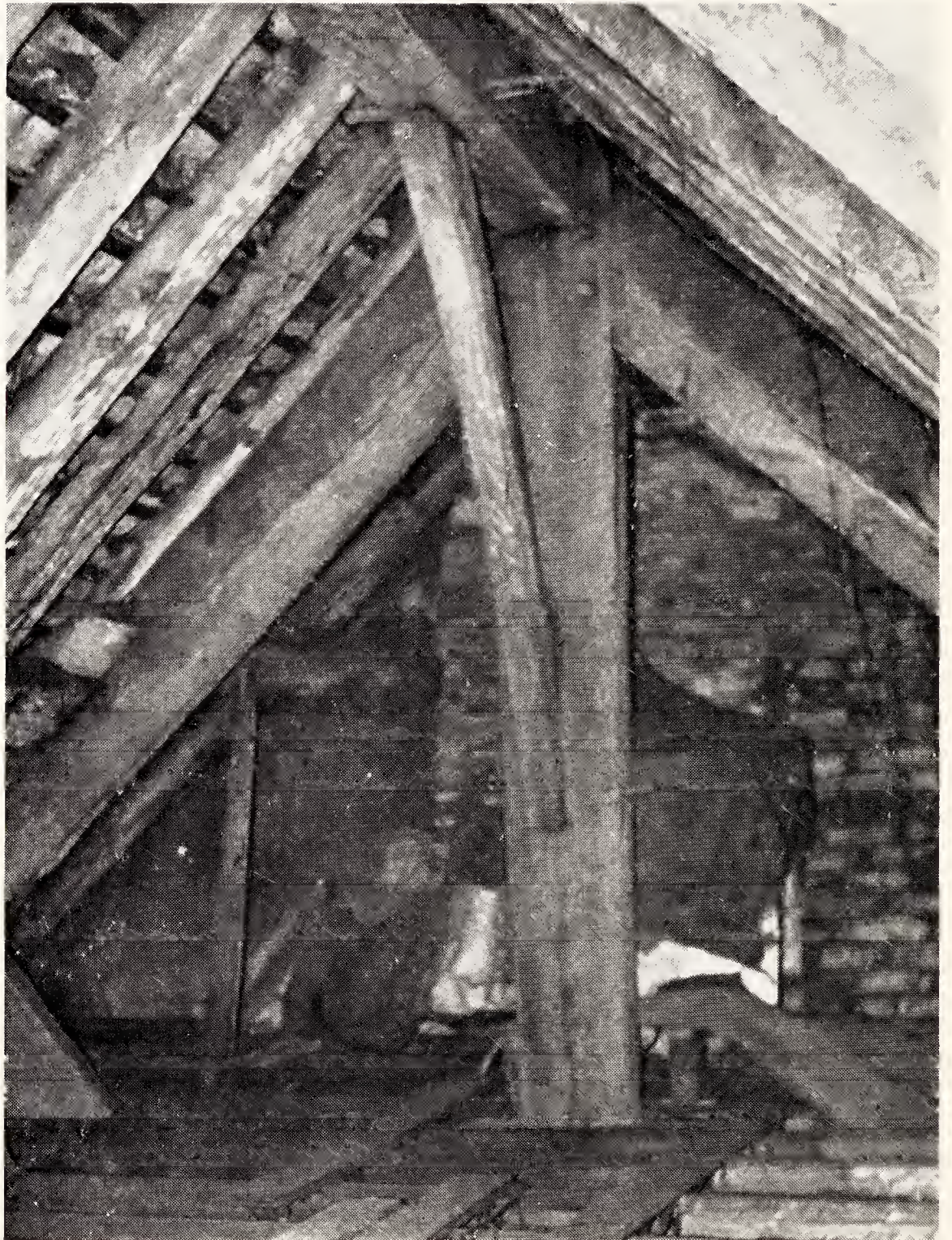


PLATE IV.  
Upper part of King Post with Brace and Ridge. Truss 4.



this is the place one would expect to find a window for the upper room. The position of other windows is uncertain.

#### *Later Additions and Alterations*

The 4th bay was cut down and replaced by half bay structure in stone to roof level; this was built of thin stone slabs with massive long and short gritstone quoins at the corners. These features indicate a 17th century date and the walling of the ground floor of the 1st bay is similar. This suggests that the house received a drastic reconstruction at this time and the new bay was built to contain a chimney stack. At this time also the open Hall must have been partitioned and floored.

In the 18th century the studding of the east wall of the house to the apex of the roof was replaced with dressed ashlar, and in the late 18th century the studding in the 1st and 2nd bays first floor was replaced by brick. The bricks are small in size,  $2\frac{3}{4}$  ins.  $\times$   $4\frac{1}{2}$  ins.  $\times$  9 ins. and 2 ins.  $\times$  4 ins.  $\times$  9 ins. These bricks are very similar in size to those used in the Huddersfield Cloth Hall built in 1766 which are  $2\frac{1}{4}$  ins.  $\times$   $4\frac{1}{4}$  ins.  $\times$  9 ins. In the 19th century, the stone walling on the ground floor of the 2nd and 3rd bays, north side; third bay, south side was stone walled and the remaining exposed studding hung with red tiles. A feature of all this later work is the extremely poor quality of the new wood used in construction and the low standard of carpentry.

#### *Discussion*

Fletcher House belongs to Faulkner's class of End Hall Houses;<sup>1</sup> a number of timber framed buildings of this simple plan exists or existed in Calderdale indicating it was a traditional house type for the area.

Dewsbury old Vicarage, demolished about 1900, was a rectangular building of at least three bays; the principals had curved expanded heads, and the walls broad studding.<sup>2</sup> The building of the Vicarage was ordered in 1349 as a building with a hall and two chambers. Mirfield Old Rectory has the same plan of open hall and a room with chamber above at one end, reached by a penthouse staircase.<sup>3</sup> The finial of this building has the initials of a post dissolution patron of Mirfield Church on it, implying construction after 1539.<sup>4</sup> A building very similar to Fletcher House formerly stood at Alverthorpe, Nr. Wakefield; this had four bays and an additional bay at right angles. The details of studding and construction were almost identical with Fletcher House and the walls above and below the bresumer were filled with broad vertical studding.<sup>5</sup>

The great width of Fletcher House is of considerable interest; the span of 25 ft., wall plate to wall plate, is extremely wide and

<sup>1</sup> Faulkner, *Arch. J.* cxv (1958) 163-183.

<sup>2</sup> Chadwick, *Y.A.J.* xxi (1911) 351 Pl.

<sup>3</sup> Walton, *Early Timbered Buildings of the Huddersfield District* (1955) 41-46 & 53, fig. 17.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 49.

<sup>5</sup> Photographs in Wakefield Museum.



rivals the halls of some of the contemporary houses of the land-owners in the district. Lees Hall, Thornhill, an H-shaped house of the Nettleton family has a hall 22 ft. from wall plate to wall plate, and Elland New Hall has a width of about 23 ft. The Great Hall of Woodsome House is 25 ft. 6 ins. wide; this house was reconstructed in stone during the 2nd half of the 16th century and the remains of an H-shaped timber framed building can be traced within. Norland Hall was 20 ft. wide,<sup>1</sup> and the main body of Wormall Hall during the 1st phase was 16 ft. 4 ins. wide; the House at the Maypole, Halifax 21 ft. wide.<sup>2</sup>

Another end hall house represented by the Little Thorpe Cottages, Almondbury;<sup>3</sup> this is a cruck framed building of three bays, 16 ft. wide, at the eastern end is a fourth bay with a king post truss gable. The three cruck bays are clearly a single open hall and have curved braces and broad studding in the walls; the fourth bay is a later addition of a room with chamber above. This bay has narrow studding and a diagonally set ridge suggesting a 16th century date. Little Thorpe Cottages and Thorpe Barn are very similar in their construction and details of carpentry which suggest they are likely to be contemporary. Thorpe is an old settlement, the family can be traced back to the 14th century, and in the 16th century it belonged to a yeoman family called Kay.<sup>4</sup> The date of the cruck framed hall must be considerably older than the 16th century but the king post addition helps to indicate the period when the end rooms were in fashion for yeoman's houses.

Broad studding of Fletcher House, with narrower or even spaces between, is generally regarded as an early feature for timber framed buildings. At Shibden Hall the studs are 8-9 ins. with 6-7 ins. spaces; at Thornhill Lees the studs are 8-10 ins. with 8-9 ins. spaces between and the filling between the studs is clay on diagonally wedged pieces of split oak.

The elaborate jointing of Fletcher House is not seen to be so versatile on other buildings in Calderdale. The long splice for the wall plates was used in a demolished timber framed house at Alverthorpe, and Dives House Barn,<sup>5</sup> but the wall plates of Thornhill Lees Hall and the remains of an early timber framed barn at Storth Farm, Birkby, have wall plates secured by the same half tenon joints used in the Fletcher House purlins.

The pitch of the roof and the strength of it suggests that Fletcher House was intended to be roofed with stone slates which are readily obtainable in the district. The stone slates, or thakstones, were in use as early as 1413<sup>6</sup> and even the small, rather poor nunnery of Kirklees had slate roofing on all its buildings; even minor buildings like the cart shed in the dissolution survey of 1535.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Kendall, *op. cit.* 1-35.

<sup>2</sup> Ling Roth, *The Yorkshire Coiners 1767-1783* (1906) 175-182.

<sup>3</sup> Walton, *op. cit.* 35, fig. 15.

<sup>4</sup> 'Yorkshire Deeds V'. *Y.A.S. Record Ser.* lxix (1926) 2-3, nos. 4-8.

<sup>5</sup> Atkinson, *op. cit.* fig. facing p. 192, Elevation.

<sup>6</sup> Walton, *op. cit.* 49.

<sup>7</sup> Brown, *Y.A.J.* ix (1886) 331-333.





PLATE V.

Stylobate, Truss 2, South side.

N.B. The rough appearance of the lower four courses of stone work on the right of the stylobate.





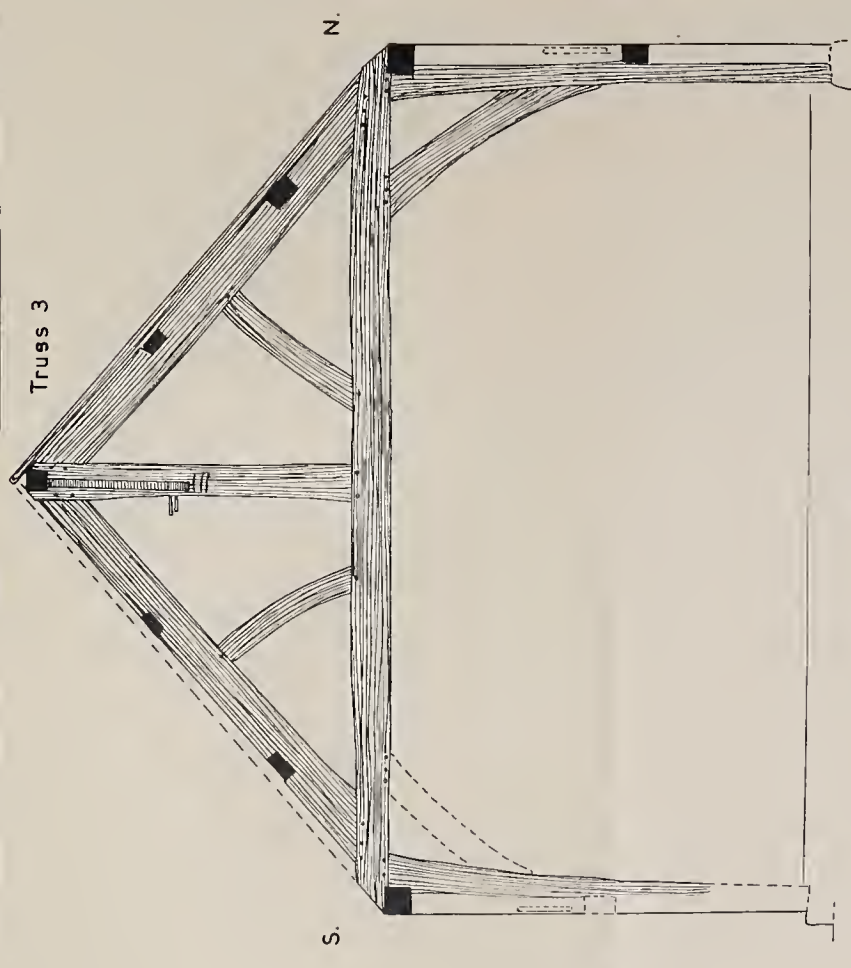
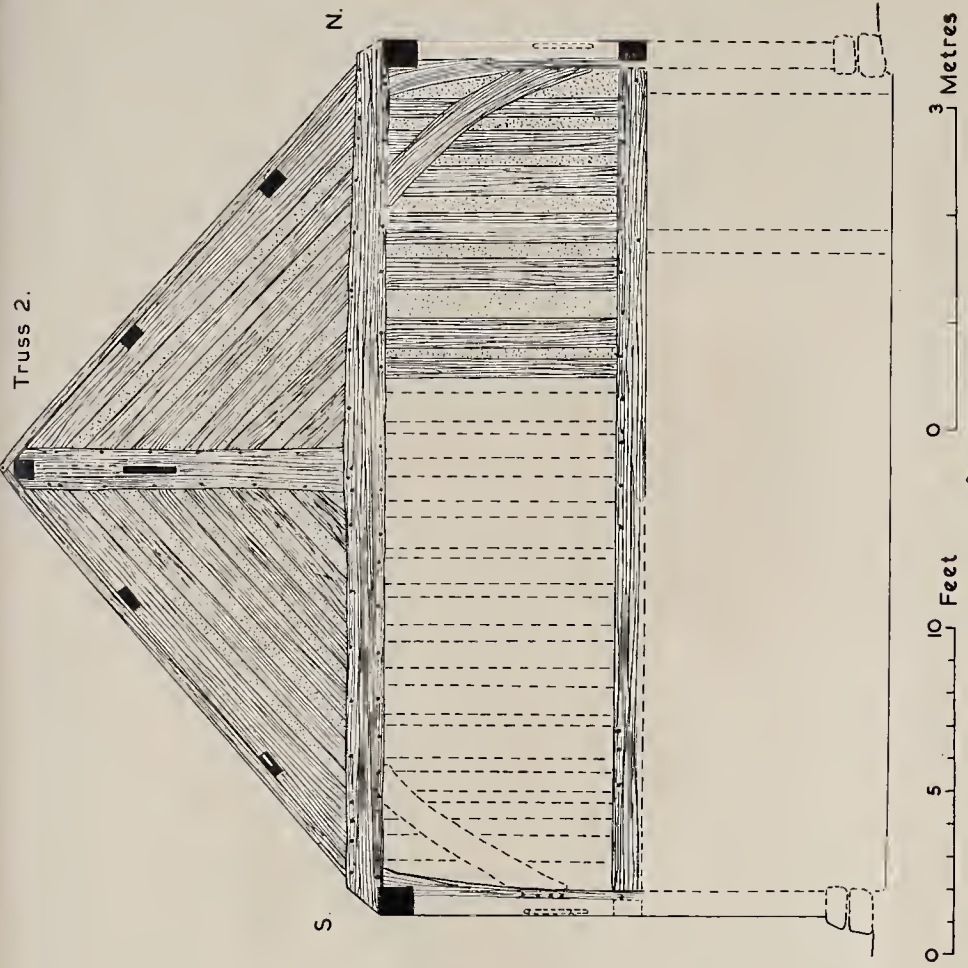


Fig. 4.  
Elevations of Trusses 2 and 3.





*Dating*

In the Huddersfield area the king post was the common roof truss in use until the early 19th century; a scatter of cruck trusses occurs in the area<sup>1</sup> and rarely coupled common rafter roofs like Dives House Barn, Dalton,<sup>2</sup> a demolished barn at Benomlee, Almondbury,<sup>3</sup> and a large barn opposite Hopton Hall, Upper Hopton. Smith has shown king post roofs to have a distribution in N.W. England, comprising the Lake District, Lancashire and Western Yorkshire. The later developments of the king post roofs in the Huddersfield area can be traced with ease. In the numerous 17th and 18th century barns examined in the area, the curved braces and curved heads of principals found at Fletcher House are represented by straight timbers and the ridge pieces are set diagonally on top of the king posts which have lost the waisted profile seen at Fletcher House.

The transitions appear in buildings which on circumstantial evidence date to the 16th century; the square set ridge is retained, like the House at the Maypole, Halifax,<sup>4</sup> the stables at Woodsome Hall and Burnsall Grammar School 1602.<sup>5</sup> Diagonal set ridges occur on the south wing of Wormall Hall and the 16th century wing of Thorpe Barn, Almondbury;<sup>6</sup> both these buildings have narrow studding.

The combination of square-set ridge, waisted king posts, curved braces, curved expanded principal heads, broad studding and diagonal studding in the gable from king post to tie-beam can be seen in a number of timber buildings in West Yorkshire. The S.W. gable and main trusses of the 1st phase of Wormall Hall, Almondbury,<sup>7</sup> The Ark, Tadcaster,<sup>8</sup> Kiddal Hall, Nr. Tadcaster,<sup>9</sup> Thornhill Lees,<sup>10</sup> Shibden Hall,<sup>11</sup> Elland Hall,<sup>12</sup> Bay Hall, Birkby,<sup>13</sup> and Fenay Hall,<sup>14</sup> all display these features. The date of these buildings is not always easy to trace from documentary evidence. The east gable of Kiddal Hall is attributed to the enlargement of the Hall by Thomas Elys in 1471;<sup>15</sup> Elland Hall is attributed to Nicholas Saville in the latter part of the 15th century,<sup>16</sup> and Shibden Hall to 1420.<sup>17</sup> The Ark, Tadcaster is attributed to c. 1450 by Dr. E. Gee.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Walton, *op. cit.* 13-40, fig. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Atkinson, *op. cit.* 192-195.

<sup>3</sup> Photographs in Huddersfield Public Library Reference Collection.

<sup>4</sup> Ling Roth, *op. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> Ambler, *op. cit.* 63-64, Pl. LXIX.

<sup>6</sup> Walton, *op. cit.* 35.

<sup>7</sup> Recently surveyed by the Tolson Memorial Museum.

<sup>8</sup> Gee and Keighley, *The Ark, Kirkgate, Tadcaster* (1963), pp. 10-11.

<sup>9</sup> Ambler, *op. cit.* 48; Colman, *Pro. Thoresby Soc.* xvii (1908) Pl. facing p. 256; Crossley, *Y.A.J.* xxi (1910) 482-483, Pl.

<sup>10</sup> Walton, *op. cit.* 56, Pl. 8, fig. 25.

<sup>11</sup> Ambler, *op. cit.* 48-49, Pl. XLII.

<sup>12</sup> Walton, *op. cit.* 59, fig. 26, Pl. 5, 14 & 15.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.* fig. 21; Ambler, *op. cit.* fig. 2.

<sup>14</sup> Walton, *Ibid.* fig. 21, Pl. 9.

<sup>15</sup> Colman, *op. cit.*, 239.

<sup>16</sup> Walton, *op. cit.*, 59.

<sup>17</sup> Innes, *Shibden Hall* (1953).

<sup>18</sup> Gee and Keighley, *op. cit.*, p. 6.



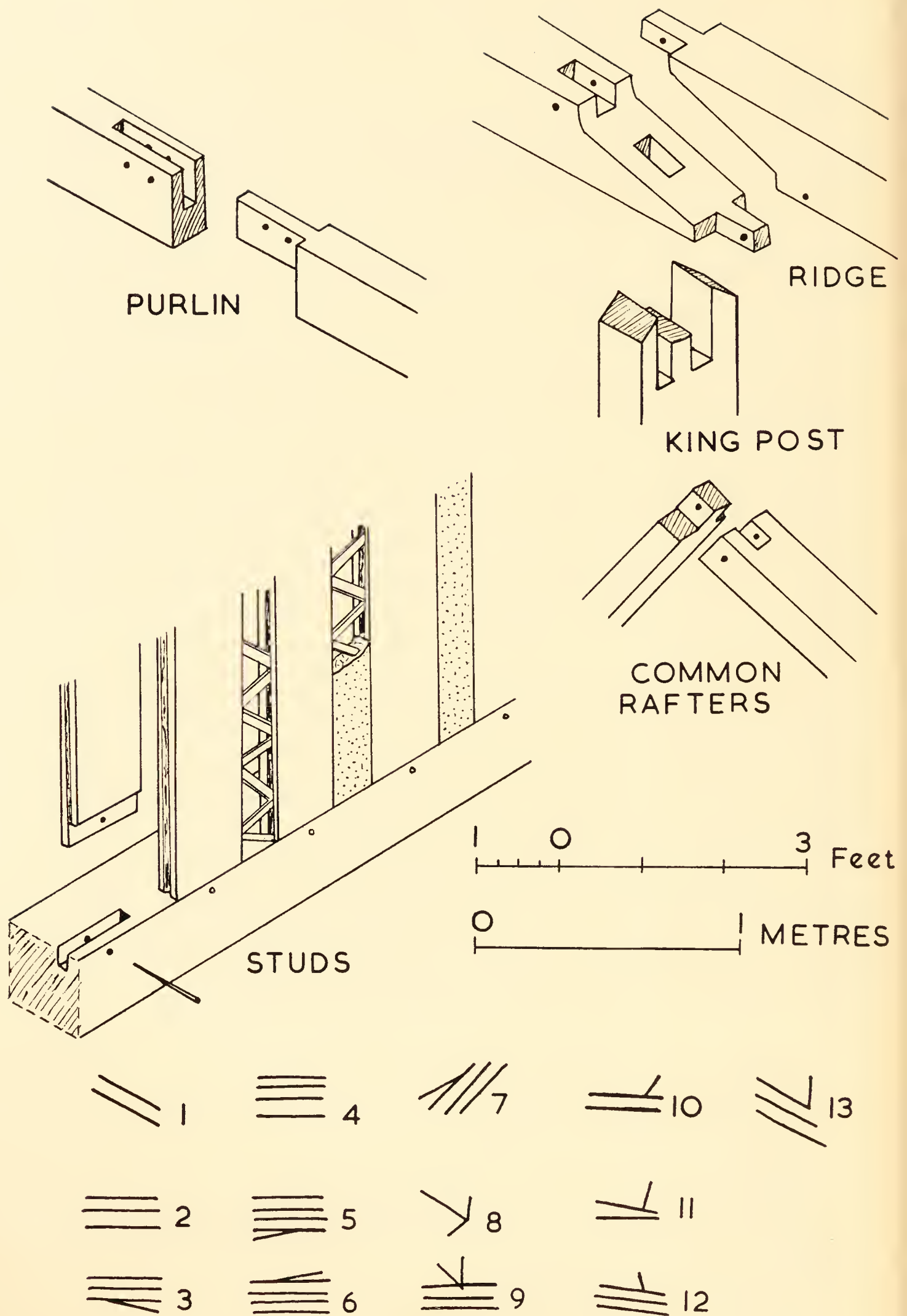


FIG. 5.

Joints and Carpenter's Marks.

- |                            |   |
|----------------------------|---|
| 1. Truss 2. Rafter.        | 6. Truss 4. Brace.                          |
| 2 & 3. Truss 3. King Post. | 7. 3rd Bay. Ridge.                          |
| 4. Truss 4. King Post.     | 8-13. Truss 2. Studding above Bresumer suc- |
| 5. Truss 4. Ridge.         | cessive marks from the north.               |

The dating of these buildings with the same constructional features as Fletcher House to the 15th century, supports a similar dating for Fletcher House. The historical evidence indicates the Fletchers settled there about the middle of the 15th century. The survival of the name of this short lived family for this house is circumstantial evidence for it having been built during their occupation.

## APPENDIX. SIZES OF TIMBERS

	Width	Thickness	Greatest Length	
	ins.	ins.	ft.	ins.
Bresumer	10	6½	25	
Common Rafters	5-7	3-4	16	6
Floor Boards	10-11	1	16	6
Joists	9	6	26	
King Posts	16	6	10	
Principals	16½-12	12	13	9
Principal Rafters	14	6	15	
Ridge	8	7	33	
Purlins	8-9	4-5½	33	
Tie Beams	13-15	11	26	6
Wall Plates	9-10	9	31	6



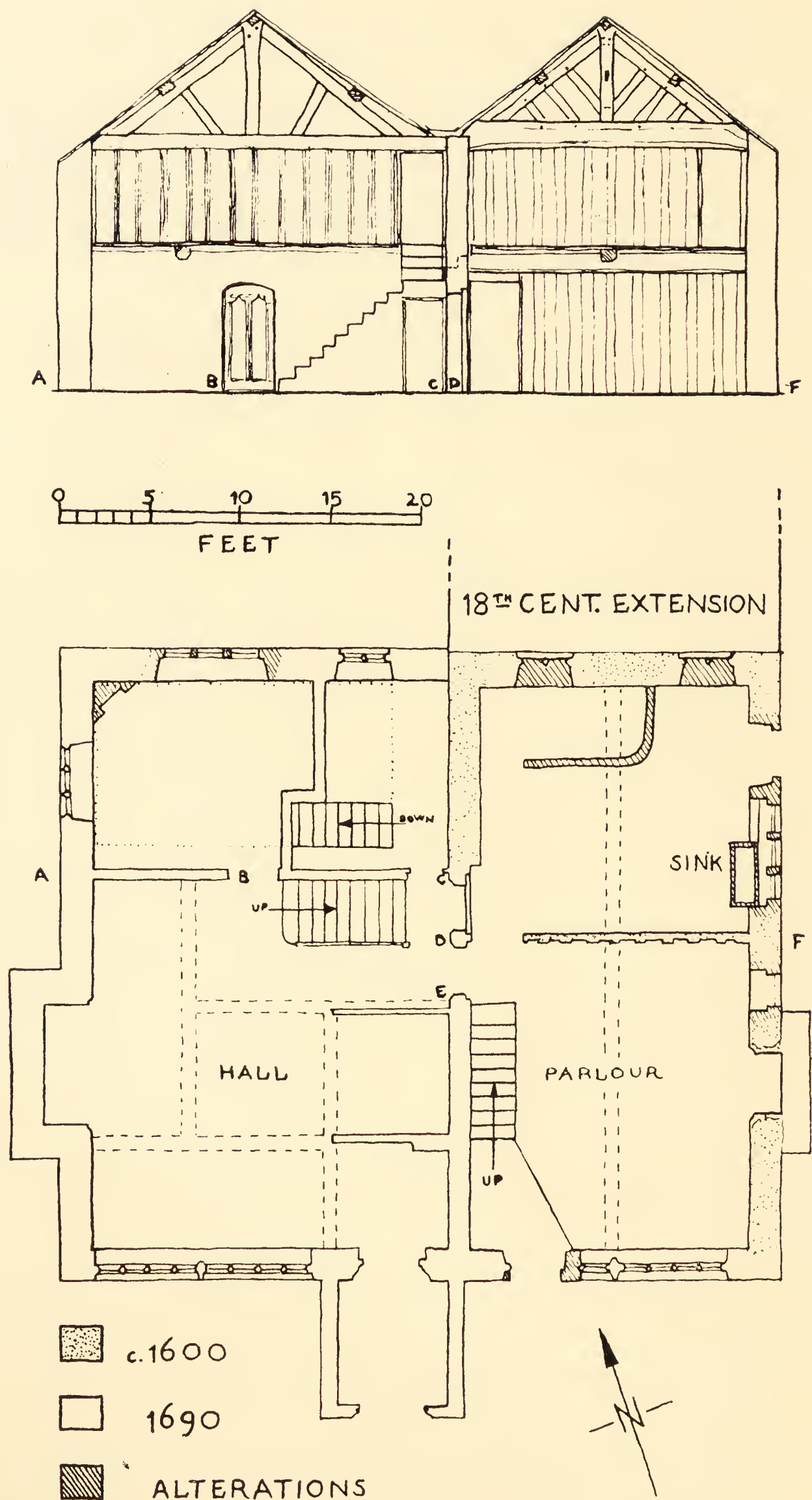


FIG. 1.  
Ground plan and section of Norland Upper Hall. On the plan, dotted lines are used to indicate the extent of the cellar; dashed lines indicate the beams which support the upper floor.

## NORLAND UPPER HALL

By A. J. PACEY.

On its bleak, tree-less plateau, with views of Halifax to the north-east, Norland has the atmosphere, not of a village, but of a random grouping of big houses. Several of the houses are, indeed, the large seventeenth century halls for which the Halifax area is famous—Fallingworth Hall, Town House, Old Hall and Lower Old Hall.

To the north and east of the village, the edge of the plateau is reached, and the land falls, at first steeply, and then more gently towards the River Calder. Norland Upper Hall is situated on the lower levels of this hillside, at the foot of the steepest slope (map reference SE 069233). Its name seems puzzling when it is remembered where Lower Old Hall is, but Upper Hall is higher than other seventeenth century houses on the lower slopes—Binroyd, Upper and Lower Wat Ing.<sup>2</sup> Its site is confined, and the main windows of the house face southwards into a steep hillside. Much of the building dates from 1690, but its site and aspect were determined much earlier.

Two stages in the building's history can be discerned. A joint running down the north wall has quoins which show that the eastern half of the house is older than the western half. The difference in date is confirmed by inspection of the roof trusses and panelling, which are illustrated by the section A-F (fig. 1).

The eastern half of the house is built of stone with simple two-light mullioned windows, but it is divided into two rooms on each floor by a stud and plank partition. On the first floor, the top of the partition is formed by the massive tie-beam of the roof truss. The truss has a king post, with wind braces attached to the ridge piece, and there are three struts at right angles to the principal rafters. This type of construction is typical of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in this locality. Used in conjunction with stone walls, it probably belongs to the period when timber was giving way to stone construction, that is, *circa* 1600.

The roof truss on the other side of the house is much simpler, with only one pair of struts, and without wind braces. There is a stud and plank partition beneath it, but the panels here are of even width, and the studs are finely moulded instead of being roughly finished with a simple chamfer (pl. 1). The mouldings match with four oak doors in the house. One of these (marked B on the plan and section)

<sup>1</sup> Norland Old Hall (demolished) and Binroyd (completely rebuilt) have been fairly fully recorded by H. P. Kendall, and he gives information about other Norland houses: *Halifax Antiquarian Society Transactions*, 1904, p. 93; 1911, p. 1; 1913, pp. 133, 179.

<sup>2</sup> See note 1.



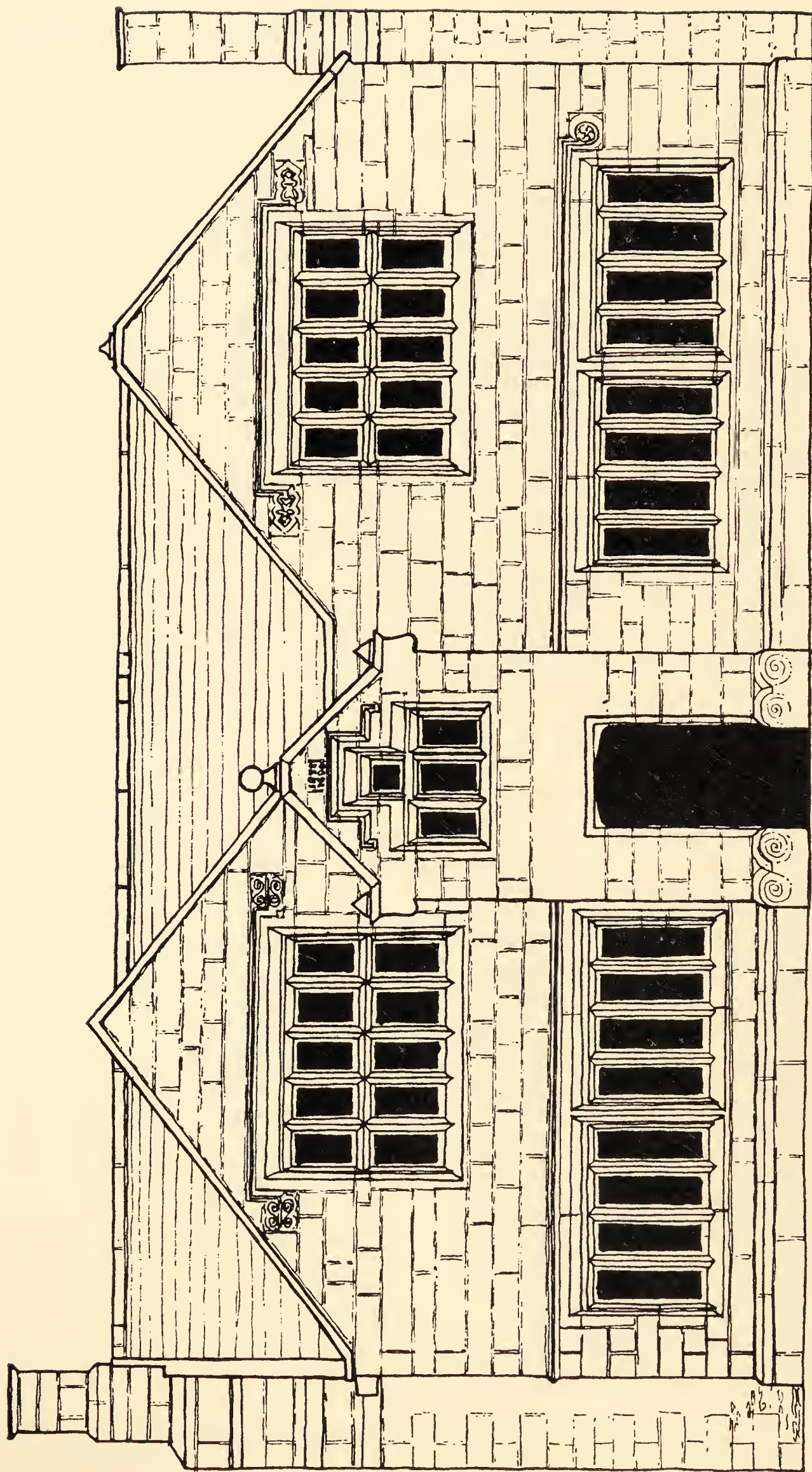


FIG. 2.  
 Elevation of the south front of Norland Upper Hall. The parlour window is restored to its state before the door shown on the plan was inserted.





PLATE I.  
Norland Upper Hall. Panelling and roof construction seen from the room above the hall. Compare with figure 1, section AC.

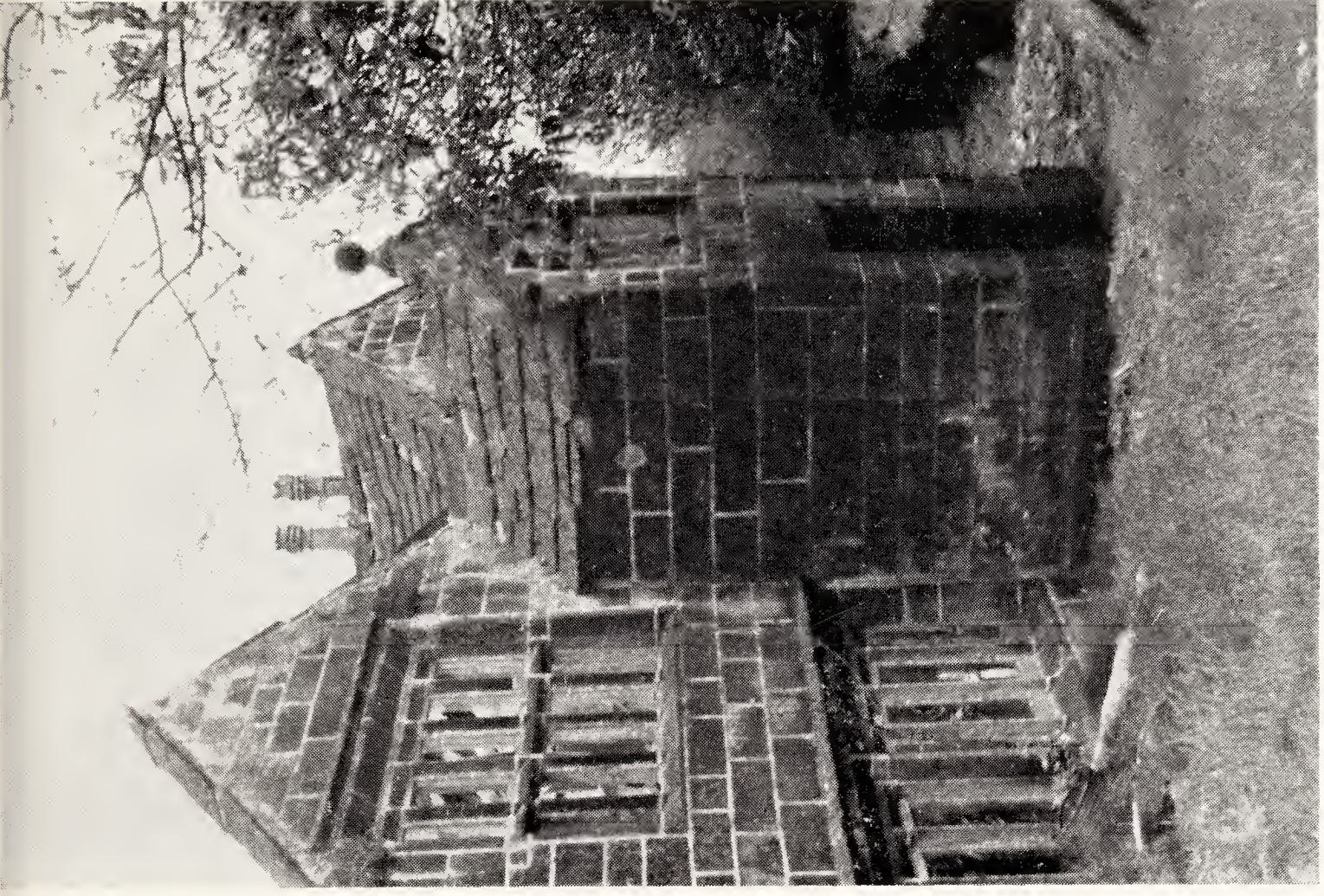
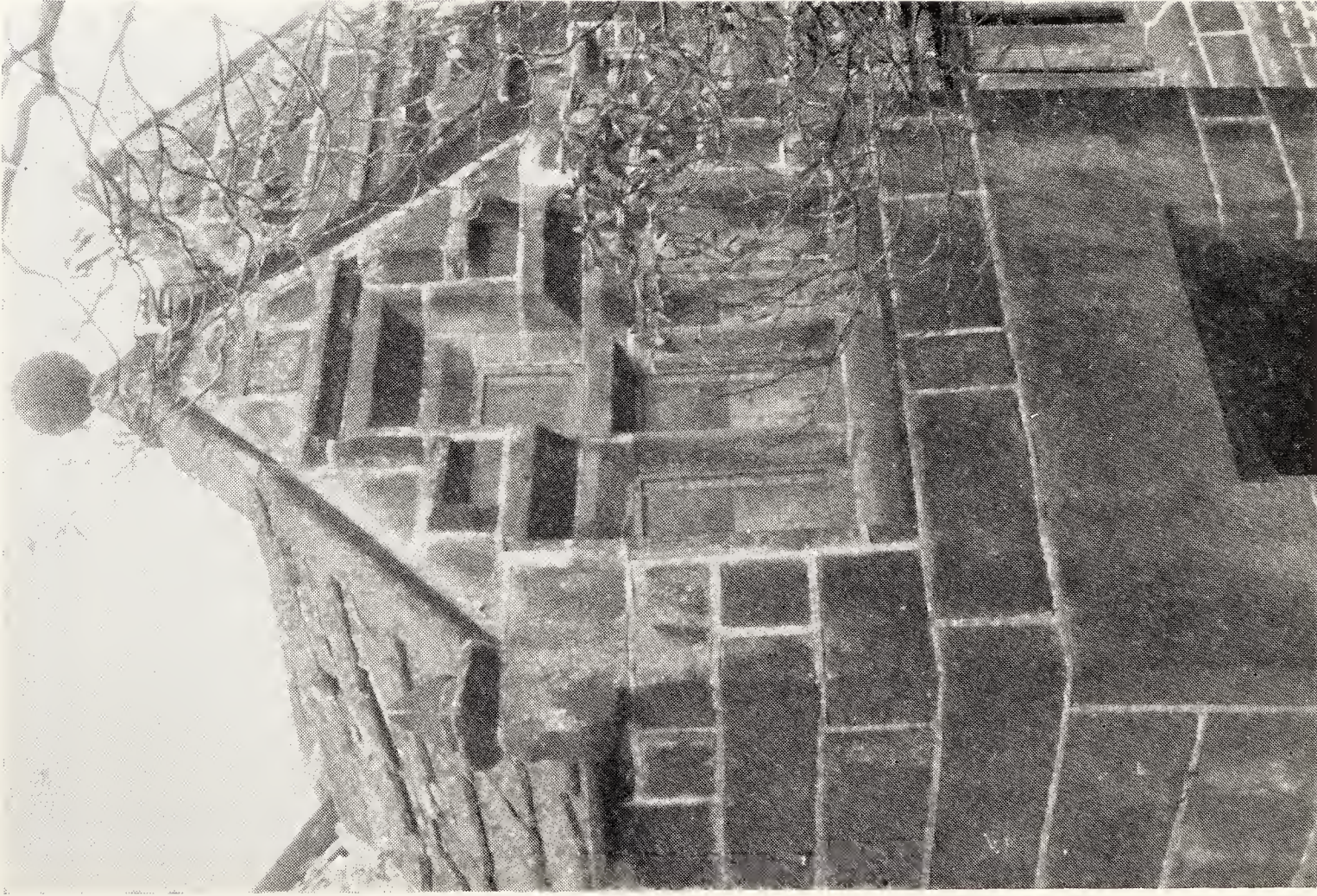


PLATE II.  
The south front of Norland Upper Hall with the hall window on the left.





PLATES III AND IV.  
Details of the porch at Norland Upper Hall.



has been illustrated by Ford.<sup>1</sup> It has ogee headed panels and a nail pattern top and bottom. Other doors, at CD and DE, have a complex curvilinear shape instead of the ogee.

Two original fireplaces survive, in the hall and the parlour. The hall fireplace, which has a straight lintel instead of an arch, carries the date 1690 and the initials ITB—John and Betty Taylor. It is difficult to decide where the cooking was done. In so grand a house as this, it would not be in the hall, but if a fireplace and ovens once existed in the room behind the parlour, they must have been completely swept away when a new window, door and stone sink were inserted during the eighteenth century. The chimney now at this corner of the house serves only a modern bedroom fireplace.

The exterior of the house has all the architectural detail which is to be expected in the Halifax area—large mullioned windows with hood moulds terminated by elaborate, scrolly stops, and an ornamental porch with stepped window. But the plan of the house is rather unusual. In the late seventeenth century, square plans were fashionable in this district. But most houses with square plans—High Trees, Greetland (1684) and Wormald Farm, Barkisland (1693)—have the main entrance leading into the hall at the side of the hall fireplace. At Upper Hall, the entrance is near the middle of the main front, which means that the hall is entered at the opposite side to the fireplace. This break with tradition seems to have been prompted by a desire to make the porch the centre-piece of a symmetrical façade. But although the south wall of the older wing was entirely rebuilt in 1690, it proved to be impossible to put the porch exactly in the middle. As a consequence, the windows of the hall and the room above were displaced, and the hood mould stops arranged to make the disturbance of symmetry less noticeable (fig. 2).

The south front and some internal walls were made of very large blocks of cut stone, which allowed walls to be built much thinner than usual without reducing their stability. At D (see plan) a slender stone pillar carries the end of the roof truss DF, and a similar pillar in the cellar provides support at the junction of two barrel vaults. Situated below the small room to the north of the hall, the cellar has walls and vaults of the same fine masonry as the south front, and must also date from 1690.

The rebuilding of 1690 was so extensive that it is difficult to visualize the house before that date. The wing built *c.* 1600 is clearly only part of a house, and may represent an extension to an even earlier building. This is likely to have been timber framed, or some of its walls would have been retained in the rebuilding. It seems reasonable to imagine a late medieval hall on the site of the present hall, and of about the same width—22 feet from the present south wall.<sup>2</sup> The hall, whatever it was like, was cleared away in 1690 so that the house could be remodelled on the most fashionable plan known to the Halifax masons. Subsequent alterations have included the building of a single storey outbuilding on the north

<sup>1</sup> T. F. Ford, *Thoresby Soc., Miscellaneae*, 28, (1928), p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> I am indebted to Mr. J. T. Smith for this suggestion.



side, which blocked the windows of the room behind the parlour. This entailed alterations in that room which may have involved the removal of a kitchen fireplace. In the nineteenth century, an organ was installed in the hall, and more recently, a new staircase was built in the parlour, with a new door piercing the south wall.

It is not known when the Taylor family acquired Upper Hall, but it was John and Betty Taylor who rebuilt it in 1690. John seems to have been the grandson of Joseph Taylor (*d.* 1682) who extended Norland Old Hall in 1672.<sup>1</sup> In 1731, John Taylor sold the house to James Alderson, who in turn sold it to Rev. Robert Hargreaves. It remained in the Hargreaves family until recently, but has lately changed hands several times. It has not been occupied for some years, and in the summer of 1963 it was derelict, with a large part of the roof missing.

<sup>1</sup> For information on the Taylor family, and the owners of Upper Hall, see the articles by H. P. Kendall quoted in note 1.

## REVIEWS

*Early Yorkshire Charters*, vol. XI: *The Percy Fee*, edited by C. T. Clay (Yorks. Arch. Soc., Record Series, 1963.)

In 1955 Sir Charles Clay issued as volume X of *Early Yorkshire Charters* his collection of charters relating to the Trussebut fee, and it was then indicated that this might be the end of this notable enterprise. Wide-spread regret was felt at the termination of the great undertaking, and it is now therefore most satisfactory that Sir Charles has been persuaded to produce yet another instalment. This volume on the Percy Fee will assuredly be welcomed not only for itself but as part of the larger undertaking whose high value is so generally recognized.

It is indeed sufficient to say in its praise that this book sustains the high standards of its predecessors. Here is editing of the highest quality. The search for texts has been extended over a wide range of manuscript material, and the transcriptions command absolute confidence in respect of their accuracy. The notes and comments are perhaps shorter than might be desired but they always convey important information with authority. Nor is it possible to refrain from expressing admiration for the Index, which is a model of its kind. An essential part of the volume, it notably enhances its value.

It was a happy choice which led Sir Charles to select the Percy fee for treatment, for the family, which was well established by the third quarter of the eleventh century, rapidly flourished, and played a significant part in the history both of mediaeval Yorkshire and of mediaeval England. Its relations with the Church, particularly with the abbeys of Whitby, Sallay and Fountains will repay careful study, and its importance in the Anglo-Norman feudal world was reflected in its alliances with such families as those of Port-en-Bessin, and of Clare. Its prestige was, indeed, to be further illustrated by events towards the close of the twelfth century. Then, after the death without surviving issue, of Alan de Percy II, the main part of the Percy inheritance passed to his sister Agnes, who had married Jocelin of Louvain. But the son and heir of this Agnes was to take his mother's, and not his father's name, and so to carry on the earlier tradition.

Nearly three hundred charters are dealt with in this sumptuous volume, and their importance for Yorkshire history is obvious. This is enhanced by the fact that so many of the Percy lands were concentrated in Craven, so that these texts taken in connexion with those of the honour of Skipton illustrate more fully than ever before the feudal structure of that area in the twelfth century. And the interest of these charters stretches far beyond even the boundaries of Yorkshire. The witness-lists will prove an abiding source of information, and these texts are also of importance in showing how



a family of this standing could hold many of its lands not in chief, but as sub-tenants of such honours as those of Chester, Richmond and Arundel. It may be noted, further, that one of the most important of the fees dependent upon Percy itself was founded by that Reinfrid whose contribution to the monastic development of the north in the eleventh century is well known. And the current debate on the origins of feudalism in England will need to take account of the fact that these charters display no uniform basis for the knight's fee which apparently here ranged from 5 to 27 carucates. Altogether, Sir Charles Clay has rendered a further signal service to English mediaeval scholarship by the devoted labour which has gone to the making of this book.

DAVID DOUGLAS

*The Wool Accounts of William de la Pole* by E. B. Fryde. (St. Anthony's Hall Publications No. 25 York, 1964) pp. 29.

Curiously enough, William de la Pole has never found a biographer, and the only work on his life in recent years was the valuable, though little-known work by the late A. S. Harvey, 'The de la Pole family of Kingston upon Hull' issued in 1957 in a mimeographed form by the East Yorkshire Local History Society. Yet he was a new phenomenon in English history, the first of a long line of merchants to be knighted; his son Michael was raised to the peerage and his descendants might well have sat upon the throne. In this pamphlet Dr. Fryde is only concerned with one aspect of de la Pole's activities and for a very short period, i.e. his wool accounts for 1337 and 1339. These were the result of the attempt of Edward III to use the wool trade as a means of financing the war with France; the attempt failed and in 1340 de la Pole and other merchants were arrested and brought to trial on a charge of smuggling wool. The account here printed was submitted by Pole in answer to the charge, of which, incidentally, he was acquitted. The other accounts are the enrolled accounts of de la Pole and Conduit covering the same transaction and de la Pole's enrolled accounts for royal wool exported to the Netherlands in 1339.

From these Dr. Fryde has been able to give a vivid picture of the nascent English wool trade. We see Pole's agents buying up wool in Yorkshire, Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire, concentrating it at river ports like Bawtry and sending it to Hull to be stored, repacked and finally despatched under armed escort to the Netherlands. Pole had a shrewd idea of book keeping and the cost of these operations is carefully recorded. Indeed, he may have been even more careful than Dr. Fryde thinks. He charged storage in Hull at  $\frac{1}{2}$ d. a sack per week from which Dr. Fryde argues that he had no warehouse in Hull; in view of his importance in the town at this period, his sale of ships there and his appearance as the first mayor, I find this difficult to believe. Was it not possible that some of the wool was stored in Pole's own warehouse and that he debited his wool account with the usual charge? By his careful

edition of the text and his valuable commentary, Dr. Fryde has put local historians in his debt, though no doubt some would have wished him to go a stage further and supply a translation of his documents.

F. W. BROOKS











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PART 163.  
(BEING THE THIRD PART OF VOLUME XLI).  
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THE  
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1964

This register follows the same principles as the last. Entries are arranged alphabetically under the name of the parish or nearest village, which is followed by the initials of the Riding and the number of the relevant 1 in. O.S. map. The name of contributor, informant, or source of the entry closes each entry except that where successive entries for the same parish derive from the same contributor his name only appears at the end of the final entry. The success of the register is entirely dependent on the goodwill of fieldworkers who have responded with their usual generosity.

Certain changes have been made. The number of entries received was very large. To save space casual finds of prehistoric stone implements have been extracted from the body of the register and listed summarily on p. 338. Casual finds of mediaeval pottery have been omitted unless there is some significance in the find spot or they are intrinsically interesting. Mediaeval coins have been omitted but will in future be included if there is some significance in their being found where they were. The list of contributors is omitted.

This year the register includes a large number of entries by Dr. Raistrick who has selected the more important sites which he has surveyed mainly in the last three years but including some earlier ones. Dr. Raistrick writes that he has examined some 250 sites in W. Yorkshire and has surveyed nearly 100 of them in the last few years—a phenomenal achievement!

*H. G. Ramm.*

*Prehistoric:*

- (i) *Excavations:* Burton Fleming, Easington, Flasby, Grassington, Kildale, Levisham, Meltham, Rudston, Skipton, Stainborough, Stirton with Thorlby.
- (ii) *Surveys and observations:* Appletreewick, Embsay, Grassington, Hebden, Thornthwaite with Padiham.
- (iii) *Finds:* (Stone implements listed separately on p. 338). Bewerley, Cottingham, Farnley, Hutton-le-Hole, Middleton, Rotherham, Silsden, Skipton.

*Unclassified:*

- (i) *Cultivations, enclosures and settlements:* Arncliffe, Bordley, Conistone, Grassington, Hawkeswick, Hebden, Kettlewell, Kilnsey, Ribbleshead, Spaunton, Threshfield.
- (ii) *Querns:* Hartoft, Helwith, Hutton-le-Hole, Lealholme, Scarcroft, Skipton and Thorner.



*Roman:*

- (i) *Excavations:* Aislaby, Aldborough, Bainbridge, Bingley, Crambe, Drax, Fixby, Halifax, Saddleshworth, Spaunton, Spensborough, York.
- (ii) *Surveys and observations:* Catterick, Crambeck, Ledston, Marr, and York.
- (iii) *Finds:* Almondbury, Brough, Ecclesfield, Gate Helmsley, Holme-on-Spalding Moor, Hornsea, Knaresborough, Newton Kyme, Richmond, Scarcroft, Settle, Sutton-on-Hull, Swine, Whitby, York.

*Mediaeval and later:*

- (i) *Excavations:* Allerston, Baildon, Brompton, Chapel Haddlesey, Danby, Follifoot, Hartwith-cum-Winsley, Hull, Kildale, Kirkstall, Malham, Pontefract, Rawmarsh, Ripon, Seamer, Spaunton, Thornhill, Wakefield, Wharham Percy, Woodkirk, Worsborough, York.
- (ii) *Surveys and observations:* Appletreewick, Conistone, Flamborough, Gawber, Hawkesworth, Menston, Sutton on the Forest, Sutton on Derwent, Thorganby, Threshfield.
- (iii) *Finds:* Barnsley, Conisbrough, Midhope, Skewsby, Whitby, Widdington, York.

*Aislaby, N.R. (86)*

NZ.836074. An R.-B. hut site, with a stone paved floor including built-in quern fragments, was excavated by Dr. A. W. Riddolls and the Whitby Naturalists Club. Small finds included R.-B. pottery and part of a jet bracelet. Lathe cores, similar to the famous Kimmeridge 'coal money', wasters from the working of jet bracelets and bangles, were the most exciting finds.

A. W. Riddolls.

*Aldborough (Isurium Brigantum), W.R. (91)*

SE.406662. New information about the defences of Aldborough was obtained by excavation in O.S. field 105A, immediately south-east of the presumed south gate, occasioned by building on this scheduled site. A new bastion and the south-east corner of the presumed south gate were located, 165 ft. apart. Their clay and cobble foundations<sup>1</sup> lay in the cleaned out first period ditch, 20 ft. wide and 8 ft. deep, with a V section cut into the rock. No masonry survived of the south gate, but three millstone grit foundation blocks (including the two corner stones) survived *in situ* in the bastion. With the evidence of ghost walls they prove the bastion to have been rectangular, 27 ft. wide.

A 135 ft. trench—at right angles to the town wall—suggested that the bastion layout included a 25 ft. berm, a 40 ft. wide great ditch, a 50 ft. wide counterscarp with a bridle path on the tail, and an outer rock-cut ditch of unknown width.<sup>2</sup> This trench produced a few finds, but the first period ditch by the gate produced pottery and brooches which will contribute further dating evidence for the *Isurium* defences.

A watching brief on sewage works indicated two areas of extra-mural settlement; at the junctions of the north and east exit roads from *Isurium* with the York-Catterick road. From the latter came a large pottery group mostly mortaria, flagons and lids. The roads north and east of the town were seen in section.

Mrs. M. U. Jones.

*Allerston, N.R. (92)*

SE.878830. Manor House site. Excavations by Scarborough and District Arch. Soc. directed by F. C. Rimington and G. R. Pye continued in 1964

<sup>1</sup> First recorded by Barber in 1924. *Y.A.J.*, pt. 157 (1959), 6.

<sup>2</sup> This layout may have been partly determined by glacial deposits. Help on this aspect by Mr. G. D. Gaunt of the Geological Survey (Leeds Office) is acknowledged.

(Y.A.J., pt. 162 (1964), 162). Work was concentrated on the circular building. This structure, 30 ft. in diameter, and of uncertain use, has proved not to be a dovecote. Associated pottery was of the 13th century.  
J. G. Rutter.

*Almondbury, W.R.* (102)

SE.153141. T. G. Manby reported the finding in a pipe trench within the inner bailey of the Castle of a fragment of Roman *amphora*—the first definite piece of Roman pottery from the site. Y.A.S. *Roman Antiquities Section, Minutes*, 7 Nov. 1964.

*Appletreewick, W.R.* (90)

(1) SE.061647. The site of 'Gate-up House', a farm of Bolton Priory, below the water level of Grimwith reservoir but exposed in 1961. Slight foundations, quantities of 14th and 15th century pottery.

(2) SE.065632. Fancarl. Two stone circles, one with clear standing stones, 30 ft. in diameter, and the other a double circle of small recumbent stones, 12 ft. in diameter. Surveyed 1950.  
A. Raistrick.

*Arncliffe, W.R.* (90)

(1) SD.924716. A large area of rectangular fields and enclosures with a sunk road on the north flank of Cowside Beck. Surveyed 1955.

(2) SD.935710. Blue Scar. A large area of fields with some huts, now on limestone pavement. Small enclosures among the limestone outcrops. Surveyed 1951.  
A. Raistrick.

*Baildon, W.R.* (96)

SE.155406. Pottery kiln found during the course of field survey and excavated. Of single flue type, it is roughly circular with a diameter of some 7 ft. It has been damaged by a field wall cutting across its centre. East of this wall the kiln floor is intact but the walls are ploughed out: west of it the walls are relatively intact but the floor is destroyed. The pottery is generally partially glazed and decorated round the shoulder with a single wavy line. The kiln is provisionally dated late in the 15th or early in the 16th century. West of the wall, traces were found of an earlier kiln partly underlying the later one. No complete pots were found. The edge of a stone-floored building connected with the kiln was found east of the wall and this it is hoped to excavate at a later date.  
B. Stubbs.

*Bainbridge, N.R.* (90)

SD.937902. Roman Fort. The annual excavation of the Dept. of Latin, Leeds University, was concerned this season with the *principia*. Flavian-Trajanic timber buildings with a cellar in the *sucellum* were succeeded by Antonine stone *principia* which were completely demolished and replaced by a new building at the beginning of the 3rd century. This then survived largely unaltered, until the middle of the 4th century, when the function of the building apparently changed and metal-working furnaces were inserted in the cross-hall and wooden structures were set up in the forecourt.

B. Hartley.

*Barnsley, W.R.* (102)

A clog almanac, a wooden calendar resembling a Staffordshire type dating about 16th century discovered in 1961 and deposited in the Sheffield City Museum. The calendar consists of a stout four sided bar of wood, 20½ ins. long and 2½ by 2½ ins. in section. The four edges are notched to show the days and carved symbols indicate the festivals. H. R. Singleton deciphered the symbols and suggests that on the basis of the local saints' days recorded in the calendar it may properly be regarded as a Yorkshire calendar.

D. Ashurst.



*Bewerley, W.R.* (91)

SE.161636 and 164635. A group of cup and ring marked stones on the lower slopes of Guyscliff,  $1\frac{1}{4}$  miles S. of Pateley Bridge. One was noticed by C. C. Gaunt and further finds made by the contributors, *C. E. Hartley and S. Feather.*

*Bingley, W.R.* (96)

SE.117385. Crosley Wood. R.-B. enclosure, 200 ft. diameter surrounded by a 6 ft. drystone wall. Rescue excavation. *P. Mayes.*

*Bordley, W.R.* (90)

(1) SD.942668-942671. Tattersalls Pasture. A massive boulder wall approx. 240 ft. long connects 2 circular huts of 20 ft. diameter, a square enclosure of 30 ft., and a polygonal enclosure c.50 ft. across. Traces of other field walls round about. At the N. end and separate a rectangular building with well made boulder walls with inner and outer facings in most of it, and well made corners, 80 ft. by 90 ft. The wall is c.6 ft. through. A lower rougher wall is connected with it but disturbed by modern walling. Surveyed 1960.

(2) SD.933673. High Mark. Massive walled large two roomed rectangular enclosure with smaller rectangular attached enclosure. Surveyed 1961.

(3) SD.935676. Several enclosures varying in size and shape and field walls surveyed 1961.

(4) SD.941678. High Mark. Row of massive enclosures with hut circles under a small limestone scar. Cattle pound adjoining. Surveyed 1960. *A. Raistrick.*

*Brompton, N.R.* (93)

SE.929863. Brandy Slack Dike, near Granary House, Sawdon. A short linear earthwork threatened with destruction from agricultural activities was sectioned by F. C. Rimington and J. G. Rutter early in 1964. Probably mediaeval but no evidence of date was produced during the excavation. *J. G. Rutter.*

*Brough, E.R.* (98)

SE.940265. Denarius of Vespasian (69-79 A.D.). Bronze of Constantius II (337-361 A.D.). Both coins now in Hull Museums. *Hull Museums.*

*Burton Fleming, E.R.* (93)

TA.097707. Maidens Grave. Class II Henge. Excavated by R. W. Mackey. Oval, 240 by 290 ft., with two opposed entrances, orientated N.W.-S.E. The ditch proved to be 38 ft. wide and  $13\frac{1}{2}$  ft. deep. Beaker and neolithic and R.-B. sherds in ditch fill. Note published in *Antiquity* XXXVIII (1964), 218. *Hull Museums.*

*Catterick, N.R.* (91)

SE.231982. The Pallet Hill Sand and Gravel Co. extending their pit N. of Catterick village westward across the Roman road exposed the upper 6 ft. of a drystone lined well, rectangular with rounded corners, c.140 yds. W. of the Roman road and c. $\frac{1}{2}$  mile S. of the Roman town. A section across the road was exposed in the side of the gravel pit. Only the base of the agger survived 18 ft. wide, of gravel, with steep well defined edges. (see fig. 1). *H. G. Ramm.*

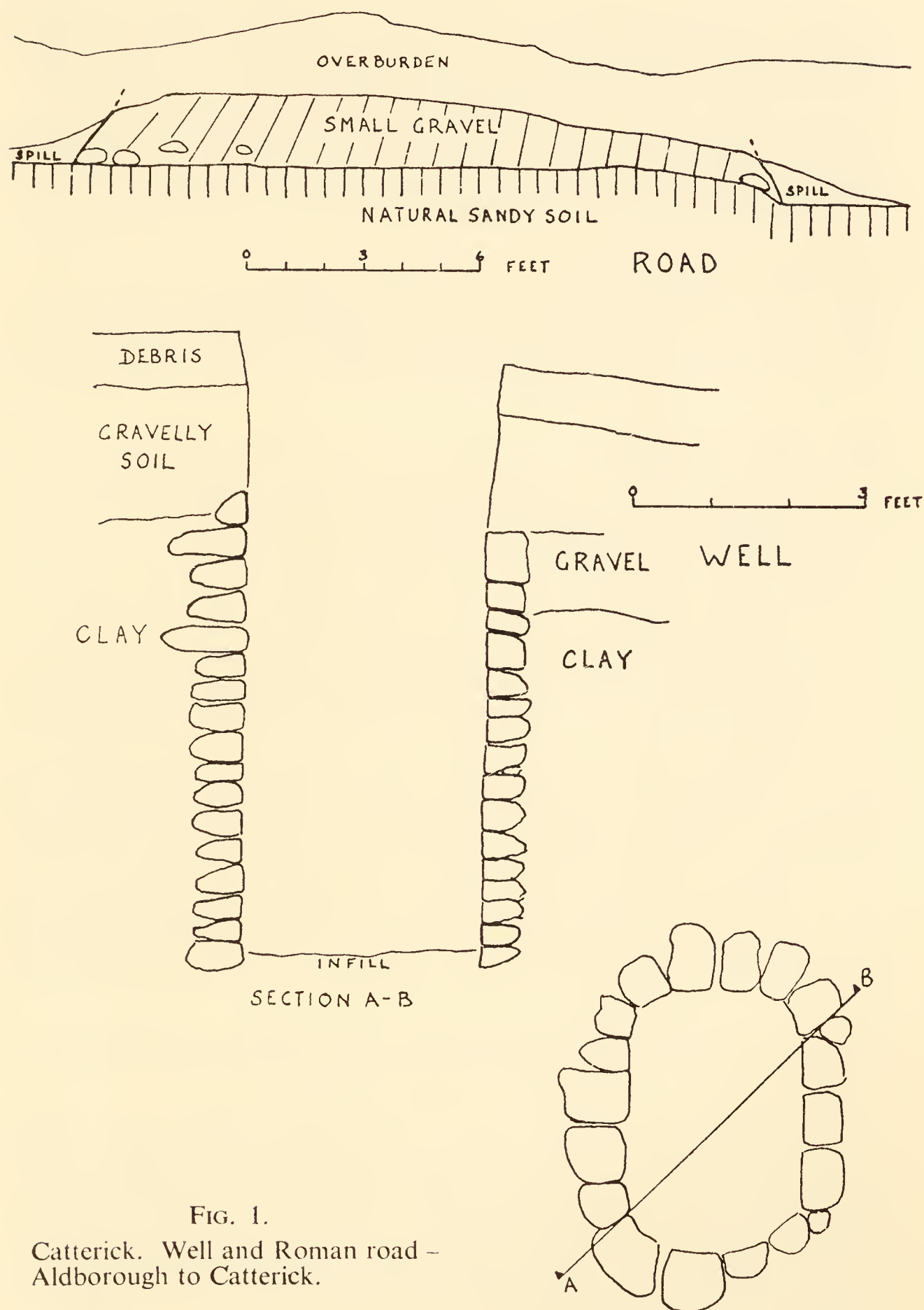


FIG. 1.

Catterick. Well and Roman road –  
Aldborough to Catterick.

*Chapel Haddlesey, W.R. (97)*

SE.587257. A double moated manor house was excavated on behalf of the Ministry of Public Buildings and Works. Most of the building was concentrated in the western half of the central island (360 by 220 ft.). Apart from the usual alterations and reconstructions there were three main building phases. The first, antedating the construction of the inner moat, was entirely of timber: of this, the hall and a detached building with central hearth were excavated. Very early in the fourteenth century this was succeeded by a large hall, orientated, like the moat system, north-west to south-east with deep foundation trenches. Service and other rooms lay



to the north and north-west of this hall. The final phase, of fifteenth century date comprised a smaller hall on the alignment of the previous one with rooms and kitchen to the north. A residential wing, with bake-houses and other service buildings at right-angles to it, partly enclosed a small courtyard north-west of the kitchen. A detached house was built along the edge of the moat at the eastern corner of the site. Bridge and gatehouse lay halfway along the south-east moat from which a cobbled road led across the island to an entrance at the side of the hall. The site was abandoned early in the sixteenth century. *H. E. Jean Le Patourel.*

*Conisbrough, W.R.* (103)

SK.515989. The Castle. During restoration work over the last few years finds have been made of late and post-mediaeval pottery sherds, coins, spear heads, fragments of leaded lights, metal and bone. Some of the finds have been placed in the Sheffield Museum. *J. Radley.*

*Conistone, W.R.* (90)

(1) SD.983702-989691. Four large and many small groups of enclosures, some with hut circles etc., linked with much walling. Surveyed 1956.

(2) SD.988682. Rectangular building foundation, perhaps of a mediaeval farmstead, well made with very large stones laid on bed, very massive, associated with long narrow fields separated by boulder walling. Surveyed 1956.

(3) SD.988687. High Hill Castles. Rectangular building, 95 ft. by 30 ft. in two almost equal rooms. The walls are now low banks with a stone core, probably the base for a wooden structure. A rectangular field at the west end 80 ft. by 70 ft. and other enclosures and straight walls round about. Surveyed 1960.

(4) SD.989684. Scat Gate Pasture. Hut complex. Six or more huts within a massive surrounding gravel bank which forms part of four of the huts. The largest hut, circular, has a diameter of 40 ft., the others 30 ft. and 20 ft. The whole enclosure measures 200 ft. by 170 ft. There are many field divisions around it. Surveyed 1962.

(5) SD.989685-990685. High Hill Castles. A complex of enclosures with huts, of boulder walling, often massive, the whole complex measuring approximately 580 ft. by 160 ft. It is linked with a large area of rather poorly defined boulder walled fields. Much of the area is now limestone pavement. Surveyed 1959.

(6) SD.993679. Head of Old Pasture. A large area of rectangular fields running below the limestone scar out over the terrace, with smaller enclosures and huts against the scar. Surveyed 1959.

(7) SD.994669. Capstick Pasture. A rectangular field 50 ft. by 100 ft. with unusually massive walls with some very large boulders set on them. The north wall of the field is a lynchet, and the ground outside the south wall falls at once to a comparable terrace but marked off by further slopes not walls. In the north wall is a massive circular hut, 15 ft. diameter, opening into another field or court and this in its turn opens into further enclosed ground. A large area all around has a few gravel banks and several massive terraces, at a distance like Anglian lynchets but bigger and not so regular. Surveyed 1959. *A. Raistrick.*

*Cottingham, E.R.* (99)

TA.154321. Bronze Terret, Iron Age, late 1st cent. A.D. Now in Hull Museums. *Hull Museums.*

*Crambe, N.R.* (92)

SE.73136548. In fields belonging to Cliff House Farm. A stone-lined T-shaped grain drying oven was excavated. Crop marks and other chance surface finds suggest an extensive native Romano-British settlement in the vicinity. *L. P. Wenham.*

*Crambeck, N.R.* (92)

SE.73556700. Jamies Crag. Clearing out and levelling of the old quarry preparatory to its use as a caravan site revealed a large ditch in section in the newly cut E. face. Since no return was visible in the exposed N. and E. faces of the quarry, any continuation must have been westwards. It originally had a bank on its north side and a slight bank and hollow could be traced eastwards into a plantation. This ditch may have demarcated the south side of the area occupied by the Roman potters and their kilns. (see fig. 2).

Boys from Bootham School recovered pottery of the usual Crambeck types from the stoke pits of two separate kilns. Crop marks of numerous kilns were visible in the eastern of the two fields north of the quarry, and when ploughed, building debris including fragments of *tegulae*, and broken limestone was visible at the north end of the west field. *H. G. Ramm.*

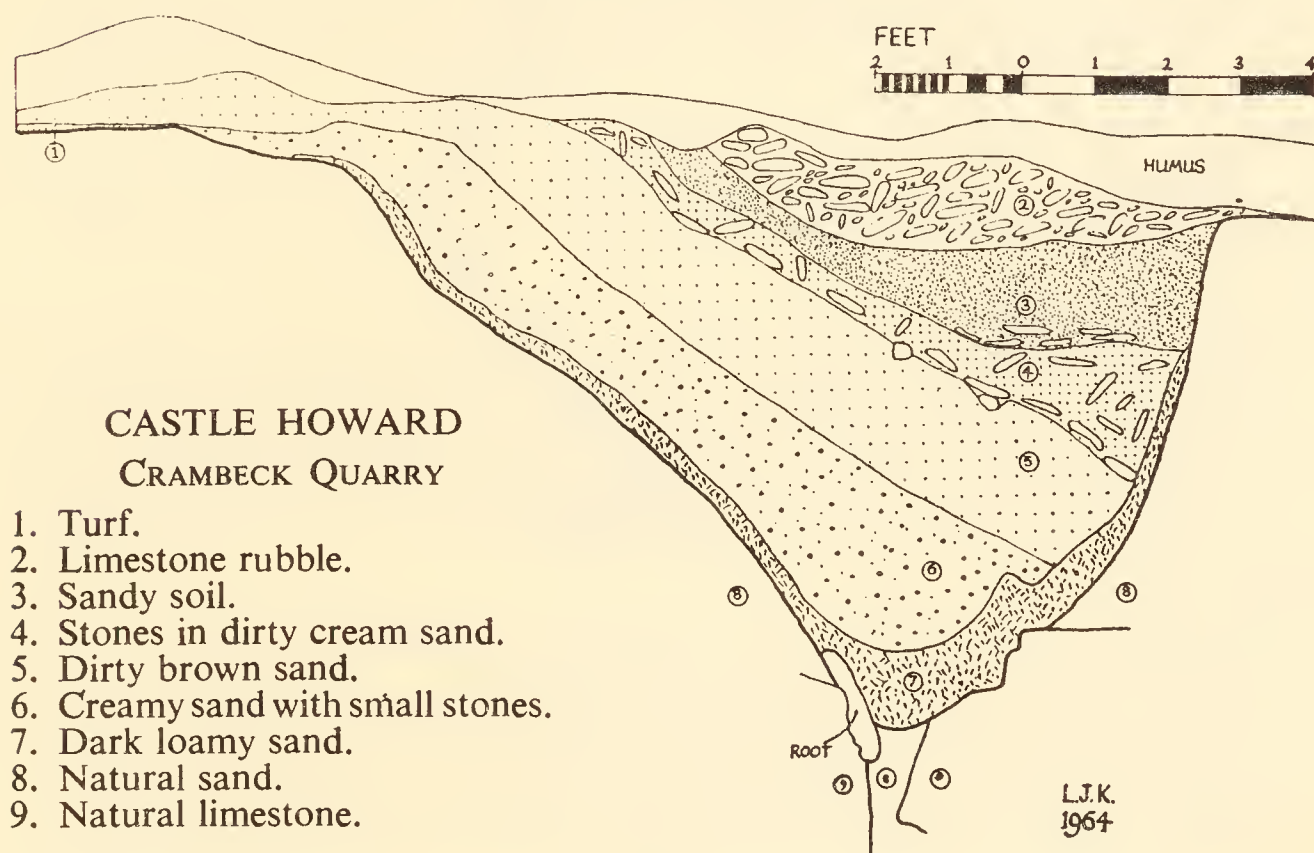


FIG. 2.

Crambeck. Section across ditch looking East.

*Danby, N.R.* (86)

NZ.700063. Church House Farm. Excavations to find evidence of the site of the Domesday village of Danby in the stackyard of the farm revealed a thin scatter of 17-18th century pottery but nothing necessarily of mediaeval date. The only structural feature was a stone built water channel, apparently designed to tap spring water running down the northern edge of the field and to lead a supply towards the farm buildings. Although there was no direct evidence of date it is probably 17-18th century. *C. V. Bellamy.*

*Drax, W.R.* (98)

SE.690261. Excavation of the site, which covered an area 86 by 60 ft., was continued and finished in 1964. It has proved to be a compact farmstead, consisting of a building containing five rooms of varying sizes, a small entrance hall, and a corridor extending along the front to the south-east and turning along the south-west side. To the front of the building was a rectangular courtyard paved with sandstone cobbles with a barn-like building at either end. A 2 ft. wall extended across most of the south-east



side of the courtyard. The buildings had limestone walls and red tiled roofs. Pottery evidence suggests that the site was in use between about 160 and 270 A.D. K. Wilson.

*Easington, E.R.* (105)

TA.409182. Bronze Age round barrow. Excavations will continue in 1965 and be reported in next year's Register.

*Ecclesfield, W.R.* (103)

SK.358936. Carved sandstone head found amongst building rubble, of Celtic style and probable R.-B. date. Now in Sheffield City Museum. G. D. Lewis.

*Embsay, W.R.* (95)

SD.979563. Nettlehole Circle. A small stone circle of six stones set symmetrically with a diameter of 26 ft. The stones vary in size from 21 to 58 ins. Surveyed 1963. A. Raistrick.

*Farnley, W.R.* (96)

SE.202488. Crag Plantation, Farnley Moor. Two cup markings on bed-rock adjacent to quarry edge. S. Feather.

*Fixby, W.R.* (102)

SE.130190. Grimscar Roman tile kiln site. Work by the Tolson Memorial Museum and Heath Grammar School, Halifax, to salvage material and to fill in an earlier excavation. A dump of kiln debris was excavated containing kiln-lining, burnt stone, tiles and pottery. Part of a kiln stoke pit was excavated and showed evidence of at least two floor levels; the rest of the stoke pit had been destroyed by a coal pit. T. G. Manby.

*Flamborough, E.R.* (93)

TA.226703. Flamborough Castle. Mediaeval fortified manor house. The extant remains were surveyed and certain features photographed. The building was constructed of chalk blocks and had a vaulted basement, plain doorway and loophole. There were traces of a garderobe drain from first floor level. Foundations of a hall with an outbuilding were planned together with adjoining tofts and crofts, sunken ways and field boundaries. J. R. Earnshaw.

*Flasby, W.R.* (95)

SD.963563. Small stone cairn, 12 ft. diameter, 2 ft. high. Very regular, entirely of local grit boulders, the largest robbed for local walling. The cairn rests on an old turf line with undisturbed podsol section continuous beneath it. Many burned flaggy grits at the centre, but no trace of any burial. Excavated 1964. A. Raistrick.

*Follifoot, W.R.* (96)

SE.344525. A kiln was found by schoolchildren during building operations. Situated to the south of the village where the ground slopes towards a stream, half remains for excavation after bulldozing. It was roughly circular of multiflued construction (5 or possibly 6 flues), with an internal diameter of 6 ft. and was surrounded by a two-foot unmortared gritstone wall. Pottery was stacked on thin gritstone slabs overlying the clay floor. All pottery was undecorated, the majority of vessels partially covered with dark brown glaze; fabric was a late form of *East Pennine Gritty* ware; shapes included a wide variety of jugs and bowls with a predominance of large pitchers with broad striated handles and bung holes, the latter sometimes with pottery bungs still in the hole. A sixteenth century date is suggested pending the results of magnetic sampling.

H. E. Jean Le Patourel.

*Gate Helmsley, E.R. (97)*

SE.69445543. Roman waster, a mishaped whole beaker with double beaded rim in a hard grey ware, rough inside, soapy smooth outside, with prominent turning marks, of late 2nd or early 3rd century date. Found with other pottery by an electricity linesman while erecting a double pole but only the whole pot was kept. (see fig. 3). This find may give an indication of a kiln site but the fact that similarly misshaped pots were used in the Roman burial grounds at York (R.C.H.M., *Roman York*, 97-8) is a warning that wasters of this kind were put on the local market and not just thrown away at the kilns.

*H. G. Ramm.*

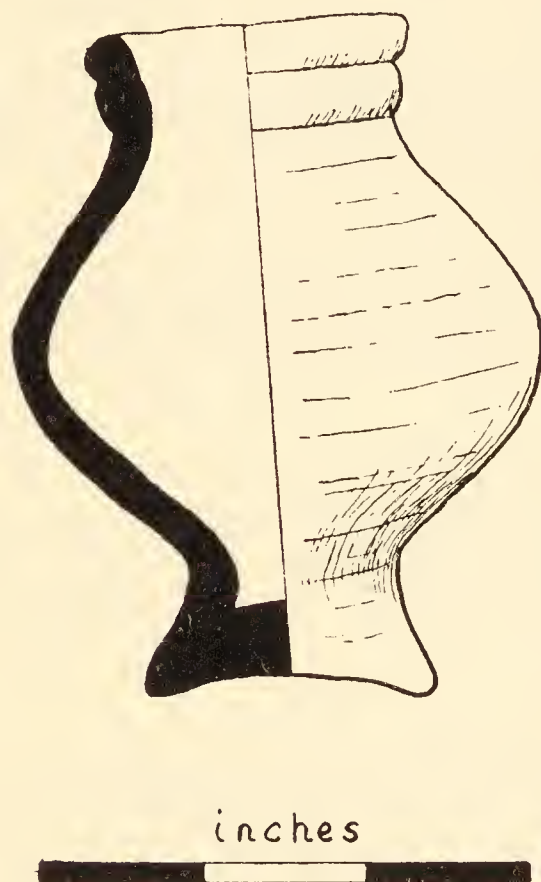


FIG. 3.  
Gate Helmsley. Roman Beaker.

*Gawber, W.R. (102)*

S.E327076. Site of Glass House (probable dates 17th to early 19th century) Works demolished after closure during first quarter of 19th century and no surface indication now remains other than parts of spoil heap. The site was surveyed 1964, and samples of glass metal taken from the waste heap for analysis. Excavation planned for 1965.

*D. Ashurst.*

*Grassington, W.R. (90)*

(1) SE.014654. At Yarnbury, just over one mile north-east of Grassington there is a circular earthwork 116 ft. in diameter overall, consisting of a ditch with external bank.<sup>1</sup> On surface inspection the earthwork appeared to have the characteristics of a henge-monument. An excavation carried out in July 1964, by an archaeological summer school based on Grantley Hall, proved this thesis. There was no trace of an internal mound, and the entrance to the south-east was obviously original. No traces were found of any sort of internal structure, and a square pit in the centre of the circle had been caused by an excavation earlier this century. The ditch was rock-cut and the bank of simple dump construction. No dating evidence was found. This henge is much smaller and slighter in construction than

<sup>1</sup> *Y.A.J.*, pt. 116 (1929), 361, 364; pt. 161 (1963), 6.



the other known Yorkshire examples, but can be paralleled very closely by an example at Castilly, Cornwall.<sup>1</sup> With its single entrance, the Yarnbury henge falls into Atkinson's Class 1.<sup>2</sup> *D. P. Dymond.*

(2) SE.000649. Cove Pasture. Farmstead—one large circular hut, 30 ft. diameter, associated with six small crofts making a rectangular group 270 ft. by 110 ft. A sunk road separates it from small fields probably of the same age. Surveyed 1960.

(3) SE.025666 to 025667. Stone circle A. Slight ellipse, 30 ft. by 25 ft. A broad gravel bank with smallish mainly recumbent stones, a few longish ones placed on edge and radial. About 50 stones, 2 ft. by 1 ft. average size and many smaller ones. Bank and circle about 5 ft. wide. Circle B. 28 ft. diameter, bank 3-4 ft. wide, 25 smallish stones mostly set on edge. Both surveyed 1950.

(4) SE.012658. High Mires Rigg. A large area of boulder walls and field boundaries extending more than half a mile along the higher part of the ridge. Surveyed 1955. *A. Raistrick.*

#### *Halifax, W.R. (96)*

SE.054268. Sentry Edge. Excavation on the supposed line of Roman road showed no evidence of its existence perhaps as a result of recent quarrying. A ditch was sectioned but no dating evidence was found.

*G. F. Bryant.*

#### *Hartoft, N.R. (92)*

SE.756950. In the field north of Rock House, Hartoft, the upper stone of a beehive quern was ploughed up, 7 ins. high, 13 ins. diameter, 5 ins. hopper, handle holes. Not of local stone, perhaps millstone grit.

*R. Hayes.*

#### *Hartwith cum Winsley, W.R. (91)*

SE.222629. Brimham Hall, formerly a grange and hunting lodge of Fountains Abbey. Trial excavations produced glazed tiles and pottery mainly of the 15th-17th century. Stone foundations were located and partially explored in the field immediately south of the present buildings. These are probably enclosure walls of the 16th to 17th century, but the corner of a very substantial 15th to early 16th century building with a floor of glazed tiles was also exposed. This building had been burnt down in the early 17th century.

*D. G. Wild.*

#### *Hawkeswick, W.R. (90)*

SD.941676-941680. Many enclosures, cattle pounds, and some huts occupying a deep valley for 500 yards.

*A. Raistrick.*

#### *Hawkesworth, W.R. (96)*

SE.15304297. Reva Cross. On the west side of the gate from the road into the field in which are the remains of the Reva Cross, is a cross base, apparently *in situ*, serving as a bolster stone to the wall head of the gate opening. The stone is of pyramidal shape, 2 ft. 5 ins. square at the base, 2 ft. 2 ins. square at the top and 2 ft. 1 in. high. A socket in the upper surface is 1 ft. 4 ins. square and approximately 10 ins. deep. One corner of the socket and stone is broken away.

A comparison between the size of the socket and the dimensions of the stump of the shaft remaining in the nearby Reva Cross suggest that both belong to one another.

*E. Waight in Bradford Arch. Group Bulletin, IX (1964), 93.*

<sup>1</sup> A. Fox, *South-West England* (1964), 40; pl. 4.

<sup>2</sup> R. J. C. Atkinson, *Excavations at Dorchester, Oxon.* (1951), 81 ff.

*Hebden, W.R. (90)*

(1) SE.031639. Dumpit Hill Moss. Stone Circles. (1) 32 ft. diameter, 5 stones still stand leaving spaces where other stones have been taken for walling. A large stone is flat at the centre. (B) 33 ft. in diameter. One third of the circle robbed but other stones standing. *A. Raistrick.*

(2) SE.054670. Tag Bale on the N. side of Grove Gill Beck. Below a low gritstone scar, 8 circular huts of the following diameters—10, 10, 30, 9, 20, 12, 15 and 9 ft., and an enclosure 30 ft. square. S. of the stream very massive enclosures cover a large area. *A. Raistrick.*

*Helwith Bridge, W.R. (90)*

SD.816694. Quern factory. A site on which numerous pieces of rotary quern have been found has been surveyed. The site has two divisions: an upper very irregular series of enclosures and a lower very regular portion. Geologically the site is on the Silurian Studfold but this is not used for the querns. Large areas of Upper Ribblesdale are covered with glacial drift and the small becks have washed out boulders of millstone grit. This is the material used for the querns. *A. King and W. H. Walker.* For a further example of a quern manufactured from a local glacial boulder see under Thorner.

*Holme-on-Spalding Moor, E.R. (98)*

SE.820355. Throlam. Bronze coin Magnentius (350-353 A.D.). In Hull Museums. *Hull Museums.*

*Hornsea, E.R. (99)*

TA.207475. Bronze coin of Licinius (307-323 A.D.). In possession of N. B. Bradley, Hornsea. *Hull Museums.*

*Hull, E.R. (99)*

TA.100282. Humber St. Excavation established the line of mediaeval defences to the Humber. On the river side of the city wall 16th and 17th century rubbish levels produced imported wares including Manises lustre (Valencia) of 16th c., Montelupo tin-glazed ware (Tuscany), Saintonge chafing dishes (France) of 16th c. with Yorkshire copies, Sgraffito wares (N. France) and various stone wares (Germany). Also a silver figurine of a Virgin and Child of the first half of 15th c. The finds are now in Hull Museums. *Hull Museums.*

*Hutton-le-Hole, N.R. (92)*

(1) SE.713889. Portions of beehive querns and burnt stones in field wall E. of Oxclose Farms. Perhaps a hint of a nearby R.-B. farm.

(2) SE.712886. A perforated glass bead broken in half and fused, of R.-B. or Iron Age date. Found in ploughland by L. Davison.

*R. Hayes.*

*Kettlewell, W.R. (90)*

(1) SD.963723 Middlesmoor. The grid reference is at the northern corner of an area of about 80 acres on three limestone terraces, which are divided across the contours by boulder walls into 5 parallel areas which are continuous across the terraces. In these divisions there are seven or eight hut circles and a few enclosures. Surveyed 1961.

(2) SD.978722. Langliffe. Single homestead; large rectangular enclosure 115 ft. by 90 ft., one side formed by the limestone scar, the others by massive boulder banks. A circular hut of 20 ft. diameter in the south-east corner. A circular hut 15 ft. diameter of very massive construction on the outside of the west wall. There are field walls across the neighbouring terraces associated with it. Surveyed 1961.



(3) SD.980719-982713. Langliffe. High limestone scar with a narrow terrace below it. On this terrace are ten groupings of enclosures each with one or more circular huts. Enclosures range between 35 ft. by 40 ft. and 20 ft. by 15 ft. approx.; huts between 10 and 15 ft. diameter. Surveyed 1961.

(4) SD.984708. S. end of Langliffe. Large rectangular enclosures with very massive boulder walling. Two enclosures 130 ft. by 45 ft., and one 70 ft. by 50 ft.; four smaller enclosures and one round hut 15 ft. diameter. Enclosures, field walls and huts on the adjacent terraces are probably part of the same complex. Surveyed 1960. *A. Raistrick.*

*Kildale, N.R.* (86)

(1) NZ.612115. Excavation has continued on the site of a group of early Iron Age huts at Percy Rigg, Kildale. An area approximately 120 by 140 ft. has been cleared revealing four huts of varying size, with remains of an earlier fifth hut and an underlying polygonal enclosure. The pottery from the site is early Iron Age apart from one fragment from the ditch of the enclosure which may be of late Bronze Age. A survey of the huts and enclosures has been made by students from the Department of Adult Education and Extramural Studies, University of Leeds, under F. A. Aberg. *R. Close.*

(2) NZ.644075. Excavations were carried out on the site of a mediaeval bloomery by students of the Dept. of Adult Education and Extramural Studies, University of Leeds. The site is late 13th to early 14th century and consisted of four smelting hearths and associated roasting floors, charcoal stack and smithy. Part of a wooden building was found over the forge and the site was enclosed by a ditch on two sides with a wall and stream bounding it on the other. *F. A. Aberg.*

*Kilnsey, W.R.* (90)

(1) SD.951680. Low Far Moor. Stone circle. 18 ft. diameter, 7 stones, and two stones within the circle, the kerb of a barrow. 38 yds. to the south is a round barrow, 27 ft. diameter with small kerb stones visible.

(2) SD.961682. High Ox Pasture. An area of limestone pavement, cut up by winding through vallies with cliff sides, giving many areas almost completely enclosed, partitioned by strong boulder walls. In the largest division are a massive circular hut, an oval (?) cattle pound, and other huts and walls. Surveyed 1960.

(3) SD.965678. Cool. A group of rectangular fields with two associated hut circles. Some robbing of stones for walling. Surveyed 1964.

(4) SD.972657. Kilnsey Wood. Massive boulder walled enclosure, 250 ft. by 65 ft., with a hut of about 20 ft. diameter and small enclosures within it. A hut of 15 ft. diameter, just outside one end. Surveyed 1960.

(5) SD.975653. Chapel House Wood. On a high limestone terrace is a complex of square enclosures, 20 ft. by 25 ft., 15 ft. by 30 ft., 25 ft. by 15 ft., etc. mostly with wall of double row of massive boulders, infilled with smaller boulders. Part of the complex is a fine double walled hut circle of 20 ft. diameter. There is a second hut circle 25 ft. in diameter in the midst of larger enclosures. The whole complex is 530 ft. by 150 ft. It is associated with fields on other terraces by continuous boulder walls. Surveyed 1960. In 1964 the survey was completed and extended. In date it may extend from the late Bronze Age to the Romano-British. Fragments of poor Samian ware, fragments of grey pottery (R.-B.), flints and iron from mole hills.

(6) SD.971669. Outgang Hill. Massive embankment, in parts 3 ft. high and 15 ft. wide enclosing an oval area 150 ft. by 100 ft. Divided internally into four circular huts from 15 to 20 ft. diameter and four rectangular areas about 20 ft. square, with other irregular spaces. All of one work. On the north side is an enclosure 60 ft. by 50 ft. with a hut in one corner, across a deep sunk road which impinges on the main work. A large area of fields around is linked by the road. Surveyed 1964.

*A. Raistrick.*

*Kirkstall Abbey, W.R. (96)*

SE.259360. During the 1964 season the investigation of the southern part of the Abbey was continued and finished as far as the limits of possible excavation allowed. The plan of the range of buildings south of the kitchen was completed: late monastic foundations were disturbed and overlaid by post-monastic farm buildings. The second stage of exploration took place in the infirmary wing, where the line of the 12th century wall (first noticed during the 1959 season) was picked up, and the outline of a rectangular construction (approximately 30 ft. by 60 ft.) was exposed. The walls were, on average, 4 ft. thick and were, for the greater part, of large irregular stones interspersed with small cobbles. For some stretches only the rubble footings remained. Little is yet known about the internal arrangements, other than the presence of a hearth placed centrally along the north wall. The interpretation of the building has not yet been defined but it is probable that it was a shelter for a premonastic community, and/or quarters for the first monks, during the time when the Abbey buildings proper were in course of erection.

*C.B.A. Newsletter, 1964.*

*Knaresborough, W.R. (96)*

SE.352571. Dupondius of Claudius (41-51 A.D.). Found and kept by Mr. Ricard, 62 Frogmire Road, Knaresborough.

*Rosa Hartley.*

*Lealholme, N.R. (86)*

NZ.762064. Windhill. Upper stone of a beehive quern on wall. The upper stone of a second from Low Woods Farm, N. of last, is cemented into the churchyard wall, Glaisdale.

*R. Hayes.*

*Ledston, W.R. (97)*

SE.42782987. A section of the Roman road from Bramham Cross Roads to Castleford, near the Ledston Cross Roads, drawn by L. Smith of the N.C.B., has been deposited with the Y.A.S.

*Y.A.S. Roman Antiquities Section, Minutes, 7 Nov. 1964.*

*Levisham, N.R. (92)*

SE.831924. The survey of the earthwork complex on Levisham moor has been continued by the Scarborough and District Archaeological Society. The examination of one earthwork (enclosure B) has been completed during 1964 and considerable progress has been made in the excavation of two more earthworks (enclosures C and D). All have produced pottery of I.A. character. Enclosure D contained an I.A. bloomery consisting of a central clay lined pit within a circular wooden hut which was surrounded by two concentric ditches about 45 ft. and 25 ft. in diameter.

*J. G. Rutter.*

*Malham, W.R. (90)*

SD.885675. Chapel Fell: so called, tradition says, because Fountains Abbey had a chapel there. On excavation the site proved to be a rectangular building 45 ft. by 23 ft. over 2 ft. 3 ins. walls still standing to a height of 2 ft. 9 ins., well made of boulders laid in lime. At the dissolution the building was pulled down and the bottom 2-3 ft. of it submerged in lime rubble etc. A broke slate was found of the type at the Fountains Abbey leased quarry at Austwick. At the east end there was a broad paved dais for the altar; the rest of the chapel was cobbled (large sized cobbles) probably for covering with rushes.

The chapel was sited in an Iron Age settlement with four large hut circles, saucer type, with boulder set banks, diameters 35 ft., 22 ft., 25 ft., and 30 ft. to crest of walls. Some other banks survive, the smallest hut set 12 ft. into a bank. Fragments of pottery were found of presumed early Iron Age date. There were many rough flints on the old soil level.

Excavated by the Field Archaeology Course, Malham Tarn Centre, directed by A. Raistrick, August 1964.

*A. Raistrick.*



*Marr, W.R.* (103)

SE.501055. Marr Thick. Soil marks on an air photograph (Nat. Survey 543/R.A.F./F21, 0134, 19 June 1957). Many of the marks are former rides from a wood which was once more extensive, but at the map reference is an oval enclosure with bank and external ditch. When visited the field was under crop but the work survives on the ground as a low spread bank apparently over 40 ft. wide and 2 ft. high. It is situated near the crest of the magnesian limestone escarpment, and its dimensions are 750 ft. overall east to west and 800 ft. north to south, with the suggestion of an entrance to the south. A coin hoard of 70 silver Roman coins and 2 rings has come from the vicinity (Num. Chron. IX (1949), 244). *J. Radley.*

*Meltham, W.R.* (102)

SE.087101. Oldfield Hill. Fortified Iron Age site. Fourth season's excavation by J. P. Toomey and the Huddersfield and District Archaeological Society. Work was concentrated on a roughly circular building within the enclosure. Half a rough-out quern, a stone disc, fragments of pottery and post-holes were found. *J. P. Toomey.*

*Menston, W.R.* (96)

Gooseland Well. Menston Baths. The so called Roman Bath has been cleaned out by the owner of the cottage which contained it, Mr. Busby. It was 8 ft. square, made of cut stone blocks, with steps in one corner, and an outlet drain with a plug on a rod. There are similar wells at Knaresborough and elsewhere in Yorkshire and they probably date from the late 18th century.

*Y.A.S., Roman Antiquities Committee, Minutes, 7 Nov. 1964.*

*Middleton, W.R.* (96)

SE.124517. Middleton Moor Enclosure. Ground level boulder, 3 ft. by 2 ft. 3 ins., partially uncovered 29.11.1964, with cup and ring, cups and channels.

Amongst a series of earlier discoveries and known rocks in process of publication in the Bradford Arch. Group Bulletin. *S. Feather.*

*Midhope, W.R.* (102)

SK.221993. Barnside Reservoir, W. side. Extensive scatter of post-mediaeval pottery revealed at low water in an area 20 yds. across may indicate a kiln site. The pottery was of a hard red paste with dark inner or outer glaze, some comb patterned slipped wares, brown and yellow stripes. *J. Radley.*

*Newton Kyme, W.R.* (97)

SE.455453 (approx.) E. of Roman fort, 2 bronze coins, Allectus (293-6 A.D.) and Gratian (367-83 A.D.), found while ploughing and kept by J. Campion. *R. Hayes.*

*Pontefract, W.R.* (97)

SE.463226. Excavations continued on the site of the Cluniac Priory, with main concentration on the eastern arm of the priory church. The ground plan of the third church is now completed, showing an eastern arm of five bays, and an overall church length of 235 ft. Work on the second church is not yet completed. Other trenches on the south side of the lesser cloister, exposed further wall foundations and a major drain which may lead to the locating of the monks reredorter. *C. V. Bellamy.*

*Rawmarsh, W.R.* (103)

SK.438962. During the rebuilding of the centre of Rawmarsh a late mediaeval or early modern pottery kiln was discovered in October near the more recent Rawmarsh Low Pottery. The unbroken vessels were set at 3 ft. in sticky clay. Numerous rejects and sherds were found in two other concentrations. The commonest form appears to be a large three handled

jar or cask with a low set spigot hole. It stands 15 ins. high and has a well fired, roughly tempered, grey fabric. The exterior has a dull brown glaze, crudely finished. The handles are plain, but one has a stamped basal decoration. The sole decoration on many vessels appears to be an applied strip with a thumb pressed pattern around the neck. *J. Radley.*

*Ribblehead, W.R. (90)*

SD.767785. In Gauber Pasture is a large area of celtic fields, with hut circles and some round barrows. Overlooking these, but below a low limestone scarp, is a complex of enclosures opening into a forecourt. The largest hut measures about 60 by 15 ft. The doorway is off centre in the rectangular end; the other end is apsidal. The other enclosures are crude rectangles in pairs, some now on bare pavement. Surveyed in 1964.

*A. King and W. H. Walker.*

*Richmond, N.R. (91)*

Newspaper reports in April 1964 refer to the finding of an ancient sword described as Roman, dug up at Richmond, Yorks.

*Ripon, W.R. (91)*

SE.304683. A training excavation on the supposed site of a chapel connected with the deserted mediaeval village of Aismunderby. A small mound was excavated to reveal the outlines of a rectangular building on an east to west orientation. Stone foundations, about 2½ ft. thick, of coursed random rubble, showing in places a floor level offset, delimit a room 37 ft. long and 15 ft. wide. Further foundations against the eastern wall seem to be the base of an altar. Roofing flags of sandstone and shale were plentiful, and potsherds point to 13th/14th century occupation. *C. V. Bellamy.*

*Rotherham, W.R. (102)*

SK.407914. Chapel Flat Dyke. Dug-out canoe in poor condition found in stream bed during diversion of the dyke. Now in Sheffield City Museum.

*G. D. Lewis.*

*Rudston, E.R. (93)*

(1) TA.089667. In the 4th season of the present series of excavations by the Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments, Ministry of Public Buildings and Works, the most interesting discovery was that of 4 circular huts with surrounding drainage ditches. Probably 1st cent. A.D. *I. M. Stead.*

(2) TA.090655. Sherds of Iron Age pottery from the area N.W. of Rudston Beacon. Now in Hull Museums. *Hull Museums.*

*Saddleworth, W.R. (101)*

SD.999096. Castleshaw Roman fort. Excavation was continued for six weeks in 1964. It was confined to the Agricola fort and succeeded in tracing the internal road systems, so giving a reasonably clear idea of the general plan. Individual timber buildings are still hard to detect, but two granaries are now known, so giving an indication of the position of the *principia*. A number of barrack blocks have also been located. Finds include two *denarii* of Nero, and, most unexpectedly, a prehistoric pit containing a Beaker group (at least four vessels). *F. H. Thompson.*

*Scarcroft, W.R. (96)*

SE.38804178. Milner Wood. The upper part of an inscribed Roman altar found by Mrs. Wood of Thorner and deposited in the Yorkshire Museum by Col. F. Lane Fox. The inscription reads D(eo) APOLLI[N]I ET NVM [AVG(usti) . . . (R. P. Wright). The altar was lying in Milner Beck and had rolled there from the ploughed field to the north. From this field there have also come the upper stone from a beehive quern now used as a door stop at Croft Cottage, a sherd (rim and base) of a 2nd century bowl, and a piece of magnesian limestone with a moulded border. *H. G. Ramm.*



*Seamer, N.R.* (93)

TA.030834. Crossgates gravel pit. Mr. G. R. Pye has continued excavations on the Anglian settlement exposed by gravel workings but finds during 1964 were few. *J. G. Rutter.*

*Settle, W.R.* (90)

For details of bronze trumpet brooch see p. 363.

*Silsden, W.R.* (96)

(1) SE.076466. Doubler Stones Allotment. Cup and ring stone. A large gritstone outcrop, 17 ft. by 10 ft. by 1 ft. high, sloping north to south, with very weathered markings as follows: double circle 18 ins. by 10 ins. without a definite inner cup but with a shallow cup on the circumference; a single cup and ring 10 ins. diameter; Single cup and ring 9½ ins. diameter; carved on slight boss of rock, cup with incomplete 7 ins. diameter ring. 26.5.64. *S. Feather.*

*Skewsby, N.R.* (92)

A complete costrel, 6.2 ins. high, thin green glaze, 16-17th cent., ploughed up at Skewsby and presented to the Yorkshire Museum by Miss D. Crane. *G. F. Willmot.*

*Skipton, W.R.* (95)

(1) SD.997505. The first season's excavations on a circular stone walled enclosure at Horse Close Farm proved conclusively that it was of Iron Age date. Apart from pottery and a glass bead which were found, the site revealed post-holes belonging to internal structures and part of a stone walled gatehouse. *F. A. Aberg and P. Mayes.*

(2) SD.997505. The major portion of a saddle quern from field wall above Horse Close Hill I.A. site at present in the possession of S. Feather. *S. Feather.*

(3) SD.99625055. Great Wood Laithe. In the middle of the field alongside the wood is an outcrop of rock which has almost been levelled with the adjacent field surface by the dumping of boulders from the surrounding ploughland. The top of the outcrop rises to a dome-shaped projection which bears simple cup markings. These average two inches in diameter and total 17 in number. The whole surface of the stone is weathered and suitable light may reveal more details.

*E. T. Cowling in Bradford Arch. Group Bulletin, IX (1964), 43.*

*Spaunton, N.R.* (92)

(1) SE.721893. Old Pasture. R.-B. site. A. H. Whitaker of Leeds continued his excavation of this farmstead which has been dated by pottery and one coin (Allectus) to the period 250-350 A.D. Three flues heavily burnt and containing ash (?peat) were examined.

(2) Spaunton Bank Foot. St. Mary Magdalen's Well. H. Frank dug out this well in the spring of 1964. It was choked by grass and rubbish and had become a mere drain. He exposed some stonework and a roughly worked stone trough into which the water trickled. Potsherds from round the spring dated from the 12th to 13th century but included one sherd which could have been R.-B. or Saxon. The well which is marked on the 6 ins. O.S. maps is now marked by a stone inscribed by the excavator.

*R. Hayes.*

(3) A complex of mounds and ancient walling on Spaunton Moor surveyed by members of the Scarborough and District Archaeological Society, directed by R. Hayes and J. G. Rutter. *J. G. Rutter.*

(4) SE.699937. Spaunton Moor, Rudland Close. A large oval enclosure on both sides of Rudland Beck with a building in the S.W. corner. The Buildings were excavated by A. L. Pacitto of Leicester University and

work continues. The main building is 28 ft. wide 110 ft. long N.E.-S.W. with 13 pairs of stylobates presumably to support posts. There is an entrance at each end c.8 ft. wide, and a door 3½ ft. wide in the S.E. side. The N.W. wall of the building continued another 75 ft. to S.W. and terminated in a small rectangular enclosure. The building is unusual and so far as present evidence goes to be presumed mediaeval. It may be connected with stock-farming by St. Mary's Abbey, York, who owned land at Spaunton but its exact purpose is not clear.  
*A. L. Pacitto.*

*Spenborough, W.R. (96)*

(1) SE.181260. Excavation on the supposed line of Roman road through Cleckheaton failed to find any evidence of the road in the field to the north of Whitechapel Road. Surveys to the S.W. and N.E. were also unsuccessful in finding any evidence of it, and a ridge noticed by earlier fieldworkers was almost certainly an old field wall foundation

(2) SE.182263. Excavations were carried out on the site of a ditch complex at Snelsins Farm, Cleckheaton, identified by Dr. Villy as a Roman Fort similar in size to that at Castleshaw. No evidence was found of Roman date while the ditches would appear to be natural faults in the bedrock close to the surface.  
*K. Foreman.*

*Stainborough, W.R. (102)*

SE.315031. Supposed Iron Age hill-fort which had been almost obliterated during extensive landscaping by the earls of Strafford in the 18th cent. It was surveyed in 1963 and selective excavations were carried out to attempt to determine the extent of modification to the presumed hill-fort ditch and bank when the castle 'folly' was erected in the 1730's. The mock castle fortifications intersected an earlier ditch fortification but no dating was possible as the site yielded only one mesolithic flint of unknown use in mixed rubble. Further work is planned.  
*D. Ashurst.*

*Stirton with Thorlby, W.R. (95)*

SD.960547. Excavation of an area surrounding a possible rock shelter revealed substantial wall foundations beneath peat and grey sand, resting on compact yellow sand at a vertical depth of 17 ins. This represents a wall built to enclose the area covered by the rock overhang.  
*L. H. Atkinson.*

*Sutton on the Forest, N.R. (92)*

SE.59256517. High Inhams. A moated site not on the 6 ins. O.S. Surveyed by R.C.H.M.  
*H. G. Ramm.*

*Sutton on Derwent, E.R. (97)*

SE.711487. Giants Hill. Small moated site surveyed R.C.H.M.  
*H. G. Ramm.*

*Sutton on Hull, E.R. (99)*

TA.088337. R.-B. pottery sherds found at a level 3 ft. below present embankment of R. Hull. Calcite gritted ware and samian, now in Hull Museums.  
*Hull Museums.*

*Swine, E.R. (99)*

TA.135354. R.-B. pot containing 3,000 Roman coins, all silver washed, of small denomination, and apart from one stray minted c.320-335 A.D. Now in Hull Museums.  
*Hull Museums.*

*Thorganby, E.R. (97)*

SE.693386. Giants Hill. This earthwork differs considerably from the other two so named sites along the Derwent at Sutton and North Duffield, and appears to be the remnant of a small motte and bailey castle.  
*H. G. Ramm.*



*Thorner, W.R. (96)*

SE.39484160. Examination of field walls revealed the lower stone of a beehive quern shaped from a sandstone boulder, such as there are many glacially brought visible in the neighbouring fields. The quern was probably locally made. *H. G. Ramm.*

*Thornhill, W.R. (96)*

SE.257189. Excavation of Thornhill Hall, Dewsbury, by the Tolson Memorial Museum, Huddersfield and the Dewsbury Museum. Investigation of the site of the house and the south gate and a survey of the remaining walls. The earliest phase is represented by finds of Upper Heaton Ware (c.1390) and two clay bonded walls. About 1450 the house was constructed and surrounded by a curtain wall with a gateway on the south side, and a tower at the south-east corner. About 1600 the house was remodelled, a chimney built in the hall, the floors paved, the walls plastered, and a new wing built. The curtain wall was taken down and the gateway rebuilt with a porter's lodge beside it. *T. G. Manby.*

*Thornthwaite with Padiside, W.R. (91)*

(1) SE.122616. Nar Hill. Dairn, robbed, 30 ft. diameter, 3 ft. maximum height. On the crest of a ridge.

(2) SE.117616. Stony Rigg, Catherine or Katty White's Allotments. Settlement site. Large walled enclosure, a low stone bank, one or two large stones set on edge, clearly walled 3 sides of 150 and 100 yds. in length, on sloping ground above steep scar slopes at the edge of the River Washburn. Oval enclosure 35 ft. by 25 ft. and possibly huts by highly ferruginous Rowan Tree Spring. Other traces of iron-bearing strata in the vicinity. *S. Feather.*

*Thornton in Craven, W.R. (95)*

SD.909484. A fine bronze dagger found in a field below the Manor House Hotel. M.B.A. in date.

*Bradford Arch. Group Bulletin IX (1964), 40.*

*Threshfield, W.R. (90)*

(1) SD.952649. Hammonds Close. An area of limestone terraces approximately 1,000 ft., by 1,000 ft. subdivided by four heavy boulder walls crossing all the terraces, and by one cross wall along the second terrace. A few hut circles and small pounds. An area nearly half a mile long contains smaller complexes of huts, fields and boundary walls, continuing the main grouping. Surveyed 1960.

(2) SD.953657. Lantern holes. A complex of huts and enclosures with some small fields. On limestone terrace, and approximately 200 yds. by 100 yds. Surveyed 1961.

(3) SD.966644-967644. Heights. A big area with two distinct groups of remains.

In coves of the limestone scars there are six big roughly circular enclosures with very heavy boulder walling, formed against the scar, and 30 ft. to 45 ft. across. On the terrace in front of the scars are 6 rectangular building foundations with 6 or more 'outhouse' foundations. The houses average 40 ft. by 50 ft. and use much large stone in their construction, often laid and coursed flat, 2 or 3 courses still seen in a few places. Edge stones are occasionally used and may frame doorways. A number of slender walls, very straight and in rectangular arrangement are in association with the houses. It is suggested that this is the lost Norse settlement of Hubbacove. Surveyed 1961.

(4) SD.969655. Single homestead. Oval enclosure 70 ft. by 40 ft. against a limestone scar, with a circular hut 20 ft. in diameter, with double walling outside the north end. Surveyed 1960.

(5) SD.971649. House similar to those of Hubbacove. A few fields associated with it.

(6) SD.984643. Littlewood and Chesterwood. A group of fields, massive boundary walls of boulders on heavy gravel banks, 1,100 ft. by 500 ft. approximately. A central enclosure contains a connected group of 6 hut circles. All have a massive double wall with large boulders on edge with smaller stuff packed between. The walls are 10 to 15 ft. thick, and the huts of 25, 25, 30, 40, 45 and 40 ft. internal diameter. The walls are about 2 ft. high. There is no interconnection between the huts but they all open into the containing common area. The site has extended further but land clearance and ploughing has removed all but slight traces. There are two single huts among the fields. Surveyed 1960.

(7) SD.986633. Tarn Road. A large area, about 90 acres, of fields with a few huts, road, and boundary walls. Surveyed 1961.

(8) SD.985632 (convenient central point). A very large area of 'Celtic' fields, huts and enclosures, somewhat interfered with by lime burning last century, which removed many standing stones but left gravel banks.

*A. Raistrick.*

#### *Wakefield, W.R. (96)*

SE.338182. Sandal Castle. In the first season of excavations an area 50 by 80 ft. within the bailey over the kitchen and larder was investigated. The periods of construction using documentary and archaeological evidence appear to be:—

(1) 1250-1317. Major stone buildings and curtain wall (the surviving standing walls are of this period).

(2) After 1327. The kitchen and larder were built over an earlier building destroyed by fire.

(3) c.1500. New main drainage was constructed in the kitchen, the stair base, new hearths and supplementary buildings.

During the course of the excavation 12 hearths, 5 drains and 1 malt kiln were discovered.

*P. Mayes.*

#### *Wharham Percy, E.R. (98)*

SE.859642. The fourth season on House Six was concentrated on the timber buildings, pits and quarries underneath the later mediaeval store houses. On the church site the whole of the East End of the chancel area was uncovered and a north chancel chapel located and excavated. Mediaeval burials were examined by D. R. Brothwell. The introductory summer school excavated to the north of the main House Six site.

*J. G. Hurst.*

#### *Whitby, N.R. (86)*

NZ.887095. Lead spindle whorl, 1½ oz., found c.10 years ago in the garden of 96 Ruswarp Lane and sent to Bradford Museum 1964. It resembles other lead whorls from R.-B. sites in the W.Riding, but stone and lead whorls with similar markings have come from levels in York which suggest an early mediaeval date.

*Bradford Arch. Group Bulletin, IX (1964), 53.*

#### *Widdington, W.R. (97)*

SE.488599. The moated site N.W. of Widdington Hall was bulldozed and levelled in 1964. During the draining and levelling operations the base of an early 15th century ale pot and other fragments of pottery were found; also the upper stone of a beehive quern much used with one handle worn away.

*Rosa Hartley.*



*Woodkirk, W.R. (96)*

SE.272250. An emergency excavation on the north side of Woodkirk church in anticipation of building work. Exploratory trenches indicated that buildings of the monastic cell had been arranged around a small cloister laid out on the north side of the church. The cloister was 60 ft. by 52 ft. Buildings on the northern side and on the eastern side were examined. The northern range is apparently of two rooms, each about 25 ft. by 15 ft. The eastern range is 20 ft. wide. *C. V. Bellamy.*

*Worsborough, W.R. (102)*

SE.339023. Rockley Smithies. Late 15/17th century forge (finery/chafery). Rescue operations were organized by the Sheffield City Museum with financial assistance from the M. of P.B. and W., under the direction of D. Ashurst and D. W. Crossley, to continue in 1965. Working floors with hearths, surrounded by copious dumps of finery cinder, have been found interspersed with charcoal and red fines from ore burning. These floors have yielded a sequence of pottery including sherds of fine wares suggesting the close proximity of a domestic building. The finds include a long cross halfpenny temp. Henry VII, Cistercian ware, coarse 16 and 17th century kitchen ware and 17th century slip ware. A supply pond and a watercourse point to the use of power, but its point of application is not yet clear.

*D. W. Crossley and D. Ashurst.*

*York (97)*

(1) SE.604521. St. William's College. A trench was dug in the garden adjoining the College and part of the kitchens were uncovered. Three building phases were encountered: (i) 1461. The base of a double circular oven made of re-used building tiles on edge. (ii) pre-1547. An oblong hearth and two attendant circular 'hobs' of the same construction as the oven. (iii) A late 16th century floor. Adjoining the kitchen on one side were stone and brick-lined 'pits' showing three structural phases, while on the other side was evidence of a courtyard of two phases of construction.

Excavation was continued down to Roman levels where a compacted layer of building débris was found sealing pottery of a date earlier than 109 A.D., which included two sherds of Firnis ware usually dated c.40-50 A.D. Apart from the Firnis ware the most interesting find was a small jet crucifix. *L. P. Wenham.*

(2) SE.602514. Bishophill Senior. Excavations on the site of the demolished church revealed the following sequence. In the second century A.D. the site was occupied by a bronze worker's timber workshop. In the late second or early third century the site was levelled and a revetted terrace built, on the platform of which stone buildings were erected. In the late third or early fourth century these buildings were replaced by a suite of heated rooms, one with an apse, along one side of a courtyard. In the late fourth or early fifth century a series of small buildings were built abutting on to the south wall over the disused furnaces of the heating system. In the 10th and 11th centuries the site of the heated suite and its furnaces was occupied by a burial ground whose precinct wall was identified on three sides, and indeed survives incorporated in the base of the present wall alongside Carr Lane.

The cross shafts and grave slabs referred to below derive from this cemetery which must have had its church. No direct evidence was found of this early church, but the mid 11th century Saxon church which formed the core of the nave of the church as it survived before demolition and which was built over the graves of this cemetery did not utilize the north wall of the Roman building although it survived above the level of the top of the late Saxon footings built immediately alongside it. Presumably it was in use for some other purpose, perhaps the south wall of an earlier church. Two churches would then have been built side by side.

A fine Anglian strap end was the best of the small finds. *H. G. Ramm.*

(3) About half of a late Saxon hog-back tombstone, probably from Bishophill Senior, is described in detail on p. 339 below.

(4) Bishophill Senior. Including the hog-back, two fragments from the 1964 excavations, the grave slab now in St. Clement's church, and the cross shaft reported last year of which a further portion has now been identified, no less than 20 fragments of Saxon sculpture have now been identified from the church of St. Mary, mostly recovered during the demolition of the church. They include fragments of cross shafts, grave slabs and hog-backs. Nearly all are of 10-11th century date. They are now mostly built into the fabric of the church of the Holy Redeemer, Boroughbridge Rd. In addition to the Saxon sculptures there are fragments of later mediaeval stones including floriated cross slabs, an inscription in Lombardic characters, and a small crucifix carved in relief of uncertain date which cannot be later than the 13th century and may well be pre-conquest. There are also two fragments of carved Roman tombstone:

- (i) Gritstone, 10 ins. wide by 8½ ins. displaying a foot facing right carved in relief in a sunk panel above a 4 ins. plain border.
- (ii) Gritstone, 7½ ins. wide by 13½ ins. tall, displaying a leg and foot facing left carved in relief in a sunk panel above a 4 ins. plain border.

The depth and the roundedness of the relief suggest that they derive from a Roman rather than an Anglian source. The fabric of St. Mary's included a large part of a Roman stone sarcophagus, and it appears that a Roman burial ground had been robbed to provide building material. The nearest one was in the Bishopgate St. – Baile Hill area.

*H. G. Ramm.*

(5) SE.61055292. Heworth. A trench was dug along the W. side of the railway within the grounds of St. John's College adjacent to the site of the Anglian cemetery discovered in 1878 and 1880. The cemetery had not extended so far west.

*L. Keen.*

(6) SE.60045246. Bootham School. Trenches were dug by boys from the school archaeological society on the site of the new assembly hall. Although dug to a considerable depth they were still in made-up ground presumably deposited when the cellars were dug for the houses fronting on to Bootham. Quantities of unstratified first and second century pottery were found, including Samian.

*H. G. Ramm.*

(7) SE.59895233. St. Olave's Vicarage, Bootham. For details of this excavation see pp. 360-3 below.

(8) SE.60225196. St. Helen's Square. In a sewer trench the S.E. side of the Roman *via praetoria* and the N. wall of the old churchyard of St. Helen's were observed. The house on the S.E. side of Stonegate adjacent to the church overlies the S.E. half of the Roman street, i.e. that street lies a little S.E. of the position implied for it in R.C.H.M., *Roman York*, 37.

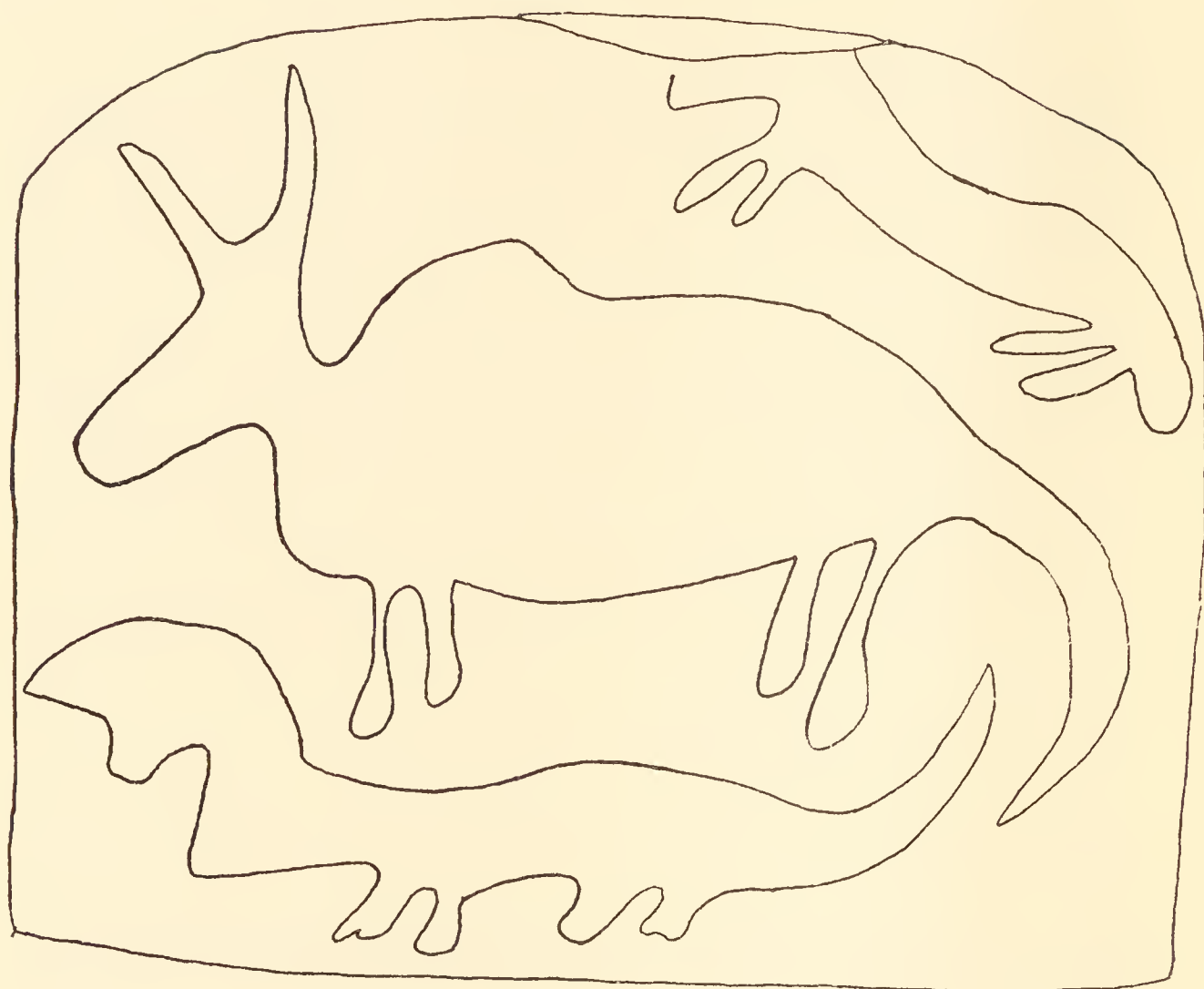
(9) SE.60165223. Fenton House, Precentor's Court. In repairing the floor to the N.E. front room a fine masonry mediaeval well was discovered.

(10) SE.619530. Lime Avenue, Heworth. In a rockery and of uncertain original provenance is a small rectangular stone with a curved top, of coarse yellow sandstone, 9½ ins. by 7½ ins. by 2 ins., the back roughly finished but the side dressed smooth and the face carved in low relief with the figures of three animals, grotesquely drawn but with a good sense of design. The work is not just a doodle and the masoncraft is good. It is reminiscent of Norman work as on the font at Everingham but could well belong to a considerably later date. (fig. 4).

*H. G. Ramm.*

(11) A small carinated vessel was purchased by the Yorkshire Museum from the collection of Dr. C. T. Trechman of Castle Eden, Co. Durham. Originally found in the York Railway excavations of 1872, the vessel is of light brown clay, containing a few grits, and shows signs of having been heavily mica dusted both inside and out. The York and Lincoln Museums have no parallel to this vessel although it is quite evident that it bears all

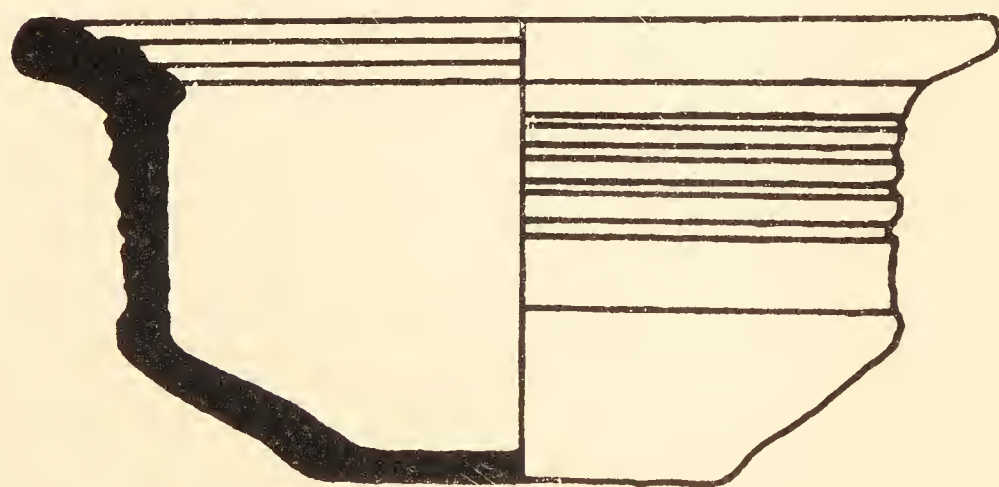




 inches

FIG. 4.

York. Stone from Heworth. Outline trace of relief.



inches

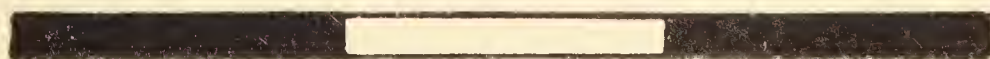


FIG. 5.

York. Mica-dusted bowl.

the indications of belonging in type to the large carinated red ware bowls of the end of the 1st cent. to early second century (cf. Gillam, *Arch. Ael.* 4th ser. XXXV (1957), 22, no. 214 Corbridge (1911), A.D. 80-125; 23, no. 217 Corbridge (1951) A.D. 110-130). The features emphasized in this vessel are the reeded rim and the body scorings. The small protrusion on the inner lip is absent on the larger type. (see fig. 5).

*L. Keen.*

(12) SE.60445173. In the course of repair work the large part of a carved Saxon grave slab was found in the footings of a mediaeval wall at the east end of the church of All Saints in Pavement.

*G. F. Willmot.*



## NOTES ON ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDS

### SURFACE FINDS OF STONE IMPLEMENTS

Dimensions are given in inches.

(a) *Large stone implements.* (1) and (2) reported by G. D. Lewis, (3) by R. H. Hayes.

(1) *Frickley, W.R.*, (103) SE.4607. Cushion type hammer head, sub-greywacke, hourglass perforation. (2) *Kirkby Moorside, N.R.*, (92) SE.6986. Axe-hammer type II, untypical greywacke: small axe-hammer, type II, gabbro: feldspar, augite: olivine completely altered to Serpentine, per A. Leadley. (3) *Thorpe-le-Willows, N.R.*, (92) Thorpe Grange SE.579770. Axe-hammer, black dolerite, 6.5 long, 3 wide, blade eroded, found in locally derived road metal, shown J. McDonnell to R. Hayes.

(b) *Neolithic type axes.* (3), (4), (5) and (8) reported by R. Hayes, (9) by J. Radley, the others by the Museum concerned.

(1) *Aike, E.R.*, (99) TA.065428, polished flint, 4.5 long, Hull Museums. (2) *Burythorpe, E.R.*, (92) SE.7964, polished flint (light grey), Scarborough Museums. (3) *Fylingdales, N.R.*, (86) NZ.910013-4, polished stone, blade only, 2.1 wide, Whitby Museum. Found with abraded hammerstone 3 by 2. (4) *Marishes, N.R.*, (92) SE.812782, polished granite, 6.25 long, J. Morley. (5) *Marton, N.R.*, (92) SE.732833, polished greenstone, 3.9 long, R. Curry. (6) *Northcliffe, E.R.*, (98), ?, polished greenstone, 4.3 long, Yorkshire Museum. (7) *Sheffield, W.R.*, (111), Blacka Brook, SK.294807, Flint with polished edge, Sheffield Museum (loan). (8) *Spaunton, N.R.*, (92) SE.723884-5, polished greenstone, 2 long, R. K. Whitaker. (9) *Treeton, W.R.*, (103), ?, polished flint, P. Abrahams (Swindon, Wilts.). (10) *Wyke (Bradford), W.R.*, (96), building site near The Crescent, weathered stone, 3.5 long. *Bradford Arch. Group Bulletin*, IX (1964), 75. Also (11) *Bainbridge, N.R.*, (90), Semerwater, flake of ? Langdale Pikes rock, probably from a polished axe-head which fractured in use, *Bradford Arch. Group Bulletin*, IX (1964), 75, and (12) for another fragment see c(10) below.

(c) *Flint sites.* (1) and (6) reported by T. G. Manby, (2) and (10) by J. Radley, (8), (13) and (14) by R. Hayes, (9) and (12) by Rosa Hartley, and the rest by the Museum or collector named. A field survey of mesolithic sites on the moors W. and S. of Huddersfield is being carried out by J. L. Turner with special attention to areas previously devoid of finds. New sites have been located in the Holmfirth and Ripponden districts. Finds deposited with Tolson Memorial Museum, Huddersfield.

(1) *Birkdale Common, N.R.*, (90) NY.844018, in erosion channel, B. & T. arrowhead. P. Rhodes, Newby Bridge. (2) *Dunford, W.R.*, (102) series of assemblages of generally mesolithic character SE.130042 Cook's Study; SE.036129 and 036132 Snailsden End; SE.133012 nr. Wike Head; and SE.170013 Thurlston Moor. F. Hepworth and J. Radley. (3) *Egton, N.R.*, NZ.748014, in peat, microlith, micro-core, and waste flakes. Hull Museums. (4) *Glaisdale, N.R.*, (86) NZ.729016. Four flint sites, microliths found in and below the peat. Hull Museums. (5) *Grinton, N.R.*, (90) SE.974027 Harker Hill. Grey flint side/end scraper. E. Cooper. (6) *Holme, W.R.*, (102) SE.093051, Cliff Edge, Cow Close. 5 microliths (scalene triangles) found close together in erosion patch. Tolson Memorial Museum. (7) *Hutton Buscel, N.R.*, (93) SE.9588, Hutton Buscel Moor. 8 leaf-shaped arrowheads; 2 B. & T. arrowheads; 1 plano-convex knife; 1 awl; 29 convex







PLATE I. Hogback from York: side view Hogback.



PLATE II. Hogback from York: view from end.



scrapers. Scarborough Museum. (8) *Hutton-le-Hole, N.R.*, (93) SE.712866, ploughland, quantity flint chippings; several round and oval scrapers; 2 B. & T. arrowheads; 2 broken and 1 fine leaf head; 2 hollow based arrowheads; 1 simple barbed arrowhead. L. Davison. (9) *Knowesthorpe, W.R.*, (96) SE.342308. Quantity mesolithic tools and wasters. Excavation by J. Hallam. (10) *Midhope, W.R.*, (102) SK.210997, Langsett reservoir, S. bank at low water, large flakes flint and chert including cores and scrapers, probably B.A. F. Hepworth. SK.224992, Barnside reservoir, S. side at low water, large scrapers, cores, fragment polished axe, and waste, probably Neolithic. F. Hepworth and J. Radley. (11) *Reeth, N.R.*, (90) NZ.007003, Calver Hill, close together in erosion patch, 1 scraper, 2 saws, 10 flint debris, 2 large B. & T. arrowheads. E. Cooper. (12) *Silsden, W.R.*, (96) SE.081467, Addingham High Moor. B. & T. arrowhead. Mrs. Morton (Leeds). (13) *Spaunton, N.R.*, (92) SE.723884-5, field at N.E. end, Lingmoor Lane. B. & T. arrowhead, R. K. Whitaker. B. & T. arrowhead, B. Frank. Lozenge shaped leaf-head, H. Ford. (14) *Thornton-le-Dale, N.R.*, (92) SE.8384, fields around Monklands Barrow. 3 B. & T. arrowheads, 2 leaf heads, 4 large round scrapers, several small scrapers and flakes. Hammer stone, pounder, and abraded pebbles. J. Gray (Thornton-le-Dale).

## NOTE ON A HOGBACK RECENTLY FOUND IN YORK

By J. T. LANG

On the 29th April 1964, Mr. J. H. Hutchinson discovered a large fragment of a hogback in the rubble foundations of a car-park being constructed in Burton Stone Lane near its junction with Bootham. The Stone was removed and is now cared for in Mr. W. Hutchinson's garden in Burton Stone Lane. The rubble is believed to have come from the recently demolished church of St. Mary Bishophill Senior and it is significant that the only other York hogback came from St. Mary Bishophill Junior.<sup>1</sup>

The fragment (Plates I & II) is just over half a hogback, is very worn and is of Tadcaster limestone. Its dimensions are:

Length	..	..	2 ft. 7½ ins.
Width at beast end	..	..	11¾ ins.
Width at broken end	..	..	1 ft. 2 ins.
Height at beast end	..	..	1 ft. (approx.)
Height at broken end	..	..	1 ft. 11 ins.
Highest point	..	..	2 ft.

The monument has a roof ridge 3¾ ins. wide of double cable, each strand being 1 in. wide. One side of the stone is badly damaged and both have been dressed but there are traces, immediately below the ridge, of a panel of double strap interlace, 3-4½ ins. in width on one side and 5 ins. on the other.

There is an end beast from whose jowl the roof ridge issues. Its face is on the top of the stone and the head slopes sharply back with the curve of the hipped gable. The head is 16 ins. long and flat to the stone. The jowl is muzzled by a band ¾ in. wide. There is a later drill hole below the muzzle on the left of the jowl. There are indications of circular eyes 1½ ins. in diameter and it is possible to conjecture a foreleg extending to the ridge.

<sup>1</sup> Amongst the fragments from Bishophill Senior Church found during demolition is at least one from another hogback, see p. 335.



The stone is especially interesting as it is the first hogback to be found in York with an end beast, such as are found at Brompton in Allertonshire, and extends W. G. Collingwood's list in Y.A.J., Vols. 19, 20, 21 and 23.

The relationship of this hogback to others in Yorkshire will be considered in a corpus which the writer is preparing on this type of pre-Conquest monument.

## ANGLIAN OBJECTS FROM WENSLEYDALE

By T. G. MANBY

Preserved in the Wensleydale Museum at Bolton Castle are a number of Anglian objects that have previously escaped the detailed publication they deserve. They were formerly part of the collection of William Horne of Leyburn and are now the property of Lord Bolton. During 1963 these and other archaeological material received conservation treatment and remounting at the Tolson Memorial Museum, Huddersfield. For permission to publish these objects the writer is indebted to Lord Bolton and Mr. R. F. Harrison, Hon. Curator of the Bolton Castle Museum.

### *Fleet's Farm, East Witton*

There is a very important group of objects sewn on to cards and labelled, 'Found on Fleets Farm, East Witton, 1884'. Fleets Farm or Fleets House, is situated on the flat dale bottom, half a mile north-east of the village of East Witton on the southern side of the dale (Nat. Grid. ref. SE.152/865). Details of the discovery of these objects in 1884 are lacking but their nature suggests they are grave goods. The preservation together of the two annular brooches (fig. 2. 1 & 2) and the annular brooch and the beads (fig. 2. 3 & 4) suggest that at least two such groups exist.

*Iron Shield Boss* (fig. 1. 1). Very much corroded and pieces missing from the rim, a flat disc might also have been broken off the point of the boss.  $5\frac{3}{4}$  ins. diameter,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  ins. high. This is a typical type of boss found in Anglian graves in Yorkshire, similar bosses have been found at Pudding Pie Hill, Sowerby near Thirsk<sup>1</sup>; Cheesecake Hill, Driffeld<sup>2</sup>; Kellythorpe, Driffeld<sup>3</sup> and Caythorpe near Bridlington.<sup>4</sup>

*Strap End* (fig. 1. 2). Made by folding over a rectangular piece of sheet bronze and held at the top by a pair of cylindrical bronze rivets with crudely flattened heads. The rivet holes had been punched from the inner side of the sheet before it was folded over and a jagged edge of metal remains. A piece of the leather strap is preserved inside the strap end.

*Iron Knife* (fig. 1. 3). Corroded and the central portion of the blade missing. A short rectangular sectioned tang and a triangular sectioned blade with a curved back. Knives of this pattern are common with Anglian burials in East Yorkshire.

<sup>1</sup> Yorkshire Museum, York.

<sup>2</sup> Mortimer, *Forty Years Researches* . . . ., p. 286, fig. 835.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 277-8, fig. 748-50, 757 & 765.

<sup>4</sup> C. & E. Grantham Coll., Driffeld.

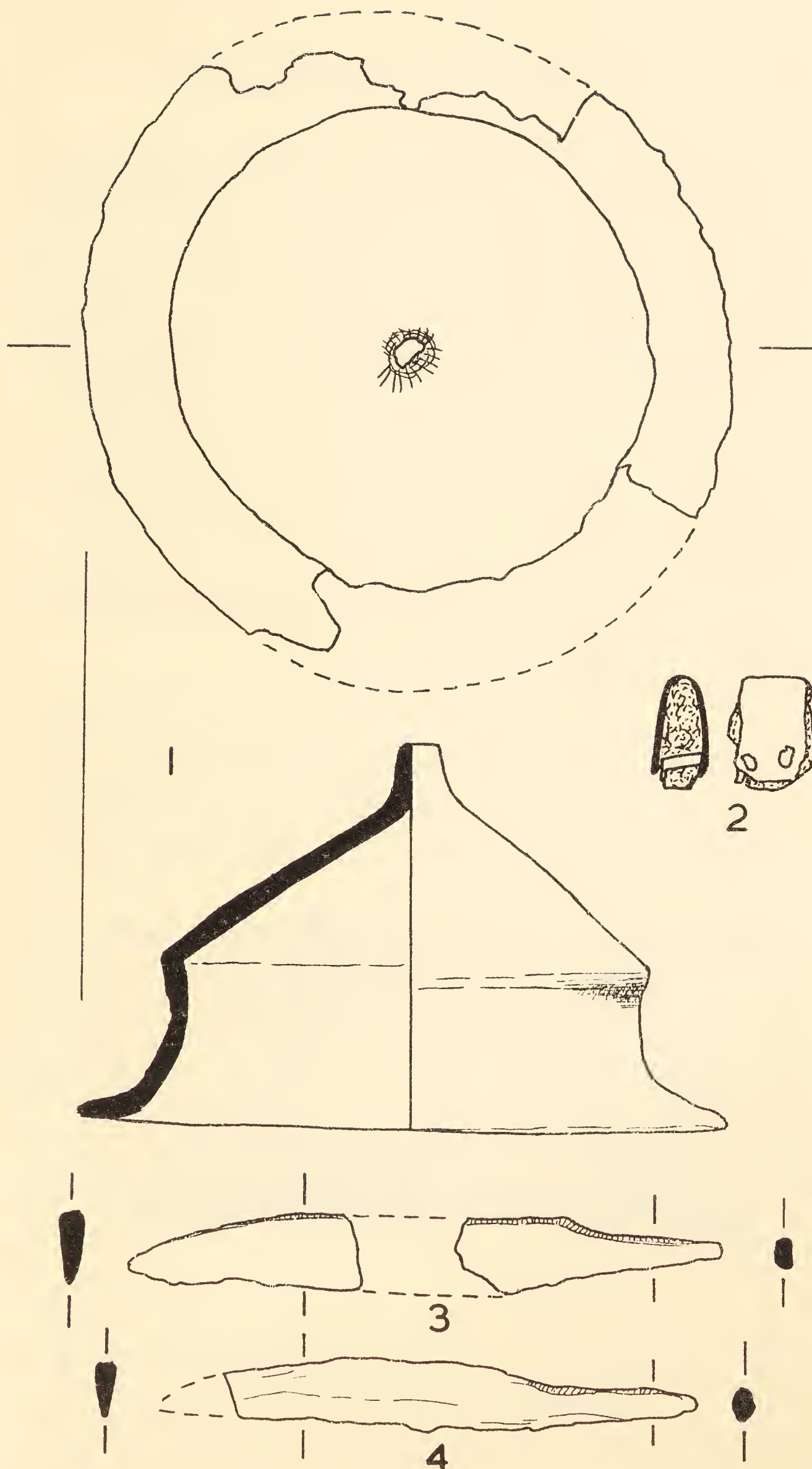


FIG. 1.  
Nos. 1-4. East Witton. ( $\frac{2}{3}$ ).



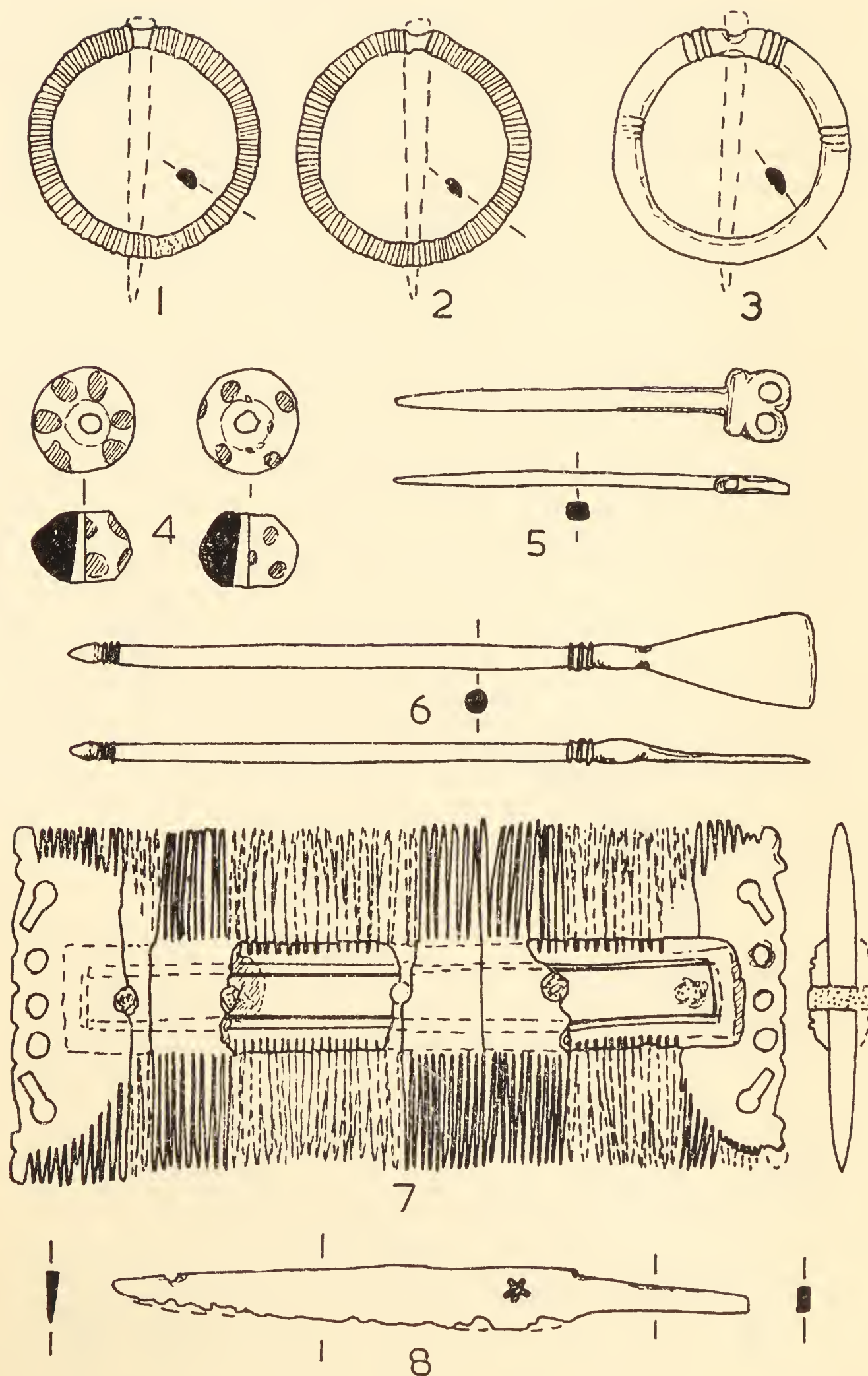


FIG. 2.

Nos. 1-4. East Witton: Nos. 5 and 6. Wensley: No. 7. Woodhall:  
No. 8. Grinton. ( $\frac{2}{3}$ ).

*Pair of Annular Brooches* (fig. 2. 1 & 2). Bronze with an apple-green patina,  $1\frac{5}{8}$  ins. diameter, D-section, transverse ribbing on the upper surface with a recess for the pin. The pins of these two brooches were of iron, now completely corroded away, their position indicated by rust marks.

*Annular Brooch* (fig. 2. 3). Bronze with apple-green patina,  $1\frac{5}{8}$  ins. diameter, D-section with a recess for the pin. Decoration on the upper face consisting of groups of transverse ribs, worn away in places. Iron pin completely corroded away. Similar brooches with Anglian burials come from Garton Slack, Driffield<sup>1</sup> and Painsthorpe.<sup>2</sup> This and the above brooches are cast in bronze and stand out in contrast to the annular sheet metal found with Anglian burials, sometimes associated with long brooches, well represented at Cheesecake Hill<sup>3</sup> and Kellythorpe, Driffield;<sup>4</sup> Staxton;<sup>5</sup> Kilham<sup>6</sup> and Londesborough.<sup>7</sup>

*Glass Beads* (fig. 2. 4). A pair of beads of carinated shape with flat top and bottom in a medium blue paste with red applied spots. Preserved on the same card as the last annular brooch.

### *Leyburn*

*Iron Knife* (fig. 1. 4). 'Found with a skeleton, . . . . quarry nr. Leyburn 1897'. Badly corroded and the point broken off. Same general profile as the iron knife from Fleets Farm.

### *Wensley Churchyard*. (Nat. Grid. ref. SE.092/895)

*Bronze Pin* (fig. 2. 5). Apple-green patina, 2.7 ins. long, square sectioned stem, flat head plate with two perforations.

*Bronze Stylus* (fig. 2. 6). 'Found while digging a grave in Wensley Churchyard'. Apple-green patina, round sectioned stem with mouldings at each end and a conical tip. The head is flat triangular plate with an edge for smoothing out the wax of a writing tablet. 8th or 9th century in date. A number of bronze styli of this pattern have been found at the Anglian monastery site at Whitby<sup>8</sup> and bone styli or pins have been found in York.<sup>9</sup>

### *Woodhall, Askrigg*

*Bone Comb* (fig. 2. 7). 'Part of a Romano-British comb found with a skeleton when making the Railway from Leyburn to Hawes Junction, near Woodhall-Wensleydale-Yorkshire 1876'. Five segments of the body and two pieces of the side strips of a very finely made double sided bone comb held together by iron rivets. The comb was made up of segments of polished bone averaging  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. wide, these were placed side by side and held between two bone side strips and fastened by cylindrical iron rivets. The teeth were then cut into each side with the saw held diagonally so the edge of the side strip was notched as each tooth was cut. The end segments of the comb were decorated with circular and keyhole perforations and notching. Double-sided bone combs have been found with Anglian burials at Garton Slack<sup>10</sup> and Cheesecake Hill<sup>11</sup> and in occupation débris at York.<sup>12</sup> A bone comb of similar construction came from high up in the filling of the well of the Langton Roman villa near Malton.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mortimer, *Ibid.*, fig. 690.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, fig. 277.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 286-295.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 271-283.

<sup>5</sup> Sheppard, *Naturalist* 1938.

<sup>6</sup> Kilham finds in the Yorkshire Museum.

<sup>7</sup> Yorkshire and Hull Museums.

<sup>8</sup> Radford and Peers, *Arch.* lxxxix (1943), pp. 64-5, fig. 15.

<sup>9</sup> Waterman, *Arch.* xcvi (1959), p. 83, fig. 12. 10 & 11.

<sup>10</sup> Mortimer, *Ibid.*, pp. 252-3, fig. 701.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 281, fig. 799.

<sup>12</sup> Waterman, *Ibid.*, p. 88, pl. xviii.

<sup>13</sup> Kirk & Corder, *The Roman Villa at Langton, near Malton* (1932), p. 73, fig. 19. 12.



*Grinton, Swaledale*

*Iron Knife* (fig. 2. 8). 'Found in Old Encampment at Grinton, Swaledale 1868'. 4.3 ins. long, rectangular sectioned tang, triangular sectioned blade with a straight back. Inlaid into one face of the blade is a small bronze five rayed star or flower. This is a common type of knife of Anglian and later date and the inlay is an unusual feature only found after cleaning.

Wensleydale is one of the great dales of Western Yorkshire, a finger of fertile lowland that thrusts deep into the Yoredale Series rocks of the Pennines westward from the Vale of York. Previously recorded Anglian objects from the area are the series of richly sculptured stones from the various churches along the dale that are not earlier in date than the 8th century. The Fleets Farm material suggests we have a burial site of the Pagan Anglian period in the dale, by comparison with brooches from the Garton Slack and Uncleby Cemeteries it would date to the last Pagan Anglian phase of the early 7th century A.D.<sup>1</sup> This demonstrates that the Angles had advanced deep into the Pennines before the advent of Christianity in the mid-7th century. This advance being much deeper than that suggested by the Occaney Burial at Copgrove 19 miles to the south-east.<sup>2</sup> The Angles spread into Wensleydale would be from the northern part of the Vale of York, an area whose Anglian remains apart from sculpture, have received little study in the past. Pagan Anglian occupation of this area is shown by a small stamp decorated urn from Catterick<sup>3</sup> and the famous pair a great square-head brooches from this site.<sup>4</sup> A further brooch of this class has recently been recovered by Mr. G. F. Willmot from a cemetery site that was destroyed without record by road works south of Catterick.<sup>5</sup> A further group of burials has been found on Catterick Aerodrome and still awaits detailed publication<sup>6</sup> and further south a small cemetery has been recorded at Carthorpe.<sup>7</sup> In the Aldborough Museum is an interesting group of Anglian objects from the district including a plain bronze sheet thread box, a pair of bronze girdle hangers and an annular bronze brooch with transverse ribs.

## EARLY BRONZE AGE AXES FROM YORKSHIRE

By T. G. MANBY

By the kind permission of Messrs. C. & E. Grantham the writer is able to publish two axes of the Early Bronze Age from their collection. In recent years there has been a considerable advance in the study of bronze implements due to the application of metallurgical analyses, typological study and cross dating with Continental industries. A particularly notable study of the metal working traditions of the Early Bronze Age has recently been published by

<sup>1</sup> Leeds, *Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology* (1936), pp. 98-100.

<sup>2</sup> Waterman, *Y.A.J.* xxxvii (1948-51), pp. 440-1.

<sup>3</sup> Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle.

<sup>4</sup> *Arch. Jour.* VI (1846), p. 216.

<sup>5</sup> Hildyard, *Y.A.J.* xxxviii (1953), pp. 241-2.

<sup>6</sup> Yorkshire Museum, York.

<sup>7</sup> Lukis, *Y.A.J.* I (1870), pp. 176-8.

Mr. D. Britton.<sup>1</sup> The present publication provides a convenient occasion to review the early bronze implements of Yorkshire in the light of this recent work and in the light of the recently proposed chronology of Professor C. F. C. Hawkes for the Bronze Age.<sup>2</sup>

*A Flat Axe from Angram, Watton Carrs (fig. 1. 1)*

This implement was found on the surface of a ploughed field of Angram Farm, Watton Carrs, E.R. Yorkshire (Nat. Grid ref. TA.05/49) many years ago. Length  $3\frac{3}{4}$  ins., width of cutting edge  $1\frac{7}{8}$  ins., width of butt  $\frac{7}{8}$  ins., weight  $5\frac{1}{2}$  oz. The axe is in good condition and the golden metal shows in places through the thin greenish patina. The cutting edge is outsplayed, the sides slightly concave, the butt thin and slightly rounded. The faces of the axe slope up from both butt and cutting edge to produce a lozenge profile when seen from the side. In section the sides of the implement slope out to a slight ridge. In shape and profile this axe closely resembles the bronze axe in the Wiltshire Bush Barrow grave group<sup>3</sup> of the Wessex Culture 1 phase, 1650/1600-1550/1500 B.C.

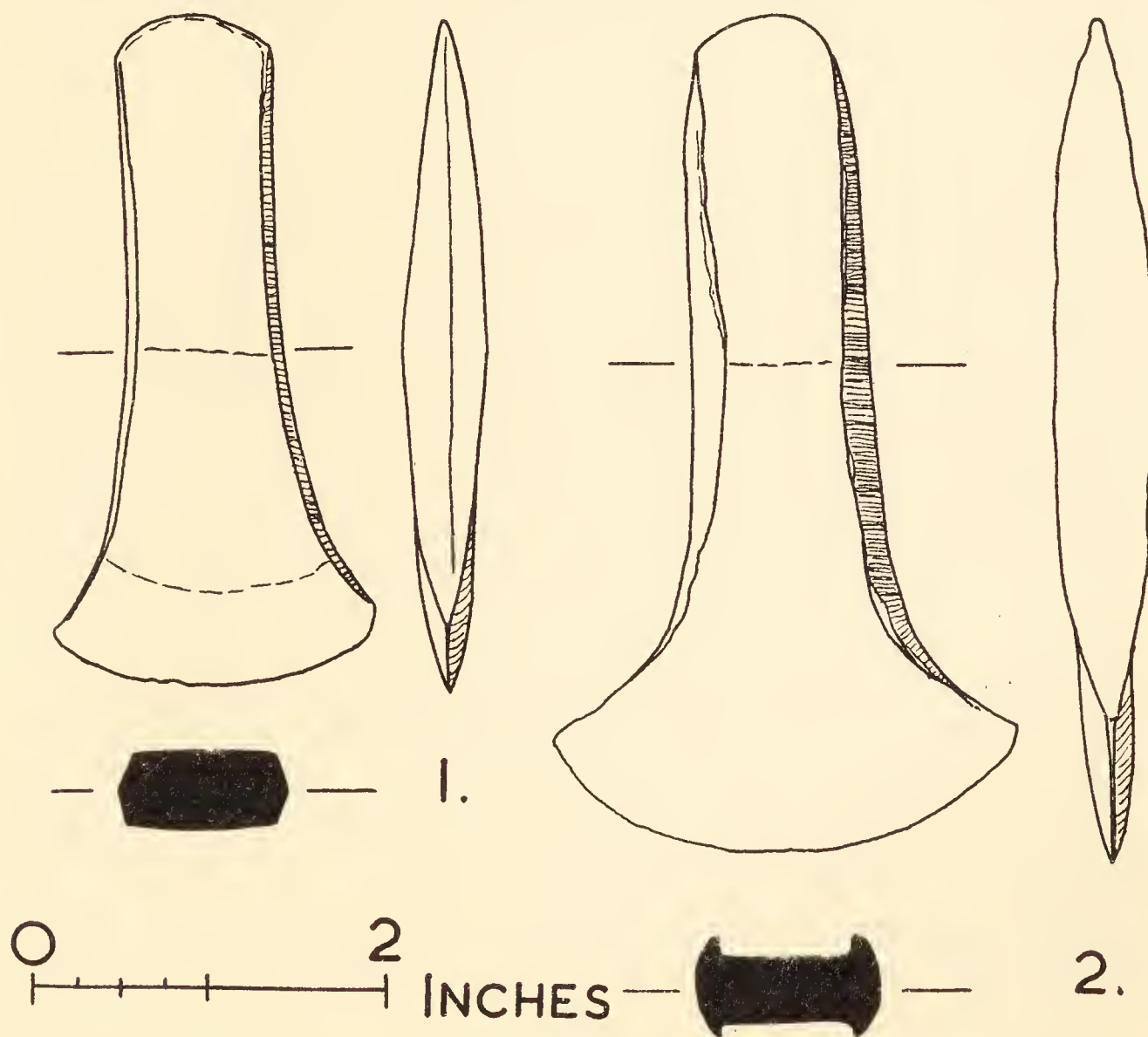


FIG. 1.

No. 1. Arram: No. 2. Beeford.

*A Flanged Axe from Beeford (fig. 1. 2)*

This axe was recently presented to Messrs. Grantham by Mr. & Mrs. Wilson of Driffeld after it had been in their family for many years. It had been found near the village of Beeford,  $6\frac{1}{2}$  miles south-east of Driffeld. Length  $4\frac{3}{4}$  ins., width of cutting edge  $2\frac{5}{8}$  ins., width of butt  $\frac{3}{4}$  ins. The

<sup>1</sup> Britton, *P.P.S.*, xxix (1963) 258-325.

<sup>2</sup> C.B.A. Conference 1960.

<sup>3</sup> Piggott, *P.P.S.*, iv (1938) fig. 3.



implement is in good condition, the surfaces have a greenish brown patina and are slightly pitted in places. The cutting edge is widely splayed, the sides straight and the butt thin and rounded. The faces slope up from both butt and cutting edge to give a lozenge profile, the sides have low flanges and are rounded. Axes of this type are found in a number of hoards, most notably the Arreton Down hoard from the Isle of Wight datable to the Wessex 2 phase and used as a type assemblage for the 'Arreton' industry<sup>1</sup>.

### *Discussion*

The earliest metal implements were of copper unalloyed with tin; these were made in Hawkes' Copper Age and were contemporary with the Late Neolithic Cultures, especially the Beaker Cultures. The copper was supplied by Irish and German sources and in Ireland the earliest axes were relatively short, broad implements with a trapezoidal outline and a thick broad butt.<sup>2</sup> These thick butted axes are common in Ireland but rare in Great Britain<sup>3</sup> and they belong to Hawkes' Copper Age 1, c. 1850-1750 B.C. The only thick broad butted axe from Yorkshire was found at Canklow, Rotherham, in Western Yorkshire.

The next phase, Copper Age 2, c. 1750-1650/1600 B.C. had axes that retained the earlier broad outline but had thin butts. These thin butted axes have been found in Yorkshire at widely scattered localities in East Yorkshire and the Pennines (fig. 2) (Appendix 1). As the Yorkshire copper deposits at Middleton Tyas would be unworkable by primitive methods the copper would all be imported and the axe fragment from Keighley suggests that the Aire Gap route might already be in use as the metal implement import route from Ireland.<sup>4</sup> Contemporary with these early axes in Yorkshire would be the tanged dagger and the gold headed rivets with the Kelleythorpe cist burial near Driffild<sup>5</sup> and the remains of the dagger or (?)knife with the collared Bell Beaker cist burial at Egton, near Whitby.<sup>6</sup> The pair of basket-shaped earrings with punch decoration from Boltby<sup>7</sup> may also belong to this phase as they are paralleled by similar gold earrings with the Bell Beaker burials at Radley, Oxon.<sup>8</sup> and Kirkhaugh, Northumberland.<sup>9</sup> Further metal objects likely to belong to this phase are the small awls with the Beaker burials at Rudston,<sup>10</sup> Aldro,<sup>11</sup> Garton Slack,<sup>12</sup> Huggate,<sup>13</sup> all on the Wolds, and Ferry Fryston<sup>14</sup> in the Pennine foothills. All these objects are likely to be of metal of Irish or German origin, but imports from more distant sources are indi-

<sup>1</sup> Britton, *op. cit.*, 284-297, Pl. xxvii.

<sup>2</sup> Coghlan & Case, *P.P.S.*, xxiii (1957) 102, fig. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Britton, *op. cit.*, 260-1.

<sup>4</sup> Elgee, *Arch. of Yorks.*, (1933) 68, fig. 10.

<sup>5</sup> Mortimer, *Forty Years Researches . . .*, (1905) 274, fig. 741-2.

<sup>6</sup> Greenwell, *British Barrows*, (1877) 333.

<sup>7</sup> *P.P.S.*, v (1939) 253; British Museum 1940, 4-4-1, 2.

<sup>8</sup> Williams, *Oxon.*, xiii (1948) 1-9; *Inv. Arch.*, G.B. 2.

<sup>9</sup> Maryon, *Arch. Ael.*, 4th ser. xiii (1939) 211.

<sup>10</sup> Greenwell, *op. cit.*, 236.

<sup>11</sup> Mortimer, *op. cit.*, 54, fig. 97.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 215.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 320, fig. 954.

<sup>14</sup> Greenwell, *op. cit.*, 373.

cated by the Aegean double axe from Whitby<sup>1</sup> and a Cypriot dagger found on the moors near Egton.<sup>2</sup>

### *The Migdale Industry*

This industrial tradition of metal working using a true bronze of copper alloyed with tin has recently been defined by Britton and is named after the Migdale hoard from Sutherland.<sup>3</sup> The Angram axe belongs to the Migdale group and most of the flat bronze axes from Yorkshire belong to this same group, they are divisible into two sub-groups by their profiles:—(i) pointed oval and (ii) lozenge-like the Angram axe. Axes of sub-group (i) are the most common and a good example accompanied the inhumation burial at Butterwick with a flat bronze dagger, a bronze awl and a stone button and five jet buttons with V-perforations.<sup>4</sup> The burial was in a grave and laid on wood and in the grave filling were two sherds of a Food Vessel with cord lines and cord horse-shoes and a weathered fragment of Peterborough ware.<sup>5</sup> Apart from a small hoard of two axes from Sherburn Carr all the other axes of sub-group (i) are unassociated surface finds. The same applies to the axes of sub-group (ii) with the exception of the four axes comprising the hoard from Willerby Wold Barrow CCXXXV which Greenwell considered to be contemporary with a corded Bell Beaker burial.<sup>6</sup> Three of the Willerby Wold axes are decorated with short lines made by a tracer.<sup>7</sup> Similarly produced decoration occurs on the axes from Hunmanby, Leppington, Middleton and forming herringbone patterns, also on axes from Langton Wold, Skipsea, and both Place Newton axes.<sup>8</sup> The Bowes axe has vertical columns of short lines and two converging pairs of diagonal lines with hatching in between. The axe from near York has tracer ornament imitating cord lines in groups of horizontal lines with groups of vertical lines in between.

'Migdale' axes are widely distributed in Yorkshire (fig. 2) (Appendix 2) with a concentration on the Wolds, a number in Holderness; and a scatter from the limestone hills of North-east Yorkshire, the Howardian Hills, the Vale of York (near York and Goole) and at various places both deep in the Pennines and along their foothills. The implement production of the 'Migdale' industry was concentrated in Ireland and Scotland where copper ores were available, but the industry's products, especially the flat axes are distributed all over the British Isles.<sup>9</sup> A mould for a flat axe carved from a small block of sandstone and found on the moors near Scarborough<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Elgee, *Early Man in N.E. Yorks.*, 62, fig. 20, Pl. xi. 1: Piggott, in *P.P.S.*, xix (1953) 224, fig. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Whitby Museum: F. Elgee's Ms. Notes.

<sup>3</sup> Britton, *op. cit.*, 270-2, fig. 4; *Inv. Arch.*, GB. 26.

<sup>4</sup> Greenwell, *op. cit.*, 186-9.

<sup>5</sup> Manby, *Y.A.J.*, xxxix (1956) 5.

<sup>6</sup> Greenwell, *Arch.*, lii (1890) 2-4.

<sup>7</sup> Megaw & Hardy, *P.P.S.*, iv (1938) 283-5 & 302 No. 108, fig. 12.

<sup>8</sup> Brewster, *Y.A.J.*, (1955) 451-2, fig. 3.

<sup>9</sup> Fox, *Personality of Britain*, 4th Ed. (1947), Pl. vi.

<sup>10</sup> Rutter, *The Arch. of Scarborough & District* (1956) 11, No. 17.



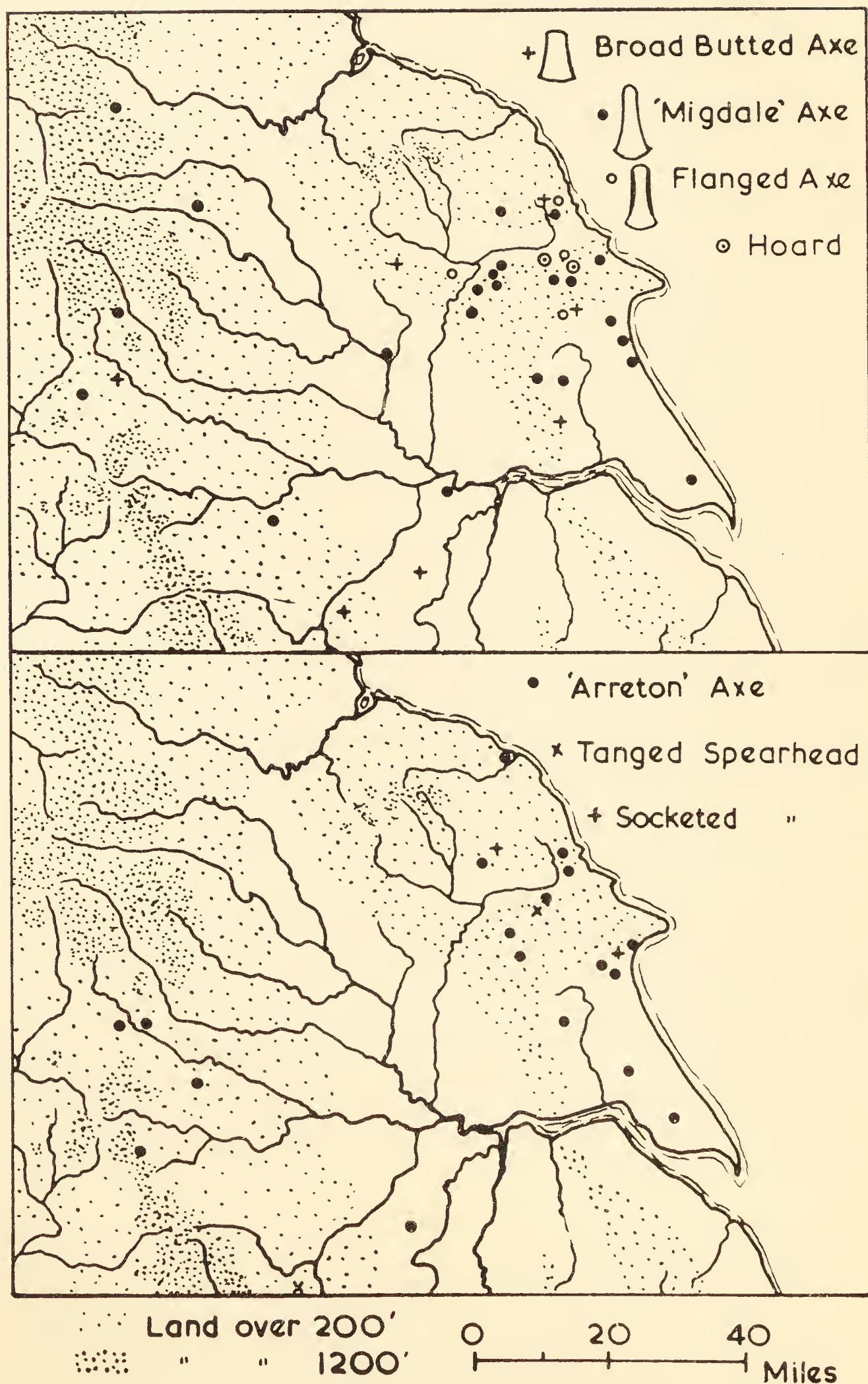


FIG. 2.  
Distribution map of Early Bronze Age axes in Yorkshire,

suggests that some of the 'Migdale' axes were produced in Yorkshire. The Bowes axe could indicate the import of these implements over the Stainmore Pass from the Lake District from ultimate Scottish and Irish sources.<sup>1</sup> The use of the Aire-Gap route for the import of axes from Ireland was discussed by Frank Elgee and a further axe has recently been found in Ribblesdale just over the Lancashire border at Blacko Tower, Barrowford.<sup>2</sup>

Britton has defined a number of other objects that belong to the 'Migdale' tradition by their association with the axes on moulds and in hoards.<sup>3</sup> The most numerous of the other 'Migdale' types found in Yorkshire are the bronze awls of a variety of forms and the flat bronze daggers that have recently been studied by Professor Piggott.<sup>4</sup> There has also been two finds of bronze cuffs with tracer decoration from Bridlington<sup>5</sup> and Garton Slack, Barrow 107 with a flat bronze dagger.<sup>6</sup> The sheet metal work of the 'Migdale' tradition is represented by the basket earrings with an inhumation at Cowlam, Barrow LVIII.<sup>7</sup> Also by the strip earrings with tracer decoration with a Food Vessel at Garton Slack, Barrow C53<sup>8</sup> and with two bronze awls at Goodmanham, Barrow CXV.<sup>9</sup> Finally we must note a flat bronze halberd from Bridlington<sup>10</sup> as part of this industry.

Bronze implements of the 'Migdale' industry are concentrated on the Wolds with outliers in Northern Holderness and the Limestone Hills of North-east Yorkshire. Culturally the objects are with burials of the Long Necked Beaker Culture and the Food Vessel Culture. The 'Migdale' industry flourished in Professor Hawkes' Early Bronze Age 1 c. 1650/1600-1550/1500 B.C. Its products dominated the market for bronze implements in the British Isles and its products were used in Southern England by the Wessex I people. The Wessex Culture also attracted bronze articles from Continental sources and had some distinctive implements – types like the 'Bush Barrow' daggers with their grooved faces and mid-ribs. Such daggers were imported into Yorkshire as they have been found with burials at Brough-on-Humber,<sup>11</sup> Towthorpe Barrows C39 and 233,<sup>12</sup> and Wykeham Barrow CLII.<sup>13</sup>

During the next phase of the Early Bronze Age: Phase 2, c. 1550/1500-c. 1400 B.C., the 'Migdale' industry continued and developed

<sup>1</sup> Fell, *Trans. Cumb. & West. A. & A.S.*, n.s. xl (1940).

<sup>2</sup> *Cartwright Arch. Group Bull* (Bradford), 5 (1960) 40-1.

<sup>3</sup> Britton, *op. cit.*, 263-275.

<sup>4</sup> Piggott, in *Culture and Environment*, (1963) 68-91.

<sup>5</sup> Waterman, *Ant. J.*, xxviii (1948) 179.

<sup>6</sup> Mortimer, *op. cit.*, 232, fig. 591; Piggott, *op. cit.*, 85, fig. 19; Britton, *op. cit.*, 281, fig. 14.

<sup>7</sup> Greenwell, *op. cit.*, 223-4, fig. 47; Britton, *op. cit.*, 275.

<sup>8</sup> Mortimer, *op. cit.*, 218, fig. 560-1.

<sup>9</sup> Greenwell, *op. cit.*, 234, fig. 48.

<sup>10</sup> Sheppard, *Naturalist*, 1917, 156, No. 28; Hull Museum.

<sup>11</sup> Sheppard, *Hull Mus. Pubs.* No. 141, 1; Apsimon, *Ann. Rep. Inst. of Arch.*, 10 (1954) 55, fig. 1. 1; British Museum W.G. 1049.

<sup>12</sup> Mortimer, *op. cit.*, 5 & 7, fig. 8 & 12; Apsimon, *op. cit.*, Hull Mus.

<sup>13</sup> Greenwell, *op. cit.*, 395; Apsimon, *op. cit.*, British Mus. 79. 12-9. 1302.



its flat axe into an axe with slight flanges; Megaw & Hardy's Type II.<sup>1</sup> These axes are limited in Yorkshire to examples from Driffild, Staxton, Scalby and two of uncertain locality (Appendix 3). Probably contemporary with them are the halberds with thick mid-ribs and converging side ribs from Pickering,<sup>2</sup> the mound material of Cowlam Barrow LVII<sup>3</sup> and from Woodnook, near Wakefield.<sup>4</sup> The latter implement has a zone of incised decoration on the upper part of the blade composed of horizontal lines with three rows of hatched pendant triangles in between.<sup>5</sup> During this phase the 'Migdale' industry had a competitor for the supply of bronze implements, the 'Arreton' Industry.

### *The 'Arreton' Industry*

The products of this industrial tradition have been named by Mr. Britton after the hoard of bronze implements from Arreton Down, Isle of Wight. Our Beeford axe is an 'Arreton' type along with ogival daggers with incised grooves of the Camerton-Snowhill type, ogival daggers with converging ribs on the blade, tanged spearheads and socketed spearheads with and without loops on the socket.<sup>6</sup>

In Yorkshire the 'Arreton' axes are not as numerous as the 'Migdale' axes (Appendix 4), they are most frequent in Holderness and scattered along the North-east Yorkshire coast and in the Southern portion of the Pennines (fig. 2). The scarcity of these axes on the Wolds is a notable feature and foreshadows the later distribution of wing-flanged axes, palstaves and socketed axes in Yorkshire.<sup>7</sup> The distribution of 'Arreton' Axes in the British Isles shows they are concentrated south-east of a line from the Tees to the Severn.<sup>8</sup> Beyond this line there is a scatter in the Lake District, North Wales and Northern and Central Ireland. The examples from Ireland show that the 'Arreton' axes were able to compete successfully with the native axes and the 'Arreton' axes from Keighley and Silsden suggest that the Aire Gap route was in use for this return traffic in bronze implements.

Bands of hammer rippling decorated the faces and flanges of the Whitby axe and the lower part of the blade of the Rishworth axe. Slight stopridges between the flanges occur on the Bridlington, Duggleby and Pickering axes. The Pickering axe is of some interest and it is particularly unfortunate that it was recovered from a heap

<sup>1</sup> Megaw & Hardy, *op. cit.*, 272.

<sup>2</sup> Elgee, *op. cit.*, 80, Pl. x, fig. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Greenwell, *op. cit.*, 220; British Museum 79. 12-9. 554, blade fragment and rivet.

<sup>4</sup> Bowman, *Reliquiae Antiquae Eboracenses*, (1855) 39-40; Walker, *Wakefield, its History and its People*, (1934) 12, fig. 9. Decoration omitted in the drawing.

<sup>5</sup> Hatched pendant triangles on flat axes, Megaw & Hardy, *op. cit.*, fig. 1, f., fig. 2, f., fig. 13 and on 'Arreton' axes fig. 4, b, and fig. 10, a. Also a single line on a Group I rapier from Ireland, Trump, *P.P.S.*, xxviii (1962) fig. 5.

<sup>6</sup> Britton, *op. cit.*, 284-291.

<sup>7</sup> Elgee, *op. cit.*, 166-171, fig. 55.

<sup>8</sup> Fox, *op. cit.*, 48, Pl. vii.

of scrap metal. The flanges are decorated with a herringbone pattern of tracer cuts and the flanges are particularly long like the axe from the Plymstock hoard, Devon, which has parallels in Northern Germany.<sup>1</sup> A flanged axe probably from Bawtry and an East Riding axe are of this same pattern; it is very unfortunate that the find details of all three of these axes are so poor.

Further implement types of the 'Arreton' industry found in Yorkshire are the tanged spearheads from Sherburn E.R.<sup>2</sup> and Crookes, Sheffield with a collared urn burial.<sup>3</sup> A looped-socketed spearhead of the type represented in the Ebnal hoard<sup>4</sup> comes from Carnaby in Northern Holderness<sup>5</sup> and a degenerate version from High Dalby N.R.<sup>6</sup> An ogival dagger of the Camerton-Snowhill type was found with a secondary cremation burial in Loose Howe, Rosedale with an urn, pygmy cup, stone battle axe and a bronze pin.<sup>7</sup> An ogival dagger with three converging ribs comes from Kirkdale N.R.,<sup>8</sup> there are also three daggers of ogival outline that might belong to this phase or the succeeding one. A dagger from Hutton Cranswick has a low mid-rib and bevelled edges<sup>9</sup> and the daggers from Bridlington<sup>10</sup> and Willerby Carr<sup>11</sup> have elliptical blade sections and the former has bevelled edges.

The 'Arreton' Industry arose in South-eastern England, partly under continental influences and producing an implement series with its own distinctive characteristics including the use of two piece moulds for casting.<sup>12</sup> The associations of the daggers with the Wessex II culture fixes its chronological position as Early Bronze Age 2, *c.* 1550/1500-*c.* 1400 B.C., the wealth of the Wessex chiefs providing a stimulus for the metal smith.<sup>13</sup> In Yorkshire the only objects of the 'Arreton' Industry with cultural associations are the dagger at Loose Howe and the tanged spearhead at Crookes, both with collared urn burials. This shows the Urn people to be users of the 'Arreton' products but the position regarding the Food Vessel people in Yorkshire is obscure. The later Food Vessels are concentrated on the Wolds and no objects suitable for dating purposes are associated with them.

### Conclusions

Metal implements do not appear in Yorkshire in any quantity until Copper Age 2, when the copper and gold is likely to be mostly of Irish origin. During Early Bronze Age 1, the 'Migdale' industry

<sup>1</sup> *Inv. Arch.* GB. 9, No. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Britton, *op. cit.*, 309. British Museum WG. 2021.

<sup>3</sup> Bu'lock, *Trans. Lancs. & Ches. A.S.*, 71 (1961) 22-3, fig. iv. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Britton, *op. cit.*, 289, fig. 17.

<sup>5</sup> Yorkshire Museum 1243. 1948.

<sup>6</sup> Yorkshire Museum 11. 2. 1948.

<sup>7</sup> Elgee, *P.P.S.*, xv (1949) 95-101, fig. 9.

<sup>8</sup> Elgee, *Early Man in N.E. Yorks.* . . . , 80, Pl. x, 1.

<sup>9</sup> *Trans. E.R. Ant. S.*, xxix (1949) 43-2; Hull Museum.

<sup>10</sup> Leeds Museum.

<sup>11</sup> Yorkshire Museum 1231. 1948.

<sup>12</sup> Britton, *op. cit.*, 291-297

<sup>13</sup> Childe, *Prehistoric Communities of the British Isles*, (1940) 144-5.



supplied Yorkshire with not inconsiderable numbers of bronze axes, flat daggers, awls and some sheet metal work. The Scarborough mould indicates that some axes were produced in Yorkshire from imported metal. However, during Bronze Age 1 metal objects in the form of the 'Bush Barrow' daggers were reaching Eastern Yorkshire by trade or migration from Southern England. In the succeeding phase, Early Bronze Age 2, the South-eastern based 'Arreton' industry gained the upper hand and its products, axes, daggers and spearheads dominated the area but did not exclude some of the later 'Migdale' industry axes and halberds reaching Eastern Yorkshire.

### *Acknowledgements*

The writer wishes to record his indebtedness to Mr. D. Britton for advice on the Yorkshire implements. Thanks are also recorded to the numerous museum curators who have afforded the writer facilities to study Bronze implements in their keeping.

### APPENDIX 1. BROAD BUTTED AXES

Site	Publication	Collection	Length	Remarks
EAST RIDING Beverley	<i>N.W. Naturalist</i> 1928, 18. No. 1	Scunthorpe Mus.	4½"	
Driffield		Hull Mus.	4½"	
NORTH RIDING Scackleton	<i>Ibid.</i> , No. 2	Hull Mus.	4¾"	
Scarborough,		Sheffield Mus.	4¾"	crude shape
Moors Near		J93.478		
WEST RIDING Perhaps Bawtry		Wakefield Mus.	4½"	
Keighley,		Keighley Mus.		butt fragment
Howden Rough		7371		
Rotherham,	<i>Trans. Hunter Soc. I</i> (1914) 102			thick butt
Canklow				
Perhaps Eastern Yorkshire		Yorkshire Mus. 1263. 1948	5½"	

### APPENDIX 2. MIGDALE AXES

Site	Publication	Collection	Length	Remarks
EAST RIDING Atwick		Yorkshire Mus.	2¾"	crude shape
Butterwick	Greenwell, <i>Brit. Barrows</i> 186-7	British Mus. 79.12-9.383		grave group
Hunmanby		Hull Mus.	6¾"	decorated
Knapton	<i>P.P.S.</i> , iv (1938) 301, No. 100	British Mus. WG. 1810	5½"	decorated
Langton Wold	<i>Ibid.</i> , 301, No. 101	British Mus. WG. 1811	4¾"	decorated
Leppington	<i>Ibid.</i> , No. 102 <i>N.W. Nat.</i> , 1928, 18, No. 7	Hull Mus.	6¾"	sub-group (ii) decorated
Lissett		Yorkshire Mus. 1104. 1948	5½"	
Middleton	<i>Ibid.</i> , No. 6	Hull Mus.	4½"	decorated
Patrington	<i>Naturalist</i> , 1928, 49	Hull Mus.	4¾"	

Site	Publication	Collection	Length	Remarks
Place Newton	<i>Y.A.J.</i> , xxxix, (1955) 451-2, fig. 3. I	J. Cundall	5 $\frac{7}{8}$ "	decorated sub-group (ii)
Place Newton	<i>Ibid.</i> , fig. 3. II	J. Cundall	5 $\frac{1}{8}$ "	decorated
Sherburn Carr	Evans, <i>Ancient Bronze Imps.</i> (1881) 43	British Mus. WG.1803	6.2"	hoard of 2
Sherburn Carr	<i>Ibid.</i>	Ashmolean Mus. 1927. 2363	5 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	hoard of 2
Skipsea		Roman Malton Mus.	5 $\frac{3}{4}$ "	decorated
Thwing	<i>P.P.S.</i> , iv, (1938)	Yorkshire Mus. 1105. 1948	5 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	decorated with punch marks
Watton, Angram	Present publication	Grantham Coll. Driffeld	3 $\frac{3}{4}$ "	Sub-group (ii)
Willerby Wold	<i>Arch.</i> LII, (1890)	British Mus.	6 $\frac{1}{4}$ "	hoard of 4 sub-group (ii)
Barrow CCXXXV	2-4; <i>P.P.S.</i> 283 & 302. No. 108		5 $\frac{7}{8}$ " 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " 5 $\frac{5}{8}$ "	decorated " "
NORTH RIDING Bowes		Yorkshire Mus. 1101. 1948	6 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	decorated
Irton, Box Hill		Scarbor. Mus. 106. 38	5 $\frac{1}{4}$ "	sub-group (ii)
Lockton	Elgee, <i>Early Man</i> 78, pl. x, fig. 2	British Mus.	3.3"	
Preston under Scar		Middlesbrough Mus.	5"	sub-group (ii)
Goole	<i>N.W. Nat.</i> 1928, p. 18, No. 5	Hull Mus.	5 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	
Ickornshaw Moor Painthorpe (nr. Wakefield)		Skipton Mus. Wakefield Mus.	3.3"	sub-group (ii)
Skyrethorn, Heights	<i>Cartwright Arch. Group Bull.</i> 6, (1961) 60-1 & 66	Skipton Mus.	5.8"	
York		Yorkshire Mus. 1183. 1948	5 $\frac{3}{4}$ "	sub-group (ii)
Near York	Evans, <i>Ant. Bronze Imps.</i> , (1881) fig. 4; <i>P.P.S.</i> , iv (1938) 302, No. 110	British Mus. 53. 11-15. 9	8 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	decorated

## APPENDIX 3. FLANGED AXES OF MIGDALE TYPE

Site	Publication	Collection	Length	Remarks
EAST RIDING Driffeld		Yorkshire Mus. 1100. 1948	3 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	
Staxton	<i>P.P.S.</i> , iv (1938) 302, No. 106	Yorkshire Mus. 1106. 1948	4 $\frac{5}{8}$ "	decorated
NORTH RIDING Scalby Beck		Scarbor. Mus. 818. 38	4 $\frac{1}{8}$ "	
Swinton	<i>N.W. Nat.</i> , 1928. 19, No. 12	Hull Mus.	3 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	
Yorkshire Yorkshire		Hull Mus. British Mus. SL. 249*	5 $\frac{5}{8}$ " 5.2"	decorated decorated
Yorkshire	<i>P.P.S.</i> , iv (1938) 302, No. 113	British Mus. SL. 249	5 $\frac{1}{8}$ "	decorated



## APPENDIX 4. ARRETON AXES

Site	Publication	Collection	Length	Remarks
EAST RIDING Beeford	Present publication	Grantham Coll. Driffeld	4 $\frac{3}{4}$ "	
Bridlington	<i>Nat.</i> 1917, 155	Hull Mus.	3 $\frac{5}{8}$ "	stop ridge
Burstwick	<i>Nat.</i> 1923, 143, No. 29	Hull Mus.	6 $\frac{1}{4}$ "	
Duggleby		Yorkshire Mus. 1110. 1948	4"	stop ridge
Gransmoor	<i>Ibid.</i> , No. 28	Hull Mus.	5 $\frac{3}{8}$ "	
Potter Brompton		Scarbor. Mus. 924. 38	5"	
Carr				
Raisthorpe	<i>N.W. Nat.</i> 1928, p. 18, No. 3	Hull Mus.	3 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	
Swine	<i>Ibid.</i> , 19, No. 15	Hull Mus.	5 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	
Watton	<i>Ibid.</i> , No. 20	Hull Mus.	4 $\frac{3}{4}$ "	stop ridge
East Riding		Yorkshire Mus. 1109. 1948	5"	Continental type
NORTH RIDING Cayton Carr	<i>Arch. Newsletter</i> , 3 (1951) 150	Yorkshire Mus. Brewster Coll.	5"	
Pickering	<i>P.P.S.</i> , iv (1938) 302, No. 104	formerly in St. Albans Mus.	5 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	decorated Continental type
Near Scarborough	<i>N.W. Nat.</i> 1928, 19, No. 14	Hull Mus.	5 $\frac{3}{4}$ "	
Whitby		Manchester Mus. O.9040	4 $\frac{7}{8}$ "	decorated
Yorkshire Moors	<i>P.P.S.</i> , iv (1938) 301, No. 103		7 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	decorated
WEST RIDING Probably Bawtry		Wakefield Mus.	5 $\frac{7}{8}$ "	Continental type
Bradford,	<i>Cartwright Arch.</i>	Bradford Mus.	4.9"	
Ashbourne Gardens	<i>Group Bull.</i> 4, (1959) 16 & 17			
Keighley		Keighley Mus.	5.3"	
Rishworth Moor	Wrigley, <i>Saddleshworth,</i> <i>its Prehistoric</i> <i>Remains</i> , (1911) 19- 20, pl. C	unknown	5"	decorated
Silsden, Far Ghyll Grange	<i>Cartwright Arch.</i> <i>Group Bull.</i> 1, (1955) 82	Private Keighley Mus. (Cast)	7.1"	

## PETROLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF PREHISTORIC STONE IMPLEMENTS

RESULTS TO 1.8.1964

Find spot	Collection	No.	Identification
Bessingby	Bridlington Museum		Group I
Blubberhouses	Harrogate Museum	K70	Quartzite or sandstone
Bridlington	J. Davies	2707	Great Langdale (Group VI)
Bridlington	J. Davies	2711	Metamorphosed sedimentary rock
Bridlington	Scarborough Museum	762.38	Graig Lwyd (Group VII)
Bridlington-Woldgate	J. Davies	284	Graig Lwyd (Group VII)
Bridlington-Woldgate	J. Davies	4535	Greenstone
Brompton	Scarborough Museum	761.38	Whin Sill? (Group XVIII)?
Byland with Wass	Scarborough Museum	768.38	Quartz Syenite?
Cayton	Scarborough Museum	758.38	Greenstone

<i>Find spot</i>	<i>Collection</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Identification</i>
Duggleby	Scarborough Museum	777.38	Great Langdale (Group VI)
Ebberston	S. Feather	F1	Great Langdale (Group VI)
Farnley Tyas	Huddersfield Museum	A.18.58	Tievebulliagh (Group IX)
Fewston	Harrogate Museum	K.63	Sheared Greenstone
Fewston	Harrogate Museum	K.64	Fine grained sandstone
Filey	Mr. Crimlisk	C.1	Great Langdale (Group VI)
Filey, (near)	Scarborough Museum	185.38	Whin Sill? (Group XVIII)?
Flamborough	J. Davies	4079	Great Langdale (Group VI)
Flamborough	Scarborough Museum	770.38	Great Langdale (Group VI)
Flixton Carr	Bridlington Museum		Whin Sill (Group XVIII)
Greenfield	Huddersfield Museum	A.19.58	Greenstone?
Huddersfield, Moldgreen Birkhouse	Huddersfield Museum	A.20.58	Great Langdale (Group VI)
Kirkby Overblow	Harrogate Museum	K.73	Epidotised Tuff
Keighley	Keighley Museum	7387	Slate
Keighley	Keighley Museum	7504	Great Langdale (Group VI)
Kex Gill	Harrogate Museum	K.69	Fine grained sandstone
Knapton	Scarborough Museum	774.38	Great Langdale (Group VI)
Minskip	Harrogate Museum	60.7	Greywacke
New Mill, Horn Hill	Huddersfield Museum	A.22.58	Greenstone
Norwood	Harrogate Museum	K.74	Limestone with fossils
Pateley Bridge	Harrogate Museum	64.4	A quartz enstatitedolerite
Pateley Bridge	Harrogate Museum	64.3	Graig Lwyd (Group VII)
Pocklington	Hull Museum		Group I
Rigton	Harrogate Museum	60.11	Whin Sill (Group XVIII)
Rudding	Harrogate Museum	K.72	Greenstone
Scarborough	Scarborough Museum	771.38	Great Langdale (Group VI)
Scarborough (Falsgrave)	Scarborough Museum	779.38	Great Langdale (Group VI)
Scriven	Harrogate Museum	K.60	Sandstone
Scriven	Harrogate Museum	K.61	Greywacke
Seamer	Scarborough Museum	759.38	Greenstone
Sherburn, E.R.	Scarborough Museum	781.38	Great Langdale (Group VI)
Sutton in Craven, (Springfield Gdns.)	Keighley Museum	{ M613/1 M613/2	Great Langdale (Group VI) Epidiorite

## AN EARTHWORK AND ANGLIAN CEMETERY AT GARTON-ON-THE-WOLDS, EAST RIDING, YORKSHIRE

By C. and E. GRANTHAM

### *Introduction*

During the spring of 1959 human bones were exposed by the ploughing of the southern side of the 'Double Dyke', east of the Sykes Monument between Sledmere and Garton-on-the-Wolds (Nat. Grid. ref. SE.959/618). This dyke is part of a travelling earthwork in which burials were discovered in 1866 when part of it was levelled during the building of the Sykes Monument. Following this discovery excavations by J. R. Mortimer showed that a cemetery of Anglian date existed in the bank both east and west of the Monument.<sup>1</sup> No grave goods were found with these burials, but Mortimer compared them to one of his Garton Slack cemeteries and regarded them both as Anglo-Saxon.<sup>2</sup> The present excavations were under-

<sup>1</sup> J. R. Mortimer, *Forty Years Researches in British and Saxon Burial Mounds in East Yorkshire* (1905), pp. 264-270.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 269 and 254-257.



taken to investigate the structure of the earthwork and look for a possible extension to the cemetery excavated by Mortimer.

### *Acknowledgements*

The writers are indebted to Sir Richard Sykes, Bart., of Sledmere, his agent Mr. R. W. Cardwell and Mr. Hardy of Garton High Farm for permission to dig. Thanks are due to Messrs. T. W. Wadsworth, T. Richardson, W. Dixon and T. Fairley for assistance with the digging.

### *The Excavation (fig. 1)*

The earthwork in the field east of the Sykes Monument remains as a grass covered bank 4 ft. high and 28 ft. wide running along the northern side of the field. On the southern side of the bank crop marks indicate a broad filled-up ditch and along the northern side runs the Woldgate, a westerly extension of the ancient trackway from Bridlington to Kilham.

The present excavations showed the bank had a core of brown soil with an outer capping of chalk rubble, but east and west of the excavated area the bank was made of chalk rubble only. Interspersed amongst the brown soil were occasional sherds of a Food Vessel and a Collared Urn, also pieces of cremated bone, some charcoal, flint implements and flakes, and a small ring of bronze wire. All these must have been incorporated in the bank during its building from some adjacent burial mound. Several instances are quoted by Mortimer of the incorporation of barrows in later earthworks.<sup>1</sup>

Laid on the original surface under the bank was a child's skeleton which must be contemporary with the building of the bank. Also contemporary with the building of the bank must be a group of sherds of an Iron Age 'A' pot found together 2 ft. below the top of the bank.

### *Anglian Burials*

There were seven skeletons laid at full length on their backs with heads to west. The similarity between these burials and those found by Mortimer is obvious. The graves for these burials were dug into the bank to a depth of 2 ft. Burial 5 had a iron knife laid on the right shoulder and Burial 2 had a group of 8 silver sceats under the left side of the pelvis. These coins rested one on top of the other and had become cemented together by corrosion products, and the adjoining part of the pelvis had become stained green by them. The coins had been deposited in some sort of purse represented by slivers of wood and dark grey soil. A block of this soil was very kindly examined by Dr. I. W. Cornwall, without any conclusive result regarding its original nature.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 50, 61 & 160.

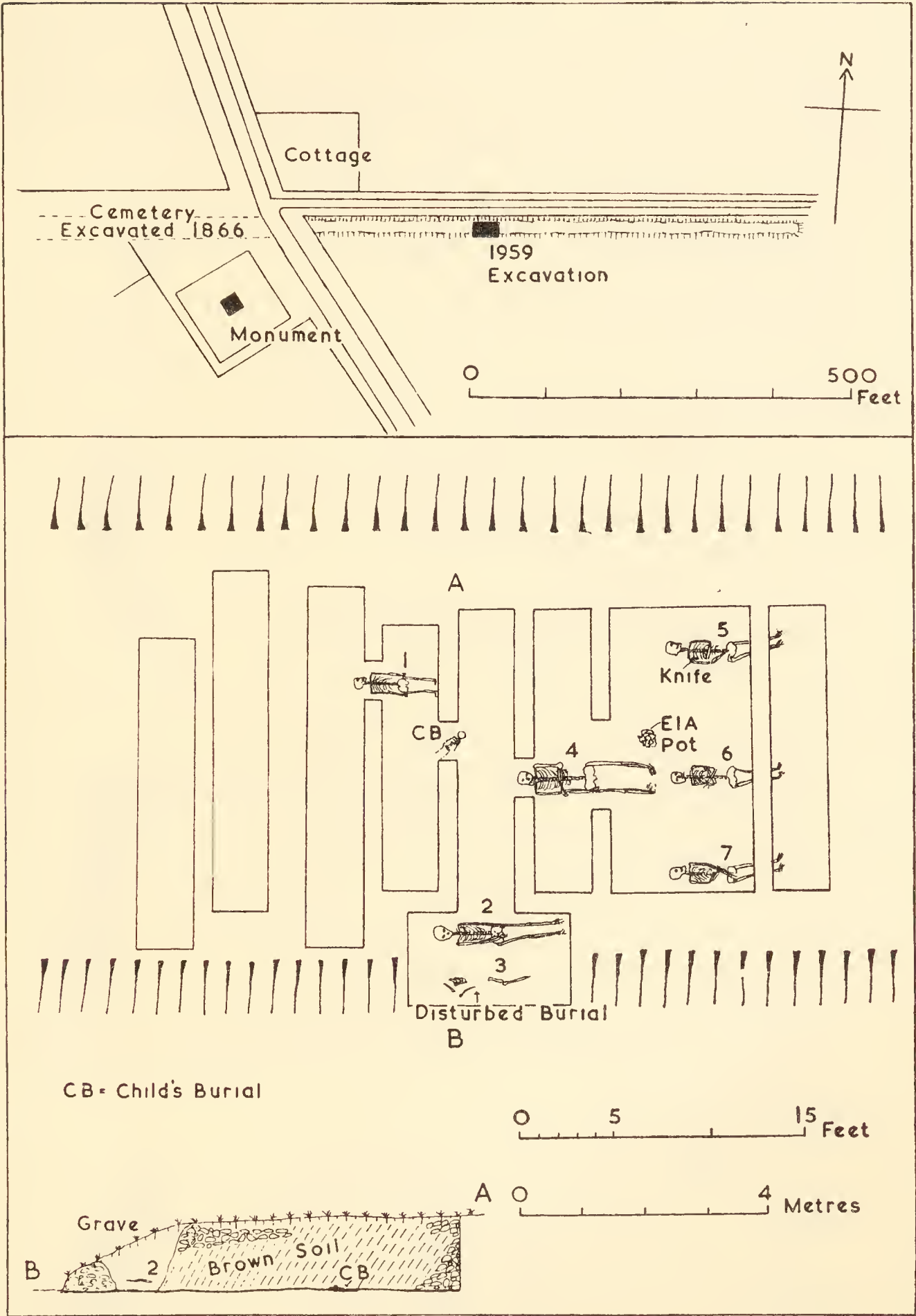


FIG. 1.  
Site plan and plan of excavations.

*Conclusions*

The finds from the present excavations show the building of the bank could not be earlier than the Iron Age 'A' pottery. The purpose of the 'Double Dyke' is uncertain but by the mid-8th century A.D. the bank was being used as a burial ground by a local community of Angles.



## THE FINDS

## 1. THE COINS

by G. Teasdill.

The eight coins found with Burial 2 are all silver sceats or sceattas as they are called by some scholars. This type of coinage circulated from the early 7th Century until it was replaced by the larger penny during the late 8th Century, about A.D. 796 in Northumbria.

Plate 1.

1. *Canterbury*, Archbishopric. AR Sceat. weight 17 grains.  
Archbishop Cuthbert and King Ethelbert II of Kent.  
Date c. A.D. 750.  
Obv. Facing bust of Archbishop and King.  
Rev. Floral design of four birds.  
*References.* Brooke, Pl. I No. 24; Seaby 279; Wegeman 8; B.M.C. 37.
2. *Wessex-Mercia*. AR Sceat. weight 19 grains.  
King Ethelbald (A.D. 716-757).  
Obv. Bust to right.  
Rev. Degeneration of Wolf and Twin type.  
*References.* Brooke, Pl. II No. 7; Seaby 289; Wegeman 31; B.M.C. 32a.
3. *Kent*. AR Sceat. weight 17 grains.  
King Eadbald (c. A.D. 620).  
Obv. Diademed head, right.  
Rev. Annulet on each side of cross, bird above.  
*References.* Seaby 276; Wegeman 5; B.M.C. 27B.
4. *Kent*. AR Sceat. weight 17½ grains.  
Same as 3.
5. *East Anglian*. AR Sceat. weight 16½ grains.  
Date c. A.D. 650.  
Obv. Crowned head right, Runic inscription WÆK (EPA) name of the moneyer.  
Rev. Saltaire Cross with annulets, degraded type.  
*References.* Brooke 6; Seaby 265.
6. *Canterbury*, Archbishopric. AR Sceat. weight 16½ grains.  
Similar to 1.
7. *Wessex-Mercia*. AR. Sceat. weight 19½ grains.  
Date A.D. 650-670.  
(There are traces of gold in the silver of this coin but this is not unusual in the early sceats as the type is based upon the earlier gold thrymsa).  
Obv. Radiate bust right.  
Rev. Standard.  
*References.* Wegeman 18; B.M.C. 3a.
8. *Wessex-Mercia*. AR Sceat. weight 19 grains.  
Similar to 7.

(This specimen has no trace of gold on the silver).

The absence of Northumbrian sceats from the find suggests that the coins were deposited before the issue of the first known Northumbrian sceats by Eadbert probably about A.D. 745. The inclusion of the coin attributed to King Ethelbald (A.D. 716-757) makes the date of deposition most likely between A.D. 740-750.

Further particulars of the discovery will be found in the Miscellany Section of Part V, Vol. 1, 2nd Series of the *Transactions of the Yorkshire Numismatic Society* (1959) and an article by Mr. S. E. Rigold suggesting some re-attribution of the traditional identification of the sceat series will refer to this discovery (Publication pending in the *Numismatic Chronicle* or *British Numismatic Journal*).

## REFERENCES

- Brooke: *English Coins* (1932).  
 Seaby: *Standard Catalogue of the Coins of Great Britain and Ireland* (1952).  
 Wegemann: 'The Earliest Coins of the Anglo-Saxons' *Seaby's Coin and Medal Bulletin* 1950, pp. 418-425.  
 B.M.C.: *Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum, Anglo-Saxon Series I* (1887) by C. F. Keary.

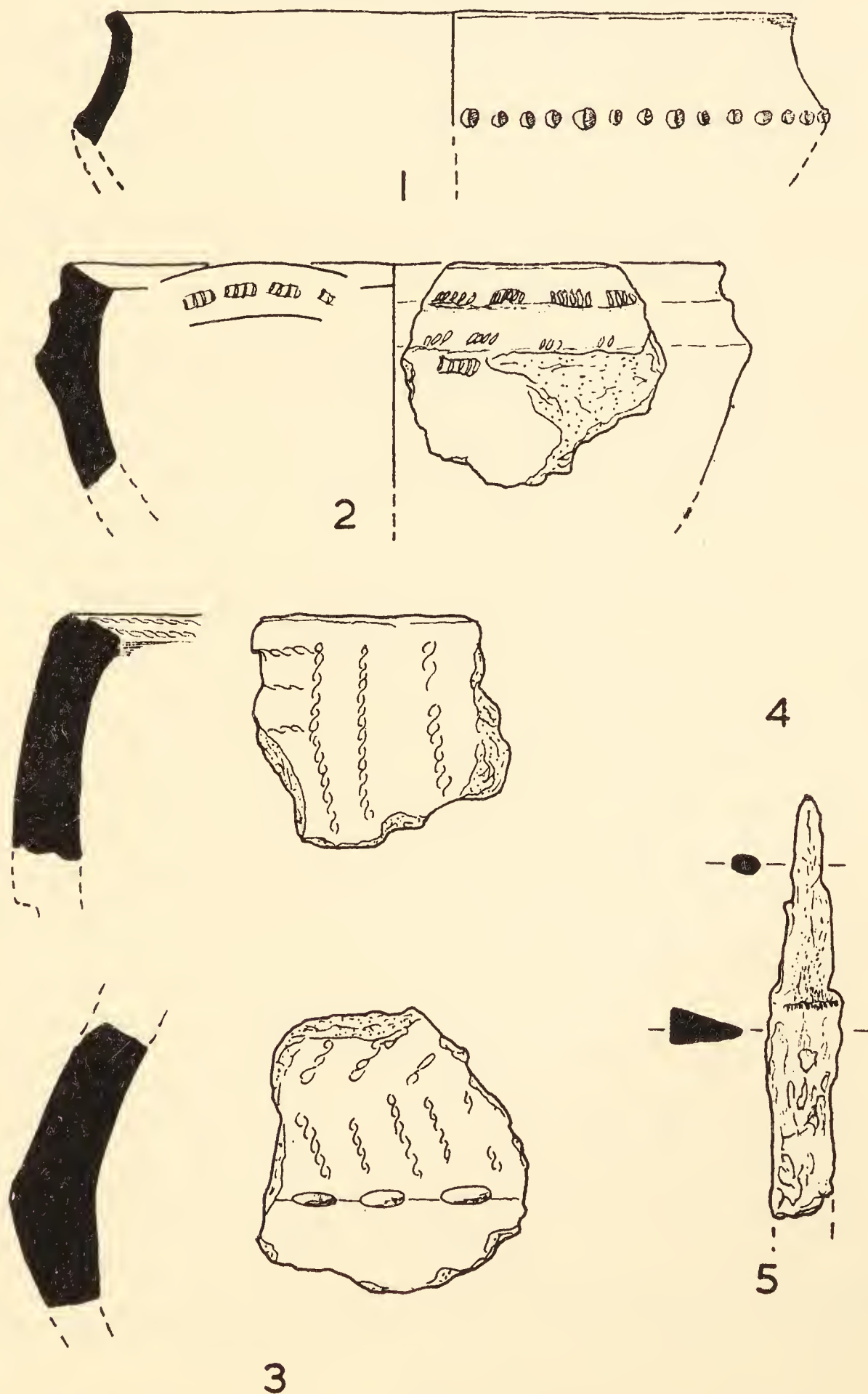


FIG. 2.

Pottery. No. 1, Early Iron Age. Nos. 2-4. Bronze Age. No. 5. Iron Knife.



## 2. POTTERY, METAL AND STONE (fig. 2). by T. G. Manby.

1. Many fragments of an Early Iron Age 'A' shouldered bowl in a dark grey fabric with smooth brown exterior. The rim is slightly everted and 11.4 ins. in diameter. On the shoulder is a row of finger tip impressions.
2. Sherd of an Early Bronze Age Food Vessel (Type 2) in a hard brown fabric with dark grey core. Cord maggot impressions on the rim bevel and on the exterior grooves and shoulder. Rim diameter 5.6 ins.
3. Rim and shoulder fragments of a Middle Bronze Age Collared urn in a hard dark grey fabric with buff exterior. Decorated with twisted cord impressions and a row of shallow oval indentions on the shoulder.
4. Loop of bronze wire twisted together at the ends. Probably of Anglian date (a similar loop to this was obtained from the Wykeham Anglian Village site by a casual digger in 1953).
5. Corroded iron knife found on the right shoulder of Burial 5. Point missing fragment 3½ ins. long. The blade has a triangular section and the tang retains impressions of a handle of wood.

## FLINT INDUSTRY

11 irregular cores, 1 core-scraper, 67 flakes, 1 side-scraper, 2 broad-scrapers, and an end-scraper of flint were found in the material of the bank during the excavations. The flint was mostly brown, patinated grey, blue and white to varying extents.

A fragment of greenish porphyrite was found in a broken condition; it may have once been part of a stone axe.

## EXCAVATION AT 52 BOOTHAM, YORK, 1964

By LAURENCE KEEN

As a result of excavations by the Archaeological Society of Bootham School in 1953 and 1954<sup>1</sup> which gave indications of a second century occupation to the north of the *Eburacum*—*Cata-ractonium* road as well as late first century pottery from the disturbed sandy soil above the river terrace<sup>2</sup> it was decided to put a trial trench down in the garden of St. Olave's Vicarage,<sup>3</sup> 52, Bootham, to see whether any evidence for an occupation south of Roman Road 6 or for an eastern continuation of the St. Mary's Road cemetery<sup>4</sup> could be found.

A 6 ft. × 6 ft. trench was opened and dug to a depth of ten feet. At this stage excavation had to be concluded as heavy rain and snow caused flooding to a depth of three feet. The top soil was a uniform rich black earth which produced assorted modern and late mediaeval material for the first three feet and earlier mediaeval material with occasional sherds of Roman pottery for a further three feet. Beneath this was found in a slightly lighter coloured soil with pebbles a deposit of a more or less consistent Antonine-Hadrianic date (Deposit A). At six and a half feet below the surface on the north-west side of the trench large cobbles were found. There was no indication that they formed any part of a structure or that they

<sup>1</sup> *Roman York*, R.C.H.M. (Eng.), 65b.

<sup>2</sup> *Excavations at Bootham School, 1953*, 54, MS., W. B. Clark.

<sup>3</sup> N.G. SE.59905233.

<sup>4</sup> *Roman York*, 72a.

were metalling. The cobbles rested on clay which was about two feet in width running the length of the trench and which fell sharply towards the south-east side. It was from between the sloping edge of the clay and the south-east side of the trench that the majority of the pottery came. It was a homogeneous deposit of a Flavian-Trajanic date (Deposit B). In association with the pottery were nine pieces of iron slag. Owing to the bad weather conditions it was not possible to find the bottom of this feature, but the sharpness of the slope of the clay side gave an indication of great depth.

## THE POTTERY

### DEPOSIT A

#### *Samian*<sup>1</sup>

A small group of thirty-one sherds in a fine state of preservation; six decorated and twenty-five plain. Of the decorated, one alone calls for special mention (fig. 1).



FIG. 1.  
Samian Ware.

A small bowl 6½ ins. in diameter of Drag. form 37.

'This bowl is unusually interesting because, although clearly Central Gaulish, it cannot be matched in style with any signed or stamped pieces and has uncommon figure-types. The fabric suggests manufacture at Lezoux rather than Les Martres de Veyre.

The ovolo recalls, though is not identical with, one used at both the centres mentioned on bowls usually assigned to RANTO and his associates. The two panels, presumably repeated, have: (i) a warrior (O.201A) and dancer (not in Dechelette or Oswald, though a larger version of the same basic type as O.669) facing each other across a conventional plant and (ii) a small double medallion containing a squirrel (similar to O.2142, recorded only at Blickweiler). None of these figures is known on a stamped or signed bowl, though the plant occurs on Lezoux fragments by a potter working under Trajan and in the early years of Hadrian whose work was not exported.

This bowl is almost certainly Hadrianic and is evidently the work of one of the many anonymous Central Gaulish potters of the period. (B. R. Hartley). The group as a whole belongs to the Hadrianic – Antonine period, c. A.D. 125-170. However, one small piece of rim, Drag. form 27 is of a late first century date.

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Mr. B. Hartley for his opinions on the Samian ware.



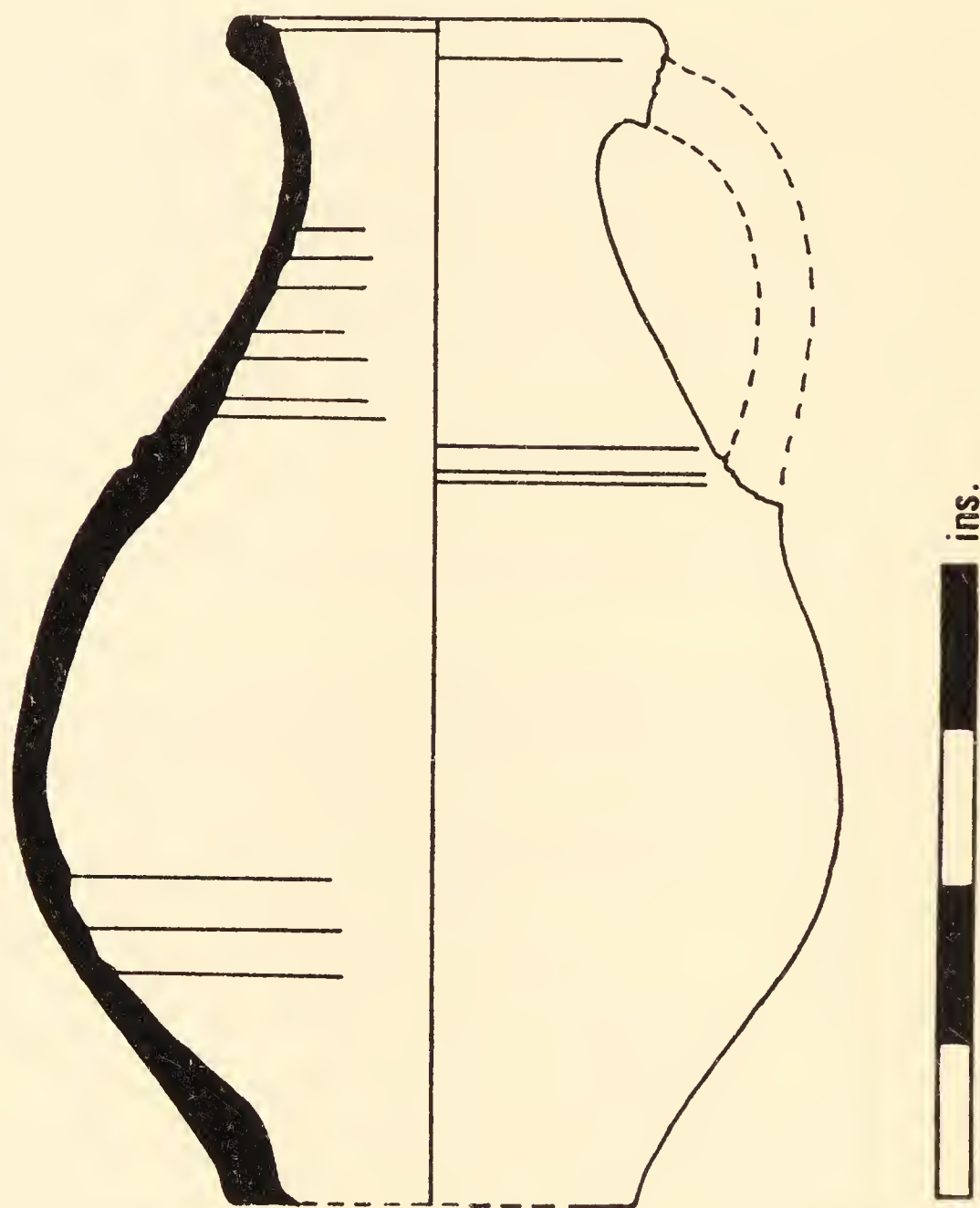


FIG. 2.  
Flagon.

#### DEPOSIT B

##### *'Legionary' red ware*

This ware, represented by fifty-four sherds, constituted the largest group. Made up of fragments of flagons, bowls, both of imitation Drag. form 37 and flat and reeded rimmed carinated, and lids, the group is a typical one for the ware except for one nearly complete flagon (fig. 2). This is seven and a half inches high and five and a quarter inches across the belly. The rim is plain outside and is slightly flattened internally. The body is undecorated except for two grooves at the bottom of the neck.

##### *Grey ware*

Twenty-seven sherds, mostly body and base with the exception of pieces of three lids and one fragment of a flat rimmed carinated bowl.

##### *Red ware with white/cream slip*

Twenty-one sherds many of which have affinities to 'legionary' red ware in the slightly sandy texture of the fabric. The group included one fragment of a small ring-necked flagon with cupped mouth.

##### *White ware*

Three sherds, one 'eggshell'.

##### *Orange-red burnished ware*

Four fragments highly burnished inside and out. One piece of imitation Drag. form 38, and one piece of a wide necked jar.

*Painted ware*

Four rim sherds and five other sherds, one burnt grey were found. The fabric is orange to buff-red, sometimes with a grey core and very often burnished. Owing to the rarity of this ware, which at present seems confined to Yorkshire, and the absence of well stratified pieces it is impossible to date closely although a tentative date of c. A.D. 80-100 is the one put forward by Philip Corder.<sup>1</sup>

## UNSTRATIFIED

*Colour-coated ware*

Nine sherds including two fragments of hunt-cup.

*Black-burnished ware*

Six fragments including two sherds of bowls and one of a beaker.

Material from the White House, Clifton,<sup>2</sup> Bootham School, 1953, 1954,<sup>3</sup> St. Mary's Abbey,<sup>4</sup> King's Manor,<sup>5</sup> The Art Gallery,<sup>6</sup> the present excavation and many workmen's trenches along the length of Bootham, when viewed together creates certain problems: firstly of what preceded the fortified enclosure north-west of the fortress<sup>7</sup> whose extent, purpose and date, although it must be post Trajanic, are unknown and need careful investigation; secondly the significance of the widespread occurrence of Flavian material on both sides of the Roman Road 6, north-west of the enclosure, although occupation is as yet proved only on the north side of the road; thirdly the relation, if any, of first century finds in the area south-west of the enclosure to Roman Road 5; and finally the relation of the early scattered burials to the later cemeteries and to the first and second century occupation sites. A re-examination of excavated material may yield useful results.

## TWO STRAY FINDS FROM GIGGLESWICK

By A. KING AND H. WALKER

(A) *Romano-British Bronze Brooch. SD.90 816657*

This brooch was found in May 1964 by Mr. David Parry whilst replacing a farm gate post. It is in an excellent state of preservation, and complete with pin.

According to Collingwood's Classification (Archaeology of Roman Britain 1930) this brooch is type Rii, the trumpet being decorated with two pale blue enamelled eyes. The spine is flanked on each side by a saw tooth moulding relief, and the catch plate is unperforated; the spring and pin are both made of bronze and the spring has retained its tension.

This brooch is still in the possession of the finder.

<sup>1</sup> *Ant. Journ.* XIII, 165. A detailed analysis of this ware is forthcoming.

<sup>2</sup> *Roman York*, 65b.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 360, footnotes 1 and 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Roman York*, 61b.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 47a.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 45a.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 45b.



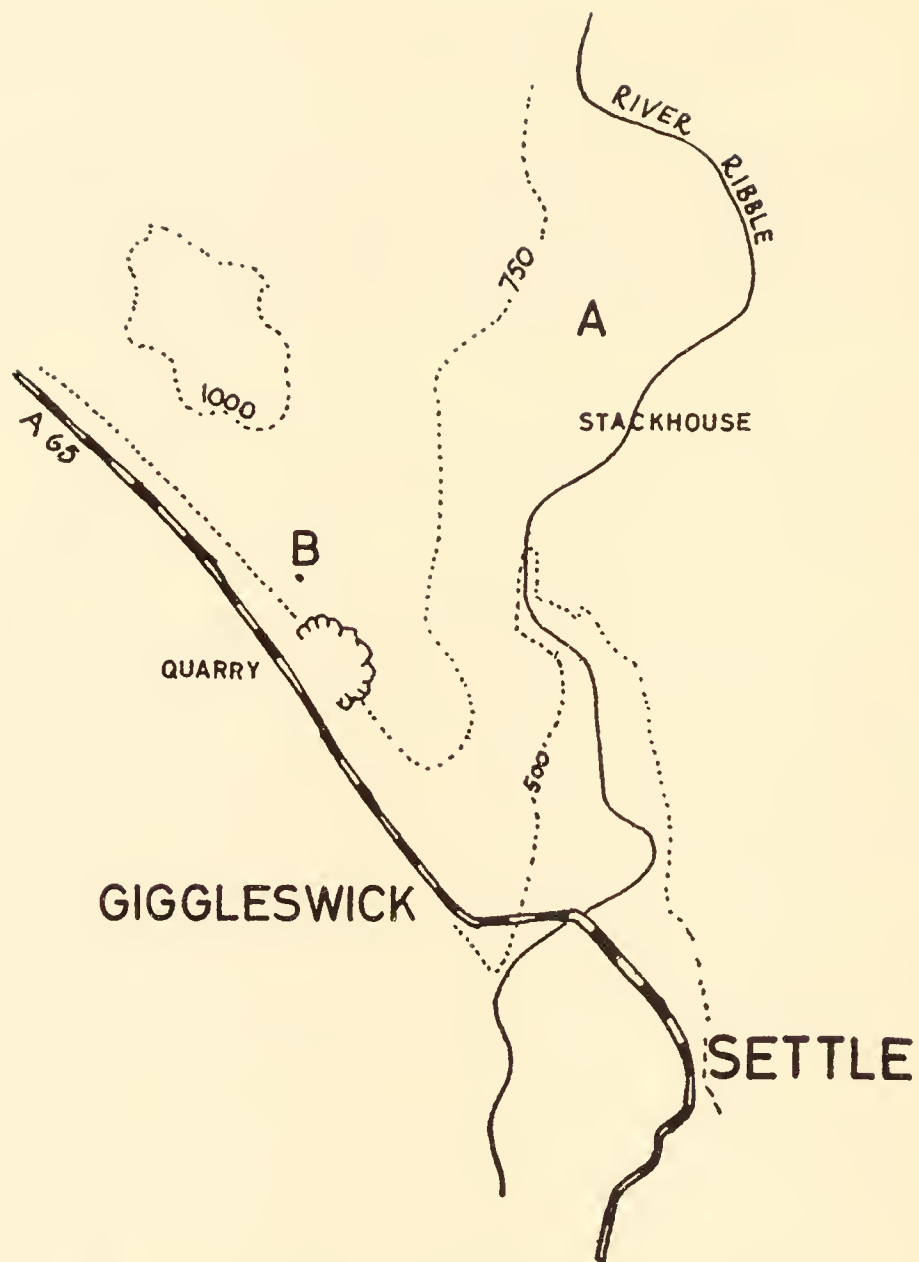
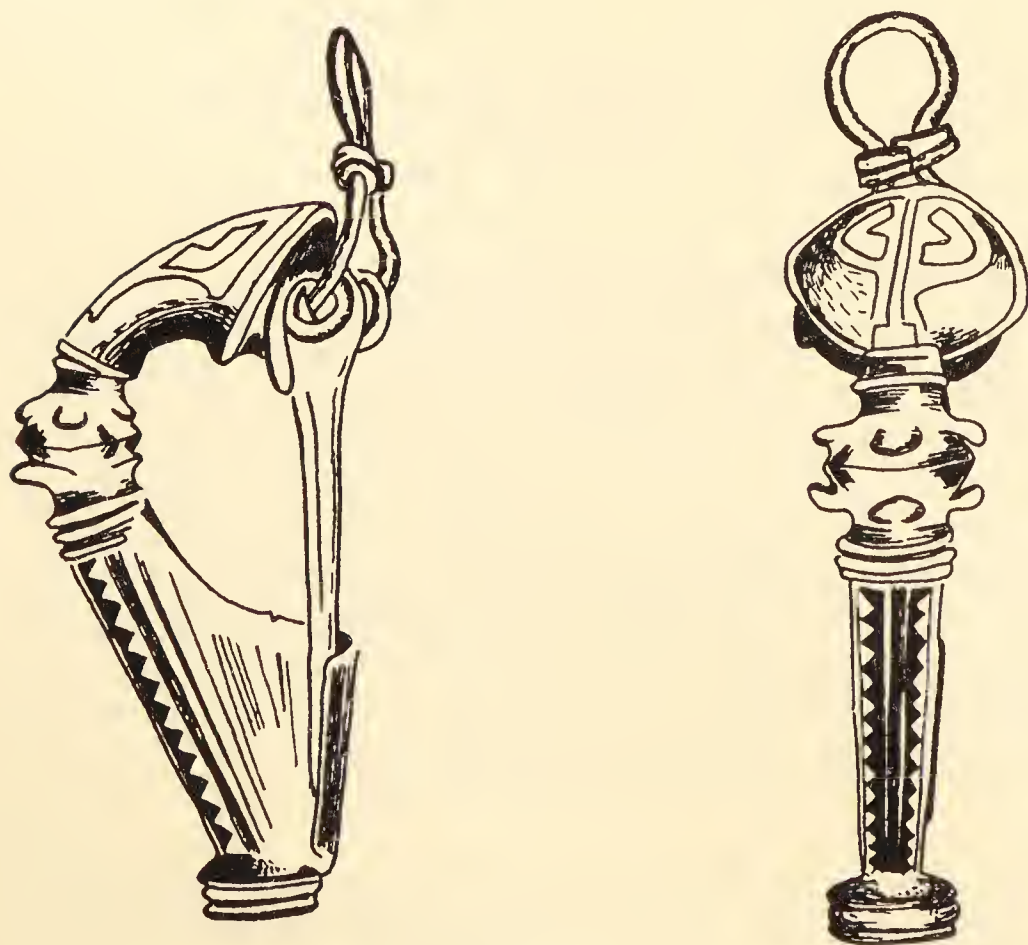


FIG. 1. The find spots.



cms.

FIG. 2. Romano-British bronze brooch.

(B) *Bronze Age Socketed Axe.* SD.90 807652.

This axe was found in 1935 by Mr. F. Preston, and is a typical late Bronze Age socketed axe, with three plain parallel ribs on each face of a rectangular body. The ribs arise from a moulding at the bottom of the neck. This axe has been previously mentioned in Bradford Archaeological Group Bulletin.

## THE FIRE OF YORK IN 1137

By J. H. HARVEY

Accepted for centuries as a major disaster, upon the respectable authority of John Stowe,<sup>1</sup> the fire of York in 1137 has been minimized by recent scholars.<sup>2</sup> In particular, the statement that in addition to the Minster, St. Mary's Abbey and the Hospital, 39 other churches and Trinity Church in the suburbs were burnt is regarded as falling 'outside the bounds of the credible'.<sup>3</sup> What are the facts?

Archaeological evidence, from widely dispersed places, exists for a fire or a series of fires during the twelfth century: calcined stone has been found at St. Mary's Abbey, Holy Trinity Priory in Micklegate, and St. Mary Bishophill Senior, perhaps also at All Saints Pavement. Some confirmation is given by the hoard of Norman coins found in High Ousegate.<sup>4</sup> It seemed desirable to test the bases of Stowe's account and, if possible, to trace it to its sources.

Stowe's printed text is founded upon a section of his own autograph copy of Holinshed's translation of the Chronicle of Florence

<sup>1</sup> J. Stowe, *Annales* (ed. 1631), 144.

<sup>2</sup> Professor A. G. Dickens in *Report of the Yorkshire Architectural and York Archaeological Society*, 1952-3, 39-40; E. Miller in V.C.H., *The City of York*, 1961, 52. Professor Dickens kindly informs me that he has no hesitation in withdrawing his former view and in accepting the present findings as a happy solution to an odd difficulty. Mr. Miller also states that he is delighted to express concurrence in the present conclusions.

<sup>3</sup> A. G. Dickens, *loc. cit.*, 40. The account in the V.C.H. confuses the issue by alleging that 'the suspiciously precise statement that 39 parish-churches were also destroyed rests only upon the authority of a remote Kentish source'. In fact none of the sources describes the 39 as *parish* churches; neither the Rochester MS. (B.M., Cotton Nero D.ii) of the *Flores Historiarum* nor Gervase of Canterbury (*Opera*, Rolls Series, i, 100) mentions the 39 churches. See further note (2) on p. 367. It is possible to compile a list of 39 churches in York which may have existed in 1137, inclusive of five or six certainly or possibly non-parochial. The implication that the whole city was destroyed is clear.

<sup>4</sup> For information regarding archaeological discoveries I am indebted to Dr. Eric Gee, F.S.A., and Mr. Herman Ramm, F.S.A. The coin hoard was reported by Ralph Thoresby as consisting of 200 to 250 Norman coins, mostly of William I (*Philosophical Transactions*, XXIV, 1705, No. 303, p. 2, 127). At Bishophill Senior the calcined stones, bearing diagonal tooling which proved them to be of Norman date, had been re-used as footings for work of the later twelfth century, and cannot have become burnt subsequently.



of Worcester and his continuators.<sup>1</sup> The difficulty which arises is that this passage is not found in the printed texts of Florence of Worcester,<sup>2</sup> and it became necessary to seek for the particular MS. on which Stowe's translation was based.<sup>3</sup> The vital clue appears in Dr. R. R. Darlington's edition of the Winchcombe Annals covering the years 1049-1181.<sup>4</sup> This shows that a version of the full account of the Fire of York, including the mention of 39 churches, was incorporated by the Winchcombe annalist (though under the year 1138) and, further, that for the years 1127-1138 inclusive Winchcombe depended upon the version of the Worcester chronicle contained in a manuscript now in Dublin. This manuscript was probably produced at Gloucester, where St. Oswald's Priory and other property had for centuries belonged to the archbishops of York.<sup>5</sup>

The text, which occurs in a continuation of the *Chronicon ex Chronicis* attributed to Florence of Worcester, agrees precisely with Stowe.<sup>6</sup> A second manuscript at Dublin gives a shorter version which, none the less, emphasizes that the city of York as a whole was burnt. Both of these manuscript sources belong to the twelfth century and are thus themselves almost contemporary authorities. The possession of important church property in Gloucester, or the very close relations which for long existed between the sees of York and Worcester, sufficiently explain why this special detail of a York event should thus have been recorded in a document

<sup>1</sup> British Museum, Harleian MS. 563, f.35v, which reads under the year 1137:—'This yere many churches were brent Seint Petars church ye archbishops see in Yorke ye second nones of June & our lady church wt. ye hospitall in ye same citi ye same day wt. 39 othar churchis, also ye Trinitie church in the suburbs of ye citie wt in a smalle tyme after.' The MS. contains the following colophon (f.49): 'Finis Floriacensis a monk of Worceter wt. all so a continuation certayn yeres by an other, translatyd out of latyn into englyshe by Raphaell Holyngshed for John Stow marchaunt Taylore of London, and by him writen in the monythe of February anno 1572.' For information on the MS. I am greatly indebted to Dr. Godfrey Davis, who confirms that the handwriting throughout is Stowe's.

<sup>2</sup> *Editio princeps* by Lord William Howard, 1592; the most recent edition is that by B. Thorpe for the English Historical Society, published in 1848-9. The continuation by John of Worcester, 1118-1140, was edited by J. R. H. Weaver (see note 6 below).

<sup>3</sup> That Holinshed and Stowe were adhering closely to their source is demonstrated, for example, by the note (Harl. MS. 563, f.31) against the year 1131: 'All this folowing is an addition to the great boke of Florencij'.

<sup>4</sup> In *A Medieval Miscellany for Doris Mary Stenton* (Pipe Roll Society, NS.36, 1960), 111-138.

<sup>5</sup> Trinity College Dublin, MS. E.6.4 (503). This MS. is regarded as having come from Worcester Cathedral priory (Neil Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, 2nd ed., 1964, 206), but was probably written at Gloucester. See also p. 367, note 1, below.

<sup>6</sup> I am much indebted to Mr. William O'Sullivan, Keeper of MSS. at Trinity College Library, Dublin, for sending me the relevant text from this copy, and also for the shorter version from Trinity College Dublin MS. E.5.23 (502). Stowe actually possessed MS. E.6.4 (503); see J. R. H. Weaver, *The Chronicle of John of Worcester 1118-1140* (Anecdota Oxoniensia, IV S., 13, 1908), 7.

which must have been produced at one or the other place.<sup>1</sup>

As texts of capital importance for the history of York, both versions are set out below:—

Trinity College Dublin

MS. E.6.4 (503), f.130:—

Facte sunt hoc anno multarum combustiones ecclesiarum sancti Petri Eboracensis archiepiscopatus ii Non. Iunii sancte Marie cum domo hospitali in eadem ciuitate die eodem cum aliis xxxix ecclesiis. Item ecclesie sancte Trinitatis in suburbio eiusdem ciuitatis modico post tempore.

The date is equivalent to 4th June 1137.

MS. E.5.23 (502), f.263:—

Feria sexta in ebdomada pentecostes Eboraca civitas cum principali monasterio conflagrauit incendiis (for *incendiis*?).

The date, Friday in the week of Whitsun, which fell on 30th May in 1137, is equivalent to 4th June; that this was the date is further confirmed by the statement in Gervase of Canterbury.<sup>2</sup> It is satisfactory that John Stowe's reputation as a scrupulous scholar should thus be vindicated.

<sup>1</sup> I am very grateful to Professor R. R. Darlington, F.B.A., who has most generously communicated to me his latest findings on the subject of the Dublin MS. E.6.4 (503), known as MS. 'G'. In this MS. ff. 2-36v include annals to 1066 and a series of episcopal lists for England, all in the same hand and shown by the lists to have been written between 1146 and 1150. After a set of annals in a second hand, continuing to 1123 (ff.37-122v), another scribe carried on the annals to 1141 (ff. 122v-160v). This 'third' scribe wrote a hand of the mid-twelfth century (*pace* Weaver, *op. cit.*, who suggested 'an early thirteenth-century hand'), regarded by Professor Darlington as 'almost certainly' identical with that of the first scribe who wrote ff. 2-36v in 1146-50. Professor Darlington has further very kindly referred his photographic copy of MS. 'G' to Professor Francis Wormald, who quite independently assigns 'the sections 2-36v and 123v-160v to the same scribe'. It is therefore a fair conclusion that the annal for 1137 was, as stated by Professor Darlington (in a private communication) 'written about 1150 or slightly earlier'. The date would in any case have to be earlier than c. 1181, when the earlier MS. of the Winchcombe Annals, incorporating MS. G's account of the York Fire of 1137, was written. Professor Darlington gives it as his opinion that 'the account is the work of a contemporary, writing at Gloucester'.

<sup>2</sup> *Opera*, ed. W. Stubbs (Rolls Series), I, 1879, 100:—A.D. 1137. 'Tertio nonas Junii combusta est ecclesia Sancti Andreae Roffensis . . . . Die vero sequenti apud Eboracum combusta est beati Petri ecclesia ubi sedes est episcopatus, et extra muros ecclesia beatae Mariae, ubi est abbatia, cum egregio hospitali quod fundavit Turstanus archiepiscopus.'

The Rochester MS., Cotton Nero D.ii, of the *Flores Historiarum*, (ed. H. R. Luard, Rolls Series, 1890, II, 60), states under A.D. 1138:—'apud Eboracum combusta est ecclesia beati Petri, ubi sedes est archiepiscopatus, et extra muros ecclesia beatae Mariae, ubi est abbatia cum egregio hospitali quod fundavit Thurstinus episcopus.'



## THE DERWENT CROSSING AT STAMFORD BRIDGE

By H. G. RAMM

During the summer of 1964 an underwater survey of the river Derwent at Stamford Bridge was carried out by three members of the York Sub-Aqua Club in association with the Yorkshire Architectural and York Archaeological Society<sup>1</sup> in an attempt to trace possible remains of a Roman bridge. They found none, but the soundings they took have a bearing on the nature of the river before the present weir was built and the siting of the natural stone ford from which Stamford Bridge derives its name. They are published below. Whilst this work was in progress the writer's attention was drawn to a cutting of some antiquity approaching the river from the S.E. The purpose of this note is to gather together other topographical evidence for the history of the river crossing here and relate this new evidence to it.

*Natural Features and Early Routes.* Stamford Bridge lies on the river Derwent on the E. edge of the Vale of York. The Vale of York is crossed by two crescentic terminal moraines (the York and Escrick moraines). The E. arms of these moraines lie respectively a mile to the N. and S. of Stamford Bridge. The Derwent at this point runs between the two moraines and crosses a bed of Keuper sandstone, a green flaggy stone providing a flat and solid bottom, which has not been worn into hollows or pits. The moraines in prehistoric times provided natural bridges of drier ground across the ill drained and often waterlogged Vale of York. At Stamford Bridge the rock outcrop provided a natural crossing point. Except in times of spate the Derwent is fordable now in the shallows below the weir. The soundings taken on 8th November 1964 show that above the weir the rock shelf is 2 ft. higher than it is below it, and the weir and build-up on its upper side may obscure a higher ledge still. On November 8th if the weir had been removed there would have been less than 2 ft. of water between 90 and 230 ft. above the weir. This natural ford, extending both above and below the modern weir, provided a crossing of the Derwent in pre-Roman times for those wishing to cross the Vale of York or to travel northwards along the drier ground on its flank.

*Roman Roads and the Roman Crossing.* The existence of the Roman crossing is inferred from Roman roads approaching the river on either side from four directions. Unfortunately none of these roads has been hitherto traced near enough to the river to be sure of the exact position of the Roman bridge or ford. It is one of the purposes of this note to suggest that a hollow descending the steep E. bank of the Derwent is in fact a cutting for the Roman road approaching Stamford Bridge from the S.E.

<sup>1</sup> The divers were under the leadership of Mr. Dennis Moor of Pocklington. Mr. Laurence Keen of St. John's College, York, co-operated in the archaeological work.

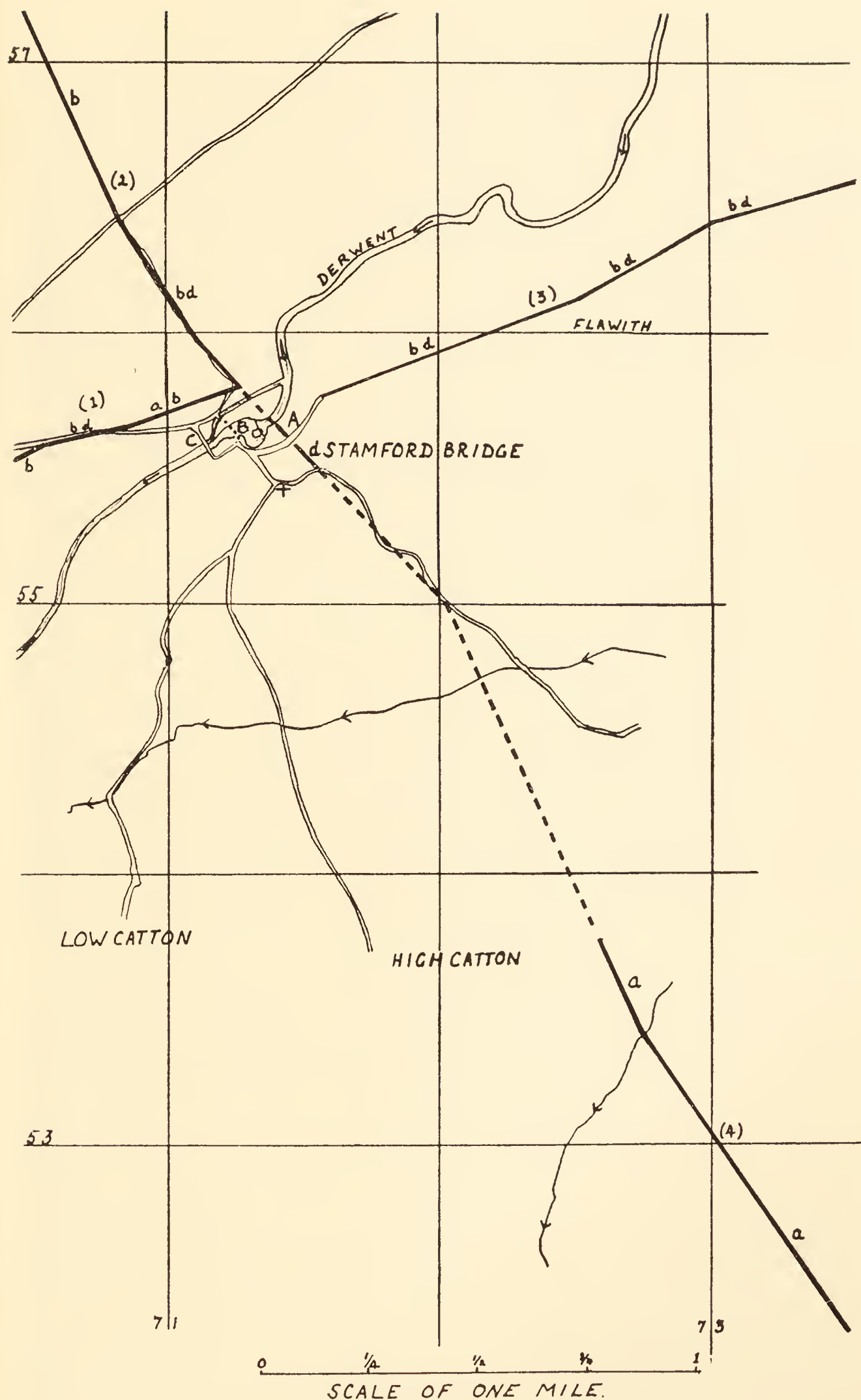


FIG. 1.

Roman Roads at Stamford Bridge. Roman roads are shown by a solid line where evidence exists for their course and by a broken line otherwise. The small letters indicate the nature of the evidence: (a) surviving or recorded remains; (b) parish boundary on line; (d) modern road or track on the line. A. marks the site of the Roman cutting, B. of the mediaeval bridge, C. of the 18th century bridge.



The roads converging on Stamford Bridge and their last known alignments are as follows (see fig. 1): (1) From York (I. D. Margary, *Roman Roads in Britain: II*, nos. 81a, 810, who does not however discuss the approach of this road to Stamford Bridge). From the Three Cups Inn at SE.70865565 the course of this road E. has been verified by finds of metalling or other indications along the County Boundary to its junction with the modern by-road from Sand Hutton at SE.71235579 (Y.A.J., xxxviii (1955), 552). This line is continued E.N.E. by this modern road for some 130 ft. before the modern road turns N. at SE.71255581. (2) From the N.W. (Margary, *loc. cit.*, no. 80a, who brings it from Durham and Thirsk). Its line is represented by the parish boundary along the W. edge of Buttercrambe Moor Wood and then by the by-road from Sand Hutton as far as the bend in that road at SE.71255581 to which we have already brought road (1). The course has not been proven along this line but it seems a reasonable one (M. K. Clark, *Gazeteer of Roman Remains in E. Yorks.*, 32). Roads (1) and (2) meet therefore at a point 550 ft. from the river, without any surviving trace of continuation in the fields towards the river. (3) From the N.E. (Margary, *loc. cit.*, no. 810, who brings it from Bridlington). The line from the wold escarpment at Garrowby of the modern main road from Bridlington is aligned in straight stretches, followed by parish boundaries, and has long been considered Roman and so marked on the O.S. maps, although not directly proved so by excavation. The nearest length of straight alignment to the village from SE.72495611 ends at SE.71565576, 360 ft. from the river, where the modern road and parish boundary diverge, the road bending S. into Stamford Bridge village and the boundary curving slightly to the N. to the river. This alignment if continued would not meet the line of road (1) on the opposite side of the river. (4) From the S.E., Barmby Moor (Margary, *loc. cit.*, no. 80a). This road has been or is still traceable as marked on the 6 ins. O.S. maps as far as SE.72595377, over a mile S.E. of the village, on an alignment which, if continued, would meet road (3) at or near SE.71665580, well to the E. of the village. But this alignment only began at the crossing of Common Beck (SE.72775440). S. of this beck the alignment is such that if continued it would cross the Derwent at the mediaeval crossing and meet road (2) where there is a change of alignment, N. of Primrose Hill. The change in direction at Common Beck may have resulted from a desire to use the slightly higher ground to the E. of the direct route and the road probably turned W. again where it met the continued alignment of road (2) (i.e. the alignment S. of Primrose Farm) at SE.71935517. That it did indeed do so and followed the general line of the modern road from Fangfoss Station in spite of the latter's meanders is suggested by the footpath continuing the road N. of the corner at SE.71565550 where the road turns abruptly W., and by the cutting already mentioned both on the continued alignment of road (2). This cutting runs N.W. from the main street the width of a messuage (c. 40 ft.), from SE.71445562 to SE.71415567, deepening as it descends the bank. An 18th century house has been built in it.



If the proposed line for road (4) is accepted, then the Roman crossing will have been at SE.71395567, 160-200 ft. above the weir, on the line of roads (2)-(4) (Margary, *op. cit.*, no. 80a) and the priority of this road in the development of the system over roads (1) and (3) (Margary, *op. cit.*, no. 810) is apparent. The problem then remaining is the line of road (3) to the crossing. It did not follow the parish boundary since excavation at SE.71525577 in Oct. 1954 (Y.A.J., xxxviii (1955), 552) failed to trace it, nor is it likely to have followed the line of the modern road bending S. to join road (4) above the cutting. If it continued its old alignment this would bring it to the river bank, 130 ft. above the proposed crossing. The river however may well have cut back since Roman times as the S.E. bank is here at the inside of a curve. If it had cut back 100 ft. then the junction of roads (3) and (4) would be on the S.E. bank without any need for change in alignment. Alternatively, although no trace now survives, the road may have changed direction slightly S. in order to achieve a more oblique and therefore gentler slope to the river.

No evidence now survives to show whether the Roman crossing was by bridge or ford. A large block of limestone, c. 2 ft. by 1½ ft. by 1½ ft. with cramp-holes, lies beside the mill and may indeed derive from a Roman bridge, but is not in itself sufficient evidence. If indeed the river has cut back since Roman times, then it is not surprising that the divers found no trace of a bridge. Piers and abutments would lie underground in the island between The New Cut and the river. The implications of the name, Stamford Bridge, make it impossible to argue back, as has been done, from an 11th century timber bridge to a Roman bridge.

*The Place Name.* The name Stamford Bridge first occurs in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (version C. dated c. 1075, D. dated c. 1100, and E. dated c. 1150 s.a. 1066) in descriptions of the battle of 1066 and implies the existence of a bridge at that date. Indeed version C specifically refers to a bridge. The stone ford implied by Stamford (A. H. Smith, *Place names of the E. Riding and York*, (1937), s.n.) could equally apply to a surviving Roman built-up ford or to the natural stone ford already referred to. The combination of stone-ford and bridge can either imply that the bridge succeeded the ford, i.e. the English came, found a ford and called the place Stamford, and then built a bridge and called it Stamford Bridge; or that the bridge was of insufficient size to supplant the ford, i.e. when the name was applied there was a foot-bridge associated with a ford. The alternatives are not mutually exclusive and there is some evidence to support both. There survives on the 6 ins. O.S. within the parish about half a mile W. of the village what would appear to be an alternative name, Flawith, which Smith (*loc. cit.*) interprets as Flag ford, an admirable description of the natural ford with its flaggy rock. In this case there is no reference to any bridge. The implications of the episode on the bridge during the battle are that it was in fact a narrow bridge which one man could hold, which would be



consistent with the second alternative, but need not disprove the first. Neither of the alternatives would seem to be consistent with the survival of any Roman bridge when the place was given its English name. We cannot however argue that because there was no Roman bridge extant then, there was never any Roman bridge. It could well have been destroyed or too much damaged to be usable. The implications of the place name only serve to disprove any continuity between any Roman bridge and that existing in the 11th century.

*The 11th century bridge* is referred to in the Anglo-Saxon chronicle *sub anno* 1066, Version C. translated in *English Historical Documents*, vol. II ed. D. C. Douglas (1953), 144, as follows: 'Then in the middle of these proceedings Harold, King of the English, came on the Sunday with all his force to Tadcaster and there marshalled his troops and then on Monday went right on through York. And Harold, King of Norway, and Earl Tosti and their divisions were gone inland beyond York to Stamford Bridge, because they had been promised for certain that hostages would be brought to them out of all the shire. Then Harold, King of the English, came against them by surprise beyond the bridge, and there they joined battle and went on fighting strenuously until late in the day. And there Harold, King of Norway, was killed and Earl Tosti, and numberless men with them, both Norwegians and English and the Norwegians fled from the English. There was one of the Norwegians there who withstood the English host so that they could not cross the bridge or win victory. Then an Englishman shot an arrow but it was no use, and then another came under the bridge and ran him through the corselet. Then Harold, King of the English, came over the bridge and his host with him, and there killed large numbers of both Norwegians and Flemings.' The last part of this extract beginning 'from the English. There was one of the Norwegians . . . . . ' is in a handwriting and in language later than the main body of the chronicle. This account of the battle for the bridge is repeated by the Norman Chronicles and is represented in tradition by the 'spear pies' which until recent times the villagers made on the first Sunday after the 19th of September (F. Drake, *Eboracum* (1736), 84; A. D. H. Leadman, *Proelia Eboracensia* (1891), 13). Both Drake and Leadman make the point that this tradition says that a swine tub rather than a boat was used by the man that struck the Norwegian under the bridge.

It should be noticed that this incident implies a timber bridge for it to be possible to pierce the Norwegian from below, and also a narrow bridge for it to be held by one man. Unless a piece of individual prowess has become exaggerated into a major incident the account also implies that the river was not easily fordable on the day of the battle. The river may well have been above the normal summer level. We know insufficient about the wetness or dryness of the summer of 1066 to know the state of the river on September 25th of that year. The swine-tub of tradition may reflect a flat-bottomed boat capable of negotiating the shallows in the river.

The siting of the Saxon bridge is dependent on the date at which it is presumed that the crossing moved from the Roman site which it is suggested lay above the weir to the later mediaeval bridge by the shallows.

*The later Mediaeval Bridge.* This was removed in 1727. Its site is marked on the 6 ins. O.S. maps, and lay S. of the widening of the river called the Shallows between SE.71235566 and 71265561. It is planned in some detail on William Etty's 1724 site plan of the old and new bridges published by F. Brooks, *Battle of Stamford Bridge* (1963), 18. This bridge was of timber (F. Drake, *Eboracum* (1736), 84, 'The bridge also continued to be a wooden one, till falling greatly to decay it was taken down and a new one begun and finished, about a hundred yards below the old one, at the county charge, A. 1727') but had stone piers (A. H. Leadman, *Proelia Eboracensia*, (1891), 13. 'Ten years ago, when the water in the Derwent was very low, the foundations of the stone piers of the ancient and historic bridge were laid bare.') with pointed cut-waters, three in number, with a carriageway 16½ ft. wide on foundations and piers 21½ ft. wide (W. Etty, *loc. cit.*).

*The Mills.* The reason for the movement of the river crossing downstream from the Roman site to the mediaeval one is probably due to the creation of the *stagnum* or pool to work the mills. This pool is represented by the present shallows, below the present 18th century weir. In the reign of Henry III there were seven mills on it 'super unum stagnum' (Y.A.S. *Record Series xii, Yorkshire Inquisitions* no. 38 dated 43 Henry III). The extent and siting of the pond is defined in a charter of 1254 (Surtees Society, 117, (1909), *The Percy Chartulary*, 30 no. li) 'Hec est convencio inter Ricardum de Perci et Nicholaum Basset, scilicet, quod idem Nicholaus concessit Ricardo de Perci . . . . . attaciamenta stagni sui in terra sua ad Pontembelli, scilicet, ex septemtrionali parte pontis, et racionabile cheminum de ponte per capud stagni sui versus villam de Osgate Sutton, et similiter cheminum ad molendina sua in eadem villa quantum terra ipsius Nicholai durat.' This charter implies that the *stagnum* lay immediately N. of the bridge. Osgate Sutton is a lost vill on the N.W. side of the Derwent and there were thus mills on both sides of the river. A 14th century charter (*op. cit.*, 169 no. dxvii) says 'Nous Henri de Percy avoms . . . . . lesez a Robert de Bubbewyth fulour une place et un nouvelle molyn fulerette en pont de la Bataill a tenir et avoir' and possibly the 'dye house' marked on Etty's map S. of the E. end of the bridge is a relic of this fulling mill new in 1331. The dating of the movement of the river crossing to the mediaeval site from the Roman is dependent on the date at which the pool and these mills were built. Unfortunately we cannot carry them back before 1130-35 when Alan de Percy grants to the hospital of St. Peter at York the liberty of grinding their grain *ad mea moldendina que sunt ad Pontem Belli* (E.Y.C. ii no. 908, p. 249 = xi no. 7, p. 23. Other charters in similar terms are E.Y.C. ii no. 909, p. 249 (1136-8), i, no. 179, p. 150 (1148), i,



no. 186, p. 157 (1156-7), xi no. 37, p. 37 (1164-5), and i no. 197, p. 164 (1173). Stamford Bridge is regarded as part of the Manor of Catton and not detailed separately in Domesday Book. One mill is listed for this manor but its siting is not stated.

*The present bridge* was erected in 1727 (F. Brooks, *loc. cit.*, 17-18) and presumably moved to obtain the advantage of a shorter crossing. The present weir and mill were probably built in the early 18th century as is suggested by their appearance and implied by Drake (*loc. cit.*, 33) and are contemporary with the new cut and lock then erected.

*The road layout* implies a successive movement downstream of the river crossing from the suggested Roman to the mediaeval and then modern positions.

- (1) The roads from Fangfoss station and Sand Hutton are making for a crossing N. of the present weir (see above under the discussion of the Roman crossing) particularly if the footpath and cutting continuing the line of the Fangfoss road are considered.
- (2) Sharp double bends on the Fangfoss road (at SE.71565550 and at the church SE.71455543), the bend on the Sand Hutton road at SE.71255581, and the southward curve on the York road all have the appearance of a secondary alteration to bring the roads to the site of the mediaeval bridge.
- (3) A similar double bend marks the road added in 1727.

The fact that the bend on the Fangfoss station road occurs further away from the river than the bend to the N. is due to the attraction of the roads from the Cattons. The direction of the roads from the Cattons suggests that they have been laid out with reference to the mediaeval rather than the Roman crossing. In view of the importance of Catton in Domesday Book, this may imply that the crossing had already moved downstream by the 11th century.

#### *Alterations in the river*

- (1) The river has been canalised since the 18th century, with the insertion of locks, weir and cuts to make it navigable.
- (2) The artificial nature of the widening of the stream at the Shallows is fairly obvious and has already been associated with the mediaeval *stagnum* or mill pond.
- (3) There may have been some cutting back of the river on the inside of the bend N. of the present weir, as is suggested by the alignment of Roman road (3) in relation to that of road (4) (see above).

In considering the siting of the natural ford in relation to the soundings listed below, the holding up of the river by the modern weir has to be allowed for. The cutting back of the river is not likely to affect greatly the validity of the deduction that the natural ford extended N. of the modern weir, since the evidence from the shallows is that the outcrop certainly extended as far north-west as the course of the river is ever likely to have been in historic times.

*Summary of Conclusions*

- (1) There is a natural flaggy stone ford extending from the Shallows well to the N. of the present weir. This ford is on a natural routeway probably used in prehistoric times.
- (2) The Roman crossing, whether bridge or ford, lay to the N. of the present weir on the line of a Roman road from Durham via Thirsk to Brough via Barmby Moor (Margary, *loc. cit.*, no. 80a), traces of a cutting on this road surviving on the S. side of the river. This road was joined N. of the crossing by a road from York, and S. of it by one from the direction of Bridlington.
- (3) If there was a Roman bridge it had gone by the time the English came and gave the names Stamford and Flawith.
- (4) The bridge mentioned in accounts of the battle of 1066 is not the Roman one, and indeed may well have been on the site of the later mediaeval bridge. It was a narrow timber bridge.
- (5) The later mediaeval bridge whose site is known, was downstream from the Roman crossing and this change of site is to be associated with the creation of a *stagnum* or mill pond. The mills were in existence by 1130-35 and there were at one time seven of them, but the date of their first building is not known. This bridge was of timber on stone piers.
- (6) In the early 18th century the river was given its present form with a new weir, mill, cut, and locks and the dilapidated mediaeval bridge replaced downstream by the shorter present bridge in 1727.
- (7) The layout of the roads in Stamford Bridge supports this succession of three crossing points.

## TABLE OF SOUNDINGS

<i>Distance in feet upstream from weir</i>	<i>Depth</i>	
(measured on inside of curve)	in feet	<i>Bottom</i>
400	11	} Soft mud
380	$10\frac{3}{4}$	
350	$10\frac{3}{4}$	
320	10	
298	10	
291	$10\frac{3}{4}$	
271	$10\frac{1}{2}$	
266	$10\frac{1}{2}$	
250	10	
232	10	} Flat with odd boulders
222	$9\frac{3}{4}$	
198	$9\frac{3}{4}$	
182	$9\frac{1}{2}$	
170	10	



158	$9\frac{1}{2}$	} Flat rock shelf
142	$9\frac{1}{2}$	
123	9	
110	9	
90	$8\frac{1}{2}$	
70	9	} Rough with big boulders
60	$8\frac{1}{2}$	
48	7	
44	5	
34	6	

The weir is 11 ft. high, the depth of water below it is 3 to 4 ft.

# BISHOPHILL AND THE CHURCH OF YORK

By JOHN H. HARVEY, F.S.A.

Although the Church of York already possessed, before the Norman Conquest, large properties within and without the City of York, the details of the transactions by which these properties were acquired are by no means clear. Very few of the holdings enjoyed by the Church of York in the Middle Ages depend upon a surviving Saxon title deed, even in the form of a later copy. For information in regard to the estates of the Church, we must argue backwards from documents of much later date. Even the area of Church jurisdiction within the City of York itself has become a matter of controversy, along with the precise extent of the Archbishop's Shire referred to in Domesday Book. It has been suggested by Professor A. G. Dickens that the extent of the Archbishop's Shire must be sought in the later jurisdiction of the Dean and Chapter of York<sup>1</sup> and, further, that the core of this jurisdiction was the area later known as St. Peter's Liberty, around the Minster and in the northern part of the city. This hypothesis has also cast grave doubt upon the view that there was a special connection between the early holdings of the Church in York and the area known as Bishophill in that part of the City south-west of the River Ouse. In particular, research upon forms of the name Bishophill has shown that it is not found before the fourteenth century and, further, that the same area was known before that time as 'Bichill' or 'Bychehill'. The conclusion drawn by Professor Dickens is that no part of the City, south-west of the river and within the line of the walls, had any special connection with the early lands of the Church.<sup>2</sup> This conclusion, however, goes much too far and fails to take into account several of the documentary sources which actually do survive and provide us with some details of the relationship of this area of the City to the Church.

Vital among the relevant documents is one which has been in print since it was published in 1673 in the third volume of *Monasticon* as compiled by Roger Dodsworth and Sir William Dugdale. This records an inquest taken in the year 1276, describing those parts of

<sup>1</sup> A. G. Dickens, 'The "Shire" and Privileges of the Archbishop in 11th Century York', *Y.A.J.*, xxxviii (Pt. 150, 1953), 131-147.

<sup>2</sup> In another article, 'Norman and Angevin York' in *Report of the Yorkshire Architectural and York Archaeological Society*, 1952-3, 35-45, Professor Dickens goes so far as to state (p. 36) that 'there are at no period important links between the archbishops or the church of St. Peter and this particular area (Bishophill) of the city'. Professor Dickens, in a private communication, has kindly stated that he no longer wishes to maintain this viewpoint, though regarding his main contention, in respect to the identification of the Archbishop's shire, as unaffected.



York within the Liberty of St. Peter. Apart from the well-known areas, north-east of the river, belonging to the Liberty, the prebend of Bichill is described as including 'six messuages in the street called Litelgate and the chief messuage of the prebend in Lounlithgate, as well as a chief messuage of the Prior of St. Oswald of Bramham and another messuage of the commonalty of St. Peter held by one William de Scotherskelf', who was also the occupier of one of the Littlegate messuages. The description concludes with the statement that the Church of St. Peter had been endowed with these lands from a time beyond memory, and that the lands had been annexed to the Church of Knaresborough.<sup>1</sup>

From other sources, Littlegate has been identified beyond question as St. Martin's Lane and Lounlithgate as the street now known as Victor Street.<sup>2</sup> Thus the prebend of Bichill and its chief messuage lay within the area known, since the fourteenth century, as Bishop-hill. That this land had constituted a prebend indicates that it was a church holding of some substantial importance at the time, between 1080 and 1194 (at latest), when the Archbishop handed over property to the Dean and Chapter and lands of the Church of York were divided up into prebends. The mere name of the prebend of Bichill became attached, in the thirteenth century, to the Church of Knaresborough and holdings in and around Knaresborough formed the greater part of the later combined prebend of Bichill and Knaresborough, or Bickhill. It would seem that only the chief messuage, somewhere within the later parish of Bishophill Senior, was in fact attached to Knaresborough in the combined prebend.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> York Minster, Dean & Chapter Muniments L(2)1, *Magnum Registrum Album*, pt. iv, f.44, and L 2(2)a, *Liber Domesday*, f.21; printed, not quite accurately, in *Monasticon*, iii (1673), 156a and viii (1846), 1193. For the text of the section on Bichill, see Appendix I. The jurors presumably meant that the lands on Bichill had been annexed to the prebend, rather than the church, of Knaresborough, but in fact this applied only to the chief messuage of the old prebend (see Appendix II). The 'Prior of St. Oswald' was the Prior of Nostell, who held the prebend of Bramham (C. T. Clay, *York Minster Fasti*, Y.A.S., R.S., cxxiv, 1959, ii, 12-13).

<sup>2</sup> For Litelgate see A. Raine, *Mediaeval York*, p. 239, confirmed by deeds in York City Archives, Register B/Y (E.20A), ff. 26b, 27b (A.D. 1344). For Lounlithgate see the documents quoted in Raine, *op. cit.*, 235-6, and also a deed of 1404 (Reg. B/Y, f.26) which describes certain property in 'Lownelyth' as lying in width between other land on east and the city walls on west, and in length from Lownelyth in front to the Old Baile behind.

<sup>3</sup> In 1230 the Dean and Chapter had granted to Archbishop Walter de Gray all the land of the prebend of Bichill except its chief messuage, and the archbishop in turn annexed the church of Knaresborough and its appurtenances to the prebend, at the same time collating William of York to the prebend and stall (J. Raine, ed., *The Register of Walter Gray*, Surtees Society, lvi, 1872, p. 51; the full document appears in B.M., Cotton MS. *Claudius B.iii*, f.77v and M.R.A., ii, f.91v. The collation is printed by C. T. Clay, *York Minster Fasti*, i, 78-9 and noted in M.R.A., ii, f.30). When, in 1241/42, Walter de Gray constituted the Dean and Chapter perpetual trustees for the property of the see, this comprised, in addition to the new acquisition of Bishopthorpe and a number of smaller properties, the whole land of the prebend of 'Bichehill' except the chief messuage which had been assigned to the prebend of Knares-



There seems to be no surviving description of the old prebend of Bichill dismembered in 1230. That it was one of the original prebends constituted late in the eleventh century seems very probable. The site of its chief messuage in 'Lounlithgate' (Victor Street), upon Bishophill and within the parish of St. Mary Bishophill Senior, and the fact that it was part of an endowment from a time beyond memory in 1276, clearly indicate an early holding of the church of York in this area. By c. 1295, when extents were taken of a number of prebends, the site of the capital messuage had become a garden, and the prebend of Knaresborough held no other property in York.<sup>1</sup>

We may go back to certain earlier documents for a demonstration that, whether conterminous with the original prebend of Bichill or not, the property of the Church south-west of the Ouse and within the line of the walls, was of considerable extent. About 1080, the rights of the Archbishop, within and without the Borough of York,

borough (*Monasticon*, iii, 156 = viii, 1194b; *Reg. Walter Gray*, 192-3; and see the royal charter of confirmation of 28 April 1242 in *Calendar of Charter Rolls*, 1226-57, 270). For texts, see App. II.

It must be pointed out that the references to a 'Bichill' in Knaresborough rest on a complete misconception of the facts concerning the prebend (English Place-Name Society, xxxiv, 1961, *West Riding of Yorkshire*, ed. A. H. Smith, pt. v, p. 111). The forms given come entirely from documents relating to the prebend, not to Knaresborough, and it is not clear that there is any connection with the modern Beech Hill there as suggested by A. Hamilton Thompson (*Y.A.J.*, xxv, 1920, 191 note). It is possible that there may be a genuine equivalence of names (as suggested by A. H. Smith in *E.P.-N.S.*, xiv, 1937, *East Riding of Yorkshire and York*, p. 282), since there is a reference of 1627 to a messuage in Knaresborough called 'Bitsh-hill *alias* Wormewood Hill in the burgh' (W. Wheeler, *Knaresburgh and its Rulers*, 1907, p. 156). Wheeler's account of 'Bitsch Hill' and its seizure by Archbishop Walter Gray in 1230 (*ibid.*, p. 37), where it is stated that Gray 'by erecting his prebend of Bychil in York Minster, laid hold of the church of Knaresburgh and its revenues' is pure fantasy.

The Dean and Chapter of York in 1343 were in receipt of a rent of 12*d.* from land formerly of German de Brittegata in 'Bichill', but this property cannot be identified (Minster Library, Chapter Acts 1343-68, ff. 23v-24).

<sup>1</sup> Out of a grand total of 36 prebends of the Church of York existing before the Reformation, extents of 20 were taken in c. 1294-95, and recorded in the cartulary, B.M. Cotton MS. Claudius B.iii. A calendar of these extents in English has been printed by T. A. M. Bishop in *Y.A.S. Record Series*, xciv for 1936 (1937), *Miscellanea*, iv, 1-38. Twelve of the remaining prebends have extents included in York Minster, Chapter Muniments M 2(2)c, which also contains copies of extents in Claudius B.iii.

The extent of Knaresborough taken c. 1295 (Claudius B.iii, f.178v; York Minster, Chapter Muniments L 2(2)a, *Liber Domesday*, f.110v) refers to the former chief messuage as follows:—'Margareta relicta Willelmi de Scutherscelf de Ebor. tenet unum gardinum ubi fuit capitale mansum spectans ad prebendam de Bichill reddendo per annum ad predictos terminos vj sol'. The two MS. sources agree precisely, and show that Bishop is in error in printing 'Richill' (*op. cit.*, p. 18). It will be noticed that the William de Scotherskelf mentioned in 1276 has been succeeded by his widow. His name does not occur in the Husgable Roll of c. 1282 (see below, p. 384 and note 4), but this may merely indicate that the Scotherskelf properties paid husgable to the archbishop only, not to the king.



included all Clementhorpe and St. Mary's Church.<sup>1</sup> Professor Dickens regards this as possibly, but not necessarily, one of the Bishophill churches; but in fact it can be shown that this was quite certainly the church known, at various dates, as St. Mary Bishop, St. Mary of the Bishop upon Bichill or, later, upon Bishophill; and, finally, as St. Mary Bishophill the Younger or Junior.<sup>2</sup> In 1194, Pope Celestine confirmed the rights of the Church of York, including rights over the church of St. John at Ouse Bridge and also over the Church of St. Mary beyond Ouse, with its appurtenances within the City and without,<sup>3</sup> while two centuries later, a description of the jurisdiction of the Dean and Chapter in York<sup>4</sup> gives the following particulars of intramural property within the jurisdiction: 'also in St. Martin Lane at the west end of the Church of St. Martin in Micklegate, on the west side of the street, are five tenements lying together between the tenement of John Askham on the north side and the tenement of the same John Askham in which Robert de Merston dwells, and these tenements and all and singular dwelling in them'. A marginal note adds that they belong to the commonalty of the Chapter. Also the Dean and Chapter are stated to be 'Rectors of the Church of St. John at Ouse Bridge, which church and its appurtenances are of the jurisdiction of the Dean and Chapter. Furthermore, the Dean and Chapter are Rectors of the Church of St. Mary the Bishop on Bichill in York, belonging to their commonalty, which church a certain Canon Residentiary holds, with all its rights and appurtenances in perpetual farm, . . . . which church with the churchyard, the vicarage . . . . , and all tenements in the same parish, in York and in the suburb without the bars of Mikilhyth, and with the Archbishop's Grange and a certain tilehouse, and all

<sup>1</sup> *Y.A.J.*, xviii (1905), 412-16, from *M.R.A.*, i, f.61. The document is certainly later than 1070, for its archbishop 'T.' can only be Thomas I (1070-1100), while the witnesses are in some cases undoubtedly tenants-in-chief of the time of Domesday, 1086. Hugh the Sheriff held that office from 1069 until some time after 1078, but would seem to have been replaced by Erneis de Burun between 1080 and, at latest, 1088 (*V.C.H.*, *Yorkshire*, ii, 178-180; cf. *Early Yorkshire Charters*, ix, 72, and addendum on p. xii). I am indebted to Sir Charles Clay for information on these points.

<sup>2</sup> See A. G. Dickens in *Y.A.J.*, xxxviii, (1953) 138. There is not the slightest evidence to suggest that there was an ancient church of St. Mary in Clementhorpe, and a considerable array of facts against such a supposition.

<sup>3</sup> *Historians of the Church of York*, ed. J. Raine (Rolls Series, 71), iii (1894), 94. See p. 387, note 2 below. The only church of St. Mary with rights both within and without the city, and belonging to the Church of York in or after 1194, is demonstrably Bishophill Junior.

The Pipe Roll for 6 Ric. I, 1194, includes an account for the Archbishopric of York '*de uno termino anni*', showing that 48s. 6d. was received from the farm of lands beside the city (*iuxta civitatem*). In the next year a half-year's account of the Archbishopric is given, including 14 marks (£9. 6s. 8d.) from the farm of the (Lammas) Fair at York and rents within the city, £1. 4s. 1d. from rents without the city, and £4. 19s. 1d. from the issues of land 'of the same rent', a total of £15. 9s. 10d. (Pipe Roll Society, N.S., V, 164; VI, 30).

<sup>4</sup> J. S. Purvis, *A Mediaeval Act Book at York*, (1943), 43-4. The English version here quoted has been revised to take note of the text in the Minster Library, M 2(2)c (see p. 381, note 1, and Appendix III).



those dwelling or staying in them, are of the jurisdiction of the said Canon Residentiary'.<sup>1</sup>

By now, we have evidence of substantial church holdings within the line of the walls of York south-west of the river; namely, the Church of St. John at Ouse Bridge, the church and whole parish, within as well as without the walls, of St. Mary Bishop, i.e. that now known as Bishophill Junior, and certain scattered properties comprising the former prebend of Bichill, partly within the parish of Bishophill Junior, partly within that of St. Martin and partly within that now known as Bishophill Senior. Within this last parish was also the area of the second castle, known as the Old Baile. By the fourteenth century, this had become the responsibility of the Archbishop.<sup>2</sup> The earlier history of how the Archbishop came into possession of this castle, built by William the Conqueror, is obscure, but it seems probable that responsibility for its maintenance, and that of the city wall around it, can only have been thrust upon the Archbishop by reason of his having jurisdiction in this area of the City from an early date. In notes upon the two Bishophill churches, taken about 1618, Roger Dodsworth makes an illuminating comment. He gives the source of the name as follows: 'Thes churches are called Bishophill because a Bishop [described in his margin as Bishop Melton] inclosed this part of the cytty with a wall which is altogether hilly ground and after they called the place Bishophill and thes churches Bishophill elder and younger for the antiquity'.<sup>3</sup>

Whether or no Dodsworth's explanation is correct, it is at least plausible, for William de Melton, Archbishop from 1317 to 1340, was responsible for building the stone wall around the Old Baile area and, perhaps, around a greater part of the south-western city, after a dispute in 1327 when the Corporation held that it was the Archbishop's responsibility to fortify this area, relying upon the claim that this had been under the Archbishop for a long period.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The original document is in the Borthwick Institute, York, R.As.55, an Act book mainly comprising material of 1396-1494. The date of this return appears to be of the late fourteenth century, possibly 1389 as suggested by Canon Purvis: the John Askham mentioned may be he who made his will on 31 Dec. 1400, and Robert de Merston be the vintner of that name who on 7 Sep. 1398 made a will which was proved 13 Apr. 1401 (Y.A.S., R.S., vi, 6, 114). Another text, with minor variations, occurs in Minster Library, D. & C. Muniments, MS. M 2(2)c, ff. 31-32. The Archbishop's Grange and tilehouse were within the Bishop's Fields. For text see Appendix III, and for the tilehouse, App. VI.

<sup>2</sup> In 1308-10 the archbishop prosecuted persons who had violated the liberties of the church of York especially in the place called the Old Baile (Archbishop Greenfield's Register, 1306-1315, Surtees Soc., cxlv, 1931, i, 128, 130). For texts see App. IV.

<sup>3</sup> Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. Dodsworth 157, f.16v.

<sup>4</sup> Francis Drake, *Eboracum*, 1736, 265; T. P. Cooper, *York: the story of its Walls, Bars and Castles*, 1904, 229-233 and Appendices Q, R, 341-2, *Calendar of Close Rolls*, 1327-30, 214.

The document enrolled on the Close Roll is a memorandum dated Wednesday before St. Peter ad Vincula (1 August), 1 Edw. III [i.e. 29 July 1327] and records that the case of the Mayor and (Town) Clerk was that the place aforesaid (the old bailey) is not parcel of the city or within the ditches of the city, but that the ditches about 'the said place are the archbishop's own ditches'.



Although Melton denied the City's claim he gave in, and one may suspect that his legal advisers would not have recommended his undertaking the heavy responsibility of building a long stretch of stone walls, had they not been satisfied that the City was in principle correct in its view of the case.

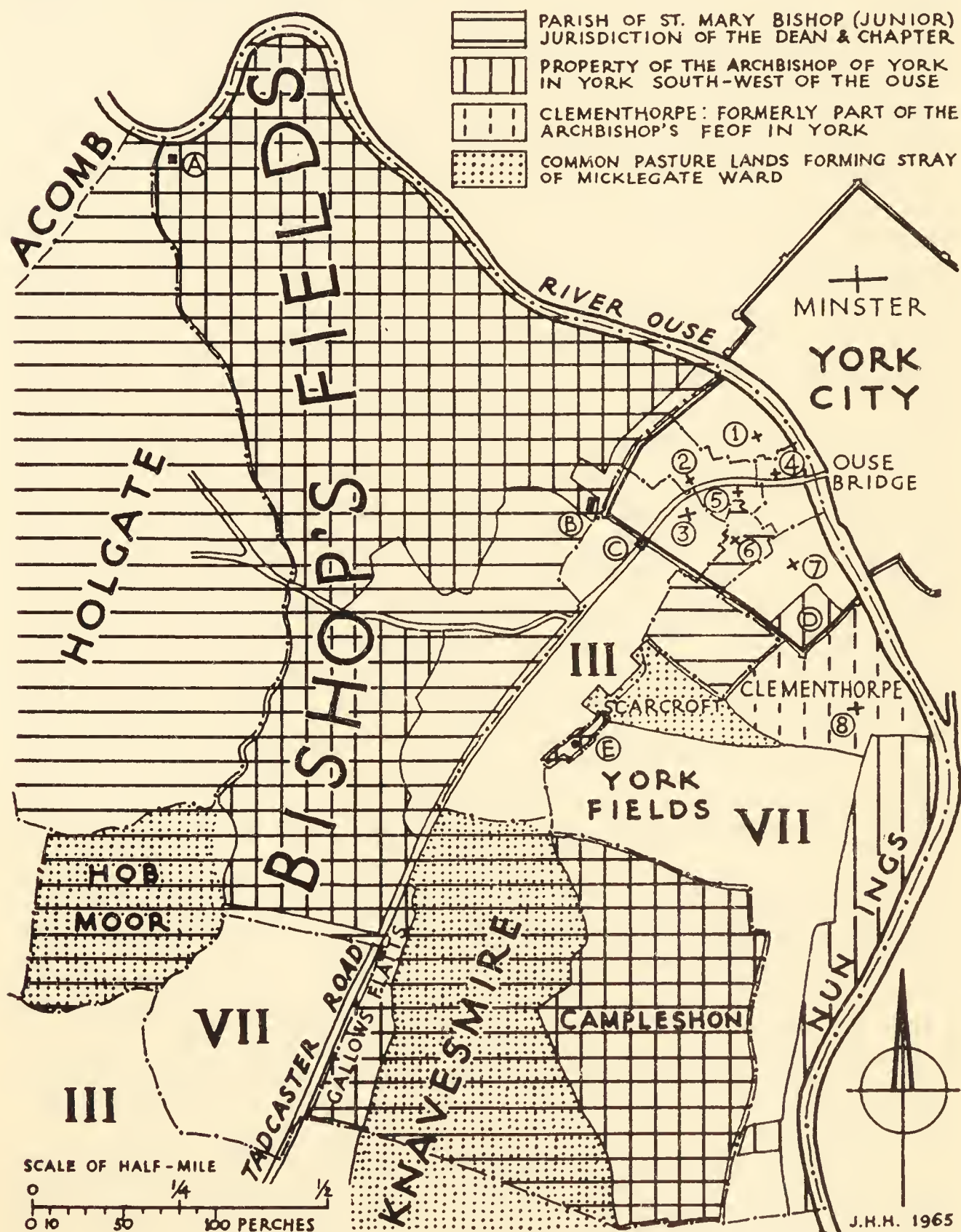


FIG. 1.

York South-West of the Ouse, to show property and jurisdiction of the Church of York.

A. Tilehouse  
D. Old Baile

B. Archbishop's Grange  
E. Mount Mill

C. Micklegate Bar.

Churches and Parishes: 1. All Saints, North Street; 2. St. Gregory; 3. III. Holy Trinity Priory and St. Nicholas parish; 4. St. John at Ouse Bridge end; 5. St. Martin; 6. St. Mary Bishop (Bishophill Junior); 7, VII. St. Mary the Old (Bishophill Senior); 8. St. Clement.



The extent of relevant Church land in the immediate neighbourhood of the City, within the jurisdiction of the Chapter or under the Archbishop, was very large (see fig. 1). It is even possible that Church jurisdiction, at an early date, extended over most of the City of York within the municipal boundaries and lying south-west of the River Ouse. Not only was the whole parish of St. Mary Bishophill Junior, both within and without the walls, under the Chapter jurisdiction through their Residentiary Canon and during vacancies, but much of the remainder of south-west York came under the Archbishop's jurisdiction. Within Bishophill Junior parish, the Archbishop owned almost all of the land to north-west of the city walls and of the Tadcaster Road, an area which came to be known as the Bishop's Fields and was leased out by successive Archbishops. This area can be precisely identified, since leases from the early sixteenth century onwards specify the names and acreages of individual fields, and the leases of the fields, as a whole or in two moieties, are traceable to the nineteenth century, when the individual areas can be plotted upon the Tithe Award Map and other sources.<sup>1</sup> Further south, on either side of the Knavesmire, an area of open common land, were properties held under the Archbishop; namely, on the west alongside the Tadcaster Road, the Gallows Flatts; and to east of the Knavesmire, Campleshon Pasture, known from the name, Campleshon or Camplesham, of the tenants who held it in the seventeenth century. Still further east, following the river, almost the whole way from the southern boundary of York to the walls, was a long strip of meadow called Nun Ings, likewise held under the Archbishop.<sup>2</sup> Further, we may recall that the privileges

<sup>1</sup> Sheffield. City Library, M.D. 751-784, comprises deeds relating to the Bishop's Fields from 1582-1704; York City Archives, E.95, f.220, registers a lease and release of January 1800 reciting earlier deeds; Dean and Chapter Registers of Leases etc. include copies of the Archbishop's leases of the Bishop's Fields as confirmed by the Chapter: the earliest volume (1508-1543) thus contains the text of leases of 12, 24 and 31 Henry VIII at ff. 28, 51 and 127v. Almost every parcel of the fields can be identified in the Tithe Award and Map of 1847 of the Parish of St. Mary Bishophill Junior (e.g. Borthwick Institute, R.XIII, 288S; other copies are at the church and with the Tithe Commission, London) and the missing sections appear on the Deposited Plans of the York and North Midland Railway 1836 and Great North of England Railway 1837 (House of Lords Record Office). The position of the Archbishop's grange is indicated as over against 'the tower of Tofts', apparently the angle tower of the city walls, in 1380 (A. Raine, *Mediaeval York*, 27).

<sup>2</sup> The map of the Manor of Dringhouses surveyed by Samuel Parsons in 1624 and plotted in 1629 (York Public Library) marks 'The Flatts: Mr. Camplesham by Lease from the Bishop'. In 'A Booke of Leases' of the Archbishop of 1632 (Borthwick Institute, Church Commissioners' Records, No. 67798), there is a record under Bishopthorpe (p. 14) that 'Thomas Campleshon of Yorke Taylor' holds by lease of 9 January 1622 (/23) 'Certain demeane Lands as Inges Meadowes pasture and arrable Lands lyinge in the feilds neare York called Nunfeilds and Nun Inges' for the lives of his sons Leonard, William and George 'Capleshone'. In 1664 a valuation of the Manor of Bishopthorpe (*Ibid.*, No. 67801) shows Mr. Camplesham still in possession. These lands were later leased to the Earls of Harewood, and are described and mapped in surveys taken in 1796-97 (Leeds Central Library, Archives, Harewood Estate Papers, Estate Surveys, 64, Vol. iii, ff. 93-97).



of the Archbishop about 1080 included rights over all Clementhorpe, and this is borne out by several early deeds, which show that property transferred within Clementhorpe was held of the Lord Archbishop, or under him.<sup>1</sup> The same remarks apply to lands in Dringhouses and also to certain properties outside Micklegate Bar, in what was later the parish of Holy Trinity, Micklegate Without.<sup>2</sup> These properties paid husgable not to the King, but to the Archbishop and, furthermore, it was stated that the Archbishop reserved to himself the customs and dues paid by merchants passing through Micklegate Bar and getting down there.<sup>3</sup>

References to property held of the fee of the Archbishop in this area make it clear that even as late as the thirteenth century, there was a recognized ecclesiastical feof within and almost completely surrounding the south-west of the City. In view of the fact that husgable was, in York, normally payable to the King and is specifically described for a large number of tenements in a surviving Roll which may be dated to c. 1282, the distinction of the Church fee is all the more noteworthy. Though this Roll of husgable payable from tenements in York is defective, it is nearly complete for the part of the City south-west of the river.<sup>4</sup> It is divided into sections, that described as 'ultra Vsam' clearly indicating the main street of Micklegate. In addition, there are sections for beyond the Bar (*extra barram*), Skeldergate, Lounlithgate, Litylgate, Feltergayl and Besingate. The husgable payable was normally 1*d.* per toft, though many large tofts paid 2*d.* and a few, larger sums, while in some cases the husgable on more than one adjacent toft, specified as two tofts or more, was payable in a single sum, implying consolidation of property at an early date. The surviving parts of the Roll for the area south-west of the Ouse show a total of 118 tofts in Micklegate, 29 tofts outside Micklegate Bar, 68 tofts in Skeldergate, 41 tofts in

<sup>1</sup> *Y.A.J.*, xviii, 412-416, printing fifteenth-century copies from Anglo-Saxon and French originals. The relevant wording (from *Mag. Reg. Alb.*, i, f.61) is 'an eal Clementesthorp an Ste Marie circa' and 'e tretut Clementesthorp e l'eglise Seinte Marie'. For the properties granted by Archbishop Thurstin to the Nunnery of Clementhorpe in 1125-35 we may consult the grant printed in *Monasticon* (iv, 1823, p. 325) or, better, in *E.Y.C.* (i, 278). For texts, see Appendix V.

<sup>2</sup> In 1293 William de Galuwichia, skinner of York, granted to James de Pittelithorn eight selions of land between the king's highway of 'Dringhuses' and the 'Knarismire', subject to a rent of 4*s.* payable to the archbishop (B.M., Lansdowne MS. 402, f.26). In the early thirteenth century William de Scherpenbec quitclaimed to Arnald the clerk land obtained from Peter Crassus 'in villa Ebor. que iacet inter fossatum domini Regis et terra Symonis de la Grene', paying a rent of 10*s.* to the lord of the fee 'et husgabulum domino archiepiscopo' (*Mag. Reg. Alb.*, ii, f.89v; cf. also ff.88-89).

<sup>3</sup> In 1228 Archbishop Walter de Gray granted to Furness Abbey a toft in the suburb of York 'inter portam et baram de Mikelelith', reserving the customs and dues 'de mercatoribus transeuntibus et ibidem descendentibus' (*Gray's Register*, Surtees Soc., lvi, 1872, 232).

<sup>4</sup> York City Library, City Archives, C.60. I am indebted to Miss Joyce Fowkes for bringing this interesting document to my notice and for allowing me to consult her transcript of it. Of the sum total shown for 'beyond Ouse', 42*s.* 3½*d.*, only 4*s.* 2½*d.* is unaccounted for in the surviving items.



that part of Bishophill Senior described as Lounlithgate (the modern Victor Street), 20 tofts in Littlegate (St. Martin's Lane), 10 tofts in Feltergail (Fetter Lane), and 12 tofts in Besingate, whose position is uncertain, but perhaps to be identified with Trinity Lane. Since the contents of this Roll refer to husgable paid to the King and exclude properties where husgable was payable to the Archbishop, it is evident that the total of tofts within York south-west of the Ouse (apart from the area of North Street, missing from the surviving Roll) must have been greater than the totals shown. The existence within south-west York of the King's Tofts implies, however, that the royal power had reserved to itself an important holding within this part of the City. The very large number of tofts paying husgable to the King bears this out, but on the other hand, the existence of Church jurisdiction within the ditches (and later walls), as well as without, is abundantly proven.<sup>1</sup>

That the Archbishop obtained husgable from properties in the area is shown by rolls of accounts from periods when the see was in the hands of the Crown during vacancies.<sup>2</sup> In 1304 'husegabell' was being paid to the Archbishop,<sup>3</sup> while in 1315-16 the 'consuetudo vocata Housegable' amounted to 12s. 2d. (in 1316-17, 12s.), much of which must have been paid on properties south-west of the Ouse. References to the sowing and reaping of corn crops on a total of 89½ acres of land, and in the following year to reaping 124 acres, as well as the mowing of 45¼ acres of meadow, evidently concern the Bishop's Fields.<sup>4</sup> The total area of the whole of Bishop's Fields, from modern survey, was about 325 acres.

Payments of husgable were separate from the rents of assize due to the Archbishop from his properties in York. These rents amounted to £3. 15s. 5¼d. in 1315-16 (a half-year), and to £7. 10s. 10½d. in 1316-17,<sup>5</sup> while this had risen to £4. 17s. 10½d. in the half-year November-May 1373-74. For this period there is a roll of particulars<sup>6</sup> showing that this total rental was made up of £1. 2s. 4½d. from Micklegate, 12s. 4d. from 'Ploxomgat' (Blossom Street), 5s. 3d. from 'Baggergat' (Nunnery Lane), 8s. 7d. from Clementhorpe, 8s. from 'Bischophill', £1. 13s. 4d. from the Shambles, 3s. from Goodramgate, and 5s. from Walmgate; in addition one William Gyry

<sup>1</sup> In the document of c. 1080 referred to above, p. 384 and note 1, it is stated that the archbishop had the third penny coming from the Guild Garths (*les Gildegarde; lei Gildegard*). References dating between 1363 and 1426 (A. Raine, *Mediaeval York*, 237) show that 'les Gyldgarthes' were beside Besingate; and they lay upon 'Byrchill', where in 1377 the Ouse Bridge Maison Dieu took 3s. rent from a certain garden (*York Memorandum Book*, Surtees Soc., cxx, 1912, i, 25-6). Thus the area within which the archbishop had 'the third penny' comprised at least a part of the Bishophill district. In 1363 the Vicars Choral of York Minster had a rood of land in 'Bichehill' on the lane called 'Gildegarthes' (Minster Library, Vi. 193). See App. VI.

<sup>2</sup> Among ministers' accounts in the Public Record Office. Rolls survive for the *sede vacante* periods after the deaths of Archbishops Thomas Corbridge (1304), William Greenfield (1315), William la Zouche (1352), and John Thoresby (1373).

<sup>3</sup> P.R.O., S.C.6/1144/1.

<sup>4</sup> S.C.6/1144/2.

<sup>5</sup> S.C.6/1144/4.

<sup>6</sup> S.C.6/1144/10.



paid 10s. for a piece of demesne land for the same period. It is of interest that the rental for the south-west of the city beyond Ouse was decidedly greater (£2. 16s. 6½d.) than that from the central city (£2. 1s. 4d.), while the intramural properties in Micklegate and Bishophill (£1. 10s. 4½d.) outweighed those outside the walls (£1. 6s. 2d.) in the area from Blossom Street to Clementhorpe. The total of husgable (12s. 2d.) implies holdings equivalent to 146 tofts and represents roughly one-eighth of the corresponding rental. Applying the same ratio to the rents of assize received from Micklegate and Bishophill in 1373-74, it would seem that these imply husgable of about 3s. 9d., equivalent to 45 tofts, or about one-sixth of the total of intramural property implied by the (Crown) Husgable Roll of c. 1282.<sup>1</sup>

It is now possible to return to a consideration of the name Bishophill and its predecessor Bichill or Bickhill. Whether or no Dodsworth was right in stating that the name of Bishophill was derived from Archbishop Melton's fortification of the Old Baile area in the early fourteenth century, it appears certain that the name Bishophill is first evidenced from this period, or soon afterwards. Bishophill seems, in fact, to be mentioned for the first time on 28th July 1344, when a feoffment of certain property in York in Petergate, in North Street, and in Fetter Lane, includes also a rent of 10s. from a messuage formerly of John de Whitwell in Litelgate on Bysshophill.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, the earlier name of Bichill, applied to this area, continues to a considerably later date, although its supersession by Bishophill was wide-sweeping enough to suggest intention. There seems nothing far-fetched in the suggestion, based on the tradition related by Dodsworth, that the name was deliberately changed in honour of Archbishop Melton's shouldering of responsibility for the defence of the quarter. Alternatively, it is not impossible that the form Bishophill is a telescoped version derived from the full title of the Church now known as Bishophill Junior. Documents of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries refer to the Church as that of St. Mary the Bishop upon Bichill (*beate marie episcopi super Bychehill*).<sup>3</sup> In English this appeared as St. Mary Bishop upon Bichill and could easily be shortened to St. Mary Bishophill.

<sup>1</sup> The organization of the archbishop's York properties can be traced from the rolls: in the fourteenth century the heading is 'Grang' Eboraci' (S.C.6/1144/1), 'Grang' Episcopi iuxta Ebor.' (1144/4), 'Manerium de Grang' Ebor. voc. Bisshoplathes' (1144/9), all describing York as a member of the bailiwick of Sherburn-in-Elmet (*Balliua de Shireburn*), while in the Valor of the Archbishopric submitted at Cromwell's visitation on 12 January 1535/36, 'Bisshoplathes' and 'Civitas Ebor.' appear as two of the members of the barony of Sherburn (*Baronia de Shirborne*). See Appendix VII.

<sup>2</sup> York City Library, City Archives E.20A (Memorandum Book B/Y), ff. 26v, 28, and typescript calendar, with index, compiled by Miss J. Fowkes. The messuage is described as in part surrounded by property formerly of John de Walkyngham, probably identical with the father of Alan son of John de Walkyngham who in 1280 owned a tenement upon 'Bychehill' in York (Y.A.S., R.S. cxxi, 1956, *Feet of Fines* 1272-1300, 31, Case 266).

<sup>3</sup> Minster Library, D. & C. Muniments, M 2(2)c, ii, f.64v; cf. p. 381, note 1, and Appendix III.



At this point it is important to recognize that the two churches dedicated to St. Mary within this area had totally distinct names. The church now known as Bishophill Junior was invariably called St. Mary Bishop, while Bishophill Senior was usually known as St. Mary the Old (*Sancta Maria Vetus*).<sup>1</sup> To avoid perpetuating the confusion which has often arisen between the two churches, they will, for the rest of this discussion, be referred to by the Englished versions of their old names. While there may be some historical connection between these two adjacent dedications to St. Mary, a relationship is not clearly evidenced, and no purpose can be served by implying a connection between the two beyond that inevitably suggested by one being given seniority over the other.

From the later documents already quoted, it now becomes evident that, when Pope Celestine in 1194 confirmed the rights of the Church of York in the church of St. Mary beyond Ouse, with its appurtenances within the City and without, the reference was to St. Mary Bishop. Since this was a confirmation, not a grant, of ecclesiastical rights, it is further evident that St. Mary Bishop had belonged to the Church of York from a date earlier than the late twelfth century, and there need be no hesitation in accepting the view that it was already this church which was held by the Church in south-west York, at the time when the Archbishop's property was handed over to the Dean and Chapter and the church and parish of St. Mary Bishop became subject to Chapter jurisdiction and one of the Chapter's great farms.<sup>2</sup> We may now return to the entry in Domes-

<sup>1</sup> E.g. in 1252, (Y.A.S., R.S. lxxxii, 1932, 75); in 1334 (York City Archives, Chantry Deeds), when Richard de Allerton granted a rent to John de Parys, chaplain, for the purpose of celebrating mass '*in Ecclesia beate Marie Veteris super Bicchell in Ebor*'; 1397, will of Thomas de Acastre (Index of Wills 1389-1514, Y.A.S., R.S. vi, 1889, 1. See also A. Raine, *Mediaeval York*, pp. 233-6.) In 1428 the two churches were officially described as *Ecclesia Sancte Marie Veteris* and *Ecclesia Sancte Marie Episcopi* (*Feudal Aids* 1284-1431, vi, 1920, 354). Confusion between the two Bishophill churches goes back at least as far as Speed's plan of York in 1610, which marks St. Mary Bishop [i.e. Junior] as 'St. Mary Bishop E[lder]' and St. Mary the Old [Senior] as 'St. Mary Bishop Y[ounger]', and this confusion is perpetuated in Benedict Horsley's plan of 1694 (published 1697), and on John Haynes' print of 1731. On the other hand, the monuments and stained glass recorded by Dodsworth in 1618 and by Henry Johnston in 1670 (Bodleian Library, MSS. Dodsworth 157, ff. 15v-16v; 161, f. 44-44v; MS. Top Yorks. C.14, ff. 97v-98v) and identifiable in the churches in modern times, are conclusive evidence that the correct identities were well known in York in the seventeenth century. It hardly needs to be said that there can be no possibility of the churches (and their parishes) having exchanged their identities.

<sup>2</sup> The description in 1194: '*ecclesia Sanctae Mariae ultra Usam cum pertinentiis infra civitatem et extra*' (see p. 380, note 3 above), agrees perfectly with that of the statements which place in the hands of the Dean and Chapter at a later date '*ecclesiam beate Marie episcopi super Bichill in Ebor . . . cum omnibus iuribus et pertinentiis . . . et omnia tenementa eiusdem parochie in Ebor. et suburbio extra barras de Mikillith . . .*' (Minster Library, D. & C. Muniments, MS. M 2(2)c, f.31; Borthwick Institute, R.As.55, f.242v). The fourteenth century Minster Statutes refer to the church, both as 'Marybisshop' and 'Sancte Marie Bisshop' (Minster Library, D. & C. Muniments, MS. M 1(1), f.16; cf. *Liber Domesday*, f.97v).



day Book of 1086 and consider what is there recorded concerning the Church property.<sup>1</sup>

'The Archbishop has near the City 15 carucates for geld which 15 ploughs can plough, in demesne 2 ploughs and 60 acres of meadow. This land has one league in length and one league in breadth. This and all that he has in the City was worth in the time of King Edward 8 pounds and now 10 pounds. In Popletune [that is Upper Poppleton], 8 carucates for geld and 4 ploughs can be there. St. Peter had it for one manor.' In addition, 'Achum', that is Acomb. Assuming that the league is roughly equivalent to three miles, the statement of the Archbishop's holding near the City is reasonably correct and implies a solid church holding, extending as far as Dringhouses to the south and inclusive of Holgate on the west. Poppleton and Acomb, which lie further out, are mentioned separately and clearly are not included within this area.<sup>2</sup> It is noteworthy that this wide area outside the city is valued together with the Archbishop's total urban holding, regarding both intramural and extramural estates as a single property.<sup>3</sup>

At a later date, Acomb was assigned to the Treasurer of York Minster and Upper Poppleton became part of the parish of St. Mary Bishop, along with Holgate and, further out to the south-west, Copmanthorpe. The long parochial connection of Upper Poppleton with St. Mary Bishop may be thought significant in connection with the Domesday entry; though there is certainly no proof from Domesday Book that the parish or church of St. Mary Bishop already existed, this may well be implied and it is at least certain that the areas later assigned to the parish of St. Mary Bishop were, at the time of Domesday Book, in the hands of the Church. Furthermore if St. Peter, that is to say York Minster, held Poppleton for one manor before 1066, it probably also held the rest of the area which later was linked so closely to Poppleton. This hypothesis, based upon a backward reading of the documents, receives confirmation from the structure of the Church of St. Mary Bishop, which includes a massive tower and tower arch, positively of late Saxon date, and to be assigned with reasonable certainty to the middle or first half of the eleventh century.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> V.C.H., *Yorkshire*, ii, 210, 303. Can the mysterious 'Bithen' in which there was a holding of 1 bovat (Ibid., p. 303) be Bichill? (Sir Charles Clay, in a private communication, regards this as 'a shade fanciful'.)

<sup>2</sup> If the Domesday entry is interpreted as meaning the church holdings near the city and in a relatively solid block south-west of the Ouse, the dimensions are reasonably correct. From the river to the extremity of Dringhouses next to Copmanthorpe is in fact 3 miles, while from the northern tip of Holgate to the south-eastern arm of Dringhouses on the Ouse is 2½ miles. The 60 acres of meadow are almost exactly accounted for by the riverine inges which formed part of the Bishop's Fields.

<sup>3</sup> The words 'intramural' and 'extramural' are here used of the line of the mediaeval walls, before the stone walls were built.

<sup>4</sup> I have to thank Dr. Eric A. Gee, F.S.A., for pointing out that the tower arch of St. Mary Bishop closely resembles work at Kirk Hammerton church earlier than the mid-eleventh century. This is proved by the identity of detail in unquestionably later work at Kirk Hammerton with work at Kirkdale



The name of St. Mary Bishop, in any case, clearly indicates that the Church goes back to the period before the Archbishop's lands had been handed over to the Dean and Chapter, and it seems safe to accept that by the middle of the eleventh century there was a substantial church holding in south-west York with the (arch)bishop for its lord, and with the church of St. Mary Bishop. The origin of a church on this site possibly goes back to the period when the Bishop of York had not yet received the pall from Rome. Study of the fabric before demolition and subsequent excavations have shown that the other church of the same district, St. Mary the Old, certainly existed in Saxon times, and that it is at least as early, as a church, as St. Mary Bishop.<sup>1</sup>

We may now summarize our results and deal with some residual problems.

### *Bishophill*

As describing an area within the line of the city ditch, this name can be traced back to 1344, and its topographical significance is equivalent to that of the earlier Bichill, denoting the district south-east of Micklegate and west of Skeldergate, and comprising most of the intramural portion of the parish of Bishophill Senior, together with the whole of Bishophill Junior Within, as well as marginal property in the parish of St. Martin in Micklegate.

This whole area comprised properties of the Church of York at a date much earlier than the first occurrence of the name Bishophill. The fact that the name itself is not of immemorial antiquity does not, after all, invalidate the older thesis that the Archbishop of York had important holdings in this district.

### *St. Mary Bishop*

The church of St. Mary now known as Bishophill Junior was certainly described as St. Mary Bishop, or *Episcopi*, from an early date and was the church of St. Mary beyond Ouse which, with its parish both within and without the City, was confirmed to the church of York in 1194. It must almost certainly have been the St. Mary's Church linked with Clementhorp in the statement of the Archbishop's privileges *c.* 1080. In any case a church upon this site existed from late Saxon times, before the Norman Conquest.

### *St. Mary the Old*

It is certain that a church stood on the site of St. Mary the Old in Saxon times, and the archaeological evidence shows that it is at least as old as St. Mary Bishop. It is then all but certain that its

dated, by the famous inscribed stone, to the period 1056-1065. It must, therefore, be concluded that the lowest stage of the tower of St. Mary Bishop dates from substantially before the Conquest. A pre-Conquest date for this church-site is confirmed by the discovery outside the north wall of the church of east-west burials of the tenth century; I owe this reference to the kindness of Mr. L. P. Wenham, who excavated the area in 1961.

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Dr. Gee and Mr. Herman G. Ramm, F.S.A., for information on the excavations of 1959 and 1964.



cognomen arose precisely from the fact of its pre-existence, and was given from the time when St. Mary Bishop came to be built. Certain of the church lands in the area, including it would seem the chief messuage of the original prebend of Bichill, lay within the later parish of St. Mary the Old. Though the circumstances are now unknown, it may be that in late Saxon times St. Mary Bishop took over from the older church as the ecclesiastical centre of an episcopal parish which had formerly comprehended both the area of Bichill and the episcopal holdings outside the city on the south-west.

#### *Alcuin's Church of St. Mary*

In Alcuin's famous poem occurs a reference to a certain youth bred in the City of York who, in the early part of Alcuin's life (c. 750), was wont to pray 'in the hall of the mother of Christ', presumably a poetical expression for a church dedicated to St. Mary the Virgin.<sup>1</sup> Of the known churches in York dedicated to St. Mary, those of St. Mary's Abbey and in Castlegate were certainly founded much later than the eighth century. St. Mary, Layerthorpe, is not mentioned before the fourteenth century, and its foundations suggested a post-Conquest church.<sup>2</sup> St. Mary, Walmgate, was founded in the twelfth century.<sup>3</sup> If only on a basis of elimination, one of the two Bishophill churches would seem to qualify best for identification with the church mentioned by Alcuin, and St. Mary the Old has the only serious claim if we give full significance to its cognomen.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

For much help and for valuable suggestions I am indebted to the staff of the York City Library and especially to Mr. Maurice Smith, A.L.A.; and Miss Joyce W. Fowkes, B.A., City Archivist; to Miss E. Brunskill, B.A., and Mr. Bernard Barr, M.A., A.L.A., of the Minster Library; and to Mrs. N. K. M. Gurney, M.A., and the staff of the Borthwick Institute for Historical Research. I am also greatly indebted to Dr. Eric Gee, F.S.A., and Mr. Herman Ramm, F.S.A., for valuable information and for discussion of various problems. Mr. Barr has placed me further in his debt by reading a draft of this paper and by checking a large proportion of the manuscript sources. The paper in its final form owes most to Sir Charles Clay, who from his wide and deep knowledge has saved me from several errors and has made valuable suggestions. I have to thank the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England) for permission to make use of material obtained in the course of official research.

#### APPENDIX OF ILLUSTRATIVE DOCUMENTS

- I. York Minster Library, Dean & Chapter Muniments, L 2(2)a, *Liber Domesday*, f.21.

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<sup>1</sup> *Historians of the Church of York*, ed. J. Raine (Rolls Series 71, 1879), i, 397.

<sup>2</sup> A. Raine, *Mediaeval York*, 288; V.C.H., *City of York*, 394.

<sup>3</sup> V.C.H., *loc. cit.*

1275/76 March 18 Inquisicio locorum existencium in Ebor. infra libertatem Sancti Petri . . . . . (f.22v) Bichehill (*in margin*) . . . . . Item dicunt quod terra illa de Bichehill que iacet inter terram A. filii Stephani Wyles in vico de Litelgat' versus austrum et terram Hugonis Champenays versus boream continens in se sex mesuagia de quibus Alanus Blound et Willelmus de Sprofford tenent duo mesuagia Nicholaus Blound vnum mesuagium et Adam filius Alani de Walmgat' vnum mesuagium Willelmus de Scotherskeld duo mesuagia.

Item de eadem prebenda in Lounelytgat' capitale mesuagium eiusdem prebende et capitale mesuagium Prioris Sancti Oswaldi de Bramham et vnum mesuagium de communia Sancti Petri que similiter idem Willelmus de Scotherskelff tenet de quibus ecclesia Sancti Petri fuit dotata a tempore a quo non extat memoria et ille terre sunt annexe ecclesie de Knaresburgh.

II. British Museum, Cotton MS. Claudius B.iii. f.77v.

1230 Nov. 13 (Idibus nouembris) Carta Archiepiscopi super Ecclesia de Knaresburg facta Prebenda . . . . . Cum R. decanus et Capitulum Ebor. . . . . nobis liberaliter concessissent totam terram prebende de Bichehill excepto capitali manso in vsus ecclesie Ebor. pro voluntate nostra conuertenda . . . . .

*Ibid.*, f.73.

1241/42 March 22 (Grant of the Archbishop's properties on trust to the Dean and Chapter, including):

. . . . . totam terram prebende de Bichehill, cum redditu denariorum et gallinarum, servitiis, et omnibus aliis pertinentiis excepto capitali manso assignato prebende de Knaresburgh, et totam terram cum aedificiis et aliis pertinentiis quae habuimus de Petro Crasso, et Ernaldo de Naburn clerico in suburbio Ebor. juxta barram in Mikelgate . . . . .

Minster Library, MS. W.o (*Register of Leases 1842-60*), pp. 243-4. [also in D 1, Chapter File.] Vacancy in the See, 1848 (also amended for re-use to 1863) the Dean and Chapter hold in trust all the lands of the Archbishopric, which they hand over to the new Archbishop, including:—

'all the Land of the Prebend of Bickhill with the rent of Pence and Hens Services and all other the appurtenances excepting the Capital Manse assigned to the Prebend of Knaresborough'.

III. Minster Library, MS. M 2(2)c, f.31-31v; Borthwick Institute, York, R.As.55, ff. 242-243 (significant variants from the latter in [ ]). Saynt Martyn layne in Mikilgate (*margin*) [Pertin. ad communiam capituli *in margin*] Item in Sanctmartyn Lane [*Seintmartynlane*] ad finem occidentalem ecclesie Sancti Martini in Mikilgat' ex parte occidentali dicti vici sunt quinque tenementa simul iacencia inter tenementum Johannis de Askham ex parte boriali et tenementum eiusdem Johannis de Askham in quo Robertus de Merston manet et ipsa tenementa et omnes et singuli commorantes et inhabitantes in eisdem sunt de iurisdiccione dictorum Decani et Capituli Et ipso Decanatu vacante sunt de iurisdiccione dicti Capituli.

Ecclesia beate Marie Episcopi super Bichehill (*margin*) Item Decanus et Capitulum ecclesie Ebor. predicate sunt Rectores ecclesie (habent ecclesiam *deleted*) beate Marie episcopi super Bychehill [Bichill] in Ebor. pertinentem ad communiam eorum quam quidem ecclesiam quidam Canonicus Residenciarius tenet cum omnibus iuribus et pertinenciis ad perpetuam firmam iuxta quoddam statutum ecclesie Ebor. et idem Canonicus Residenciarius habet eam ad terminum vite sue que quidem ecclesia cum cimiterio et vicaria annexa et vicarius cum tota familia et Capellanus et clericus parochie eiusdem et omnia tenementa eiusdem parochie in Ebor. et in suburbio extra barras de Mikilhyth [Mikillith] et cum grangia Archiepiscopi et quadam domo tegularum et omnes commorantes et inhabitantes in eisdem sunt de iurisdiccione dicti Canonici Residenciarum. Habet eciam idem canonicus Residenciarius quoddam mansum [mansionem] in Copemanthorp et iurisdiccione eiusdem et tocius familie sue commorantis in eodem et totam iurisdiccione tocius ville de Copemanthorp et omnium et singulorum inhabitancium in eadem.



(f.32) Holgate (*margin*) Item habet idem Canonicus residenciarius jurisdictionem totius ville de Hologate pertinent. ad eandem ecclesiam et omnium et singulorum inhabitantium [et commorantium] in eadem (villa *added*).

- IV. Archbishop Greenfield's Register (Surtees Society, cxlv, 1931), i, 128. 1308 Nov. 22 Certificatorium contra violatores libertatum ecclesie Ebor. et specialiter in veteri ballio.

*Ibid.*, 130

1310 April 12 Sentencia contra infringentes libertates ecclesie Ebor. . . . . et maxime in loco qui dicitur Vetus Ballium.

- V. Minster Library, Dean & Chapter Muniments L (2)1, *Magnum Registrum Album*, iii, ff. 60v-61:—

c. 1170 Restitution to the church of York and to Archbishop Roger (1154-1181) by Gil. fil. Nigelli:—quicquid habui in Clementhorp . . . . . eo intuitu quod antecessores mei et ego predictas terras de mensa beati Petri iniuste occupatas tenuimus . . . . . (A date of c. 1170 is suggested by the occurrence as witnesses of both William the Precentor and John, Archdeacon of Nottingham (see C. T. Clay, *York Minster Fasti*, Y.A.S., R.S., cxxiii, 1958, i, 12, 43).)

British Museum, Lansdowne MS. 402, f. 100v:—

c. 1268 Charter of the prioress and convent of St. Clement in York concerning a toft in Clementhorp.

Margareta priorissa Waltero Giffard Ebor. Archiepiscopo totum ius et clamium quod habemus . . . . . in quodam tofto quod dedit nobis Berthom Capellanus in perpetuam elemosinam ad tenendum illud toftum de domino archiepiscopo predicto . . . . . (Margaret was prioress in 1268; *V.C.H., Yorks.*, iii, 130; the extreme limits of date are those of the archbishop, 1265-1279).

- VI. The Vicars Choral of St. Peter's at York held a number of properties in the part of the city to south-west of the Ouse. It is curious that these seem to lie in the same positions as properties which may be supposed to have belonged to the Archbishop and which were later within the jurisdiction of the Dean and Chapter. Thus in St. Martin's Lane on the west side, running south from the corner tenement on Micklegate called 'Mountsorrell' was a row of tenements whose early history appears from deeds of 1327-68 (Minster Library, Vicars Choral deeds Nos. 242-250), and which can be traced through later rentals down to the middle of the nineteenth century (Sub-Chanter's books, e.g. No. 1, p. 295; No. 5, p. 351, covering 1692-1846). Similarly the Vicars Choral held the Tilehouse or Tilehouses which lay in the Bishop's Fields 'between land of Thomas de Crathorn son of Nicholas de Crathorn and the water of the Ouse, and between the meadow of the lord archbishop and the ditch of the lord King'. (Vicars Choral deed 239 of 1409; cf. Nos. 397-402 dating from the 13th century to 1410). The position of the Tilehouse, next to the York boundary on the Holgate Beck, is settled by the perambulation of 1374/75 which begins: 'In primis de aqua Use, que est Fletebrigg juxta le Teyghelhouse en le Bysshopfeld, usque pontem ad finem ville de Hollgat . . . ' (Surtees Soc., cxx, *York Memorandum Book*, ed. M. Sellars, i, p. 21).

- VII. Public Record Office, S.C.11/Roll 766, Valor of the Archbishopric of York submitted at Thomas Cromwell's visitation, 12 January 1535/36. A summary of the general purport of this very detailed roll is given in *Letters & Papers of Henry VIII*, x, p. 30, no. 86. The following extract comprises the full entry for the barony of Sherburn, with the amounts expressed in modern figures.

Baronia de Shirborne in comitatu Ebor. infra receptionem Ricardi Coton armigeri receptoris particularis.

*Onus.* Valet in Redditibus et firmis infra Baroniam predictam, viz.:—

	£	s.	d.
Shirebourne cum herbagio ibidem	83	2	4
Mylforde	10	19	7
Cawod	67	5	2 $\frac{1}{4}$ <sup>1</sup>
Wistowe	75	16	5 $\frac{3}{4}$ <sup>2</sup>
Bisshoplathes	53	6	8
Bysshopthorpe	23	15	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
Civitas Ebor	7	2	0
in toto	£321	7	6 $\frac{1}{2}$ <sup>3</sup>

	£	s.	d.
Casualibus ibidem communibus annis, viz. in per-			
quisitis Curie cum finibus terrarum	6	10	7
Tolnet. Nundinarum apud Ebor.	0	5	0
Tak porcorum	0	10	6
Penytak	0	3	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
Vendicio bosci	18	1	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
	£25	11	1

In denariis solutis Decano et Capitulo ecclesie Cathedralis Ebor. distribuendis per Thesaurarium eiusdem ecclesie pro anima Walteri Graye quondam Archiepiscopi Ebor. iuxta foundationem et ordinationem eiusdem Walteri.

Allocaciones				£13	6	8
				<hr/>		
Feoda. In feoda Richardi Coton armigeri	£	s.	d.			
receptoris particularis ibidem	3	6	8			
et Willelmi Babthorpe armigeri Senescalli						
tocius Baronie predictae	1	0	0			
	<hr/>					
in toto					4	6 8
					<hr/>	
				£17	13	4

Et sic valet clare £329. 5s. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.<sup>4</sup> (and half and quarter parts of a farthing).

<sup>1</sup> Plus quarter part of a farthing.

<sup>2</sup> Plus half a farthing.

<sup>3</sup> Plus  $\frac{3}{4}$  farthing.

<sup>4</sup> Roll reads £329. 9s. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.



## MAGLEMOSIAN SITES IN THE PENNINES

By JEFFREY RADLEY and GEOFFREY MARSHALL.

The excavation of a large flint site at Deepcar, near Sheffield (Radley & Mellars 1964), has emphasized the fact that Maglemosian sites are not confined to the lowland areas bordering the North Sea. The excavation produced convincing evidence of an oval structure within which 23,000 artifacts were recovered. These included 68 microliths, 102 microburins, 37 scrapers, 8 burins, and awls. The tools are directly comparable to lowland assemblages which also yield bonework and flint axes. An examination of Pennine museum collections revealed comparable sites at Lominot, Warcock Hill, and Windy Hill in the Marsden district. In all these sites bones have not survived because of the acid soil conditions, but the absence of axes has not been convincingly explained. Several isolated axes, some of the tranchet kind, have been recorded (Davies & Rankine 1960; Davies 1964) but the only possible indication of an axe on a site has been noted at Pike Lowe where a probable axe-sharpening flake has been identified (Radley & Mellars, 1964, p. 20).

This paper records further investigations in the Pennines which have produced seven small Maglemosian sites, which would have been called 'Broad blade industries' by Buckley. Other obliquely blunted points of a Maglemosian nature are also noted.

The problem of the absolute date of these industries remains. Recent excavations have been disappointing, since a prime objective was to recover charcoal for a carbon date. Similarly, the relative dating provided by pollen analysis was not forthcoming, as the sites were either on peat-free areas or in peat-covered areas which have been disturbed by military manoeuvres.

### *The Sites*

Several streams rise on the moors of Langsett and Midhope, and, as they flow eastwards to the River Don, they have cut deep valleys which isolate blocks of gritstone upland. One such block, east of Bull Clough, is called Mickleden Edge on which five small sites were found between 13-1400 ft. Another block is the adjacent Pike Lowe, between the Little Don and Ewden Beck, on which two sites were found above 1500 ft.

All the sites have several features in common. They are open sites on exposed crests; they have no structures and very little burnt flint; the flint used is invariably white flint as at Deepcar; and the assemblages were highly localised, lacking any obvious intrusive implements from later periods.

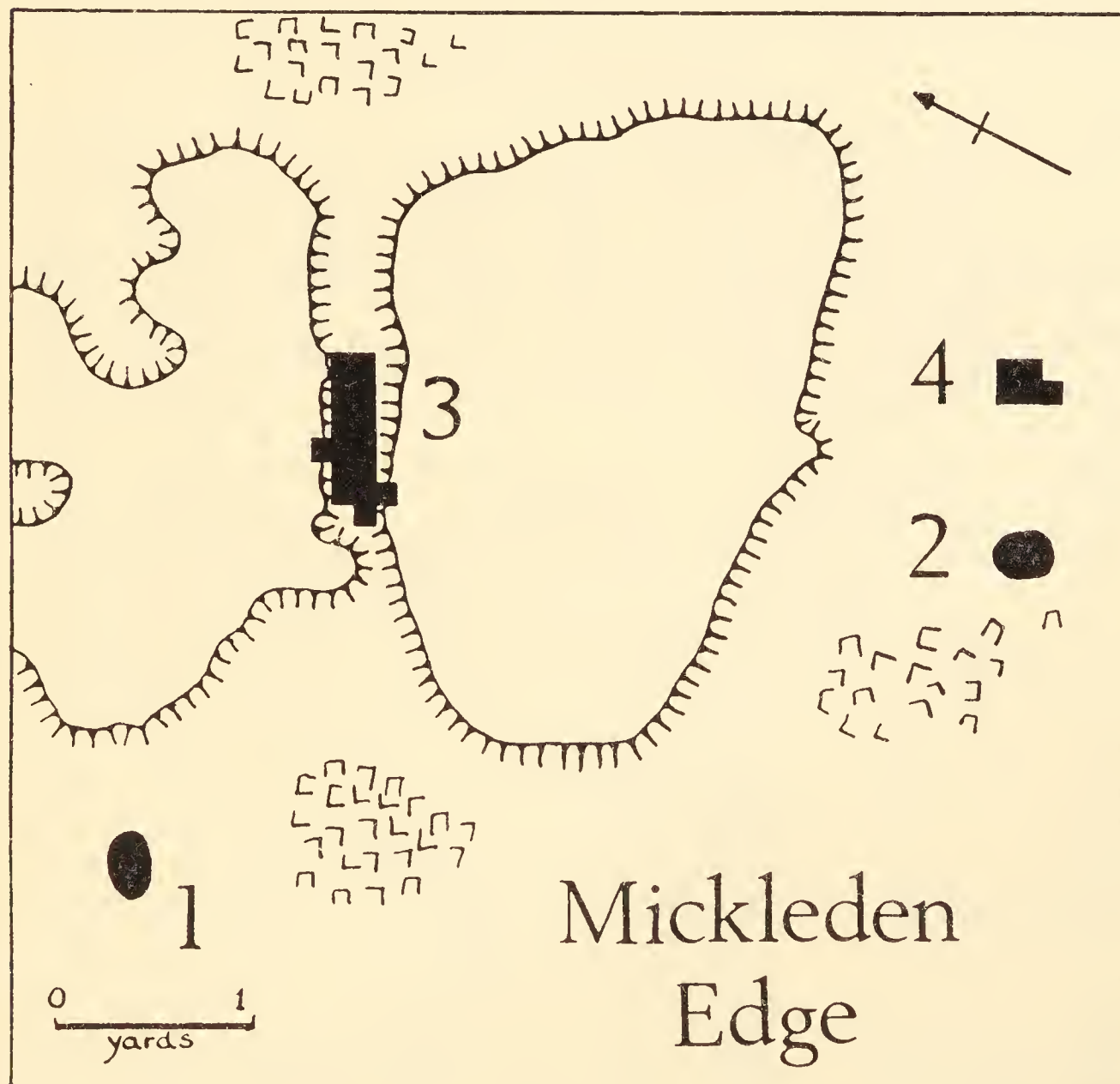
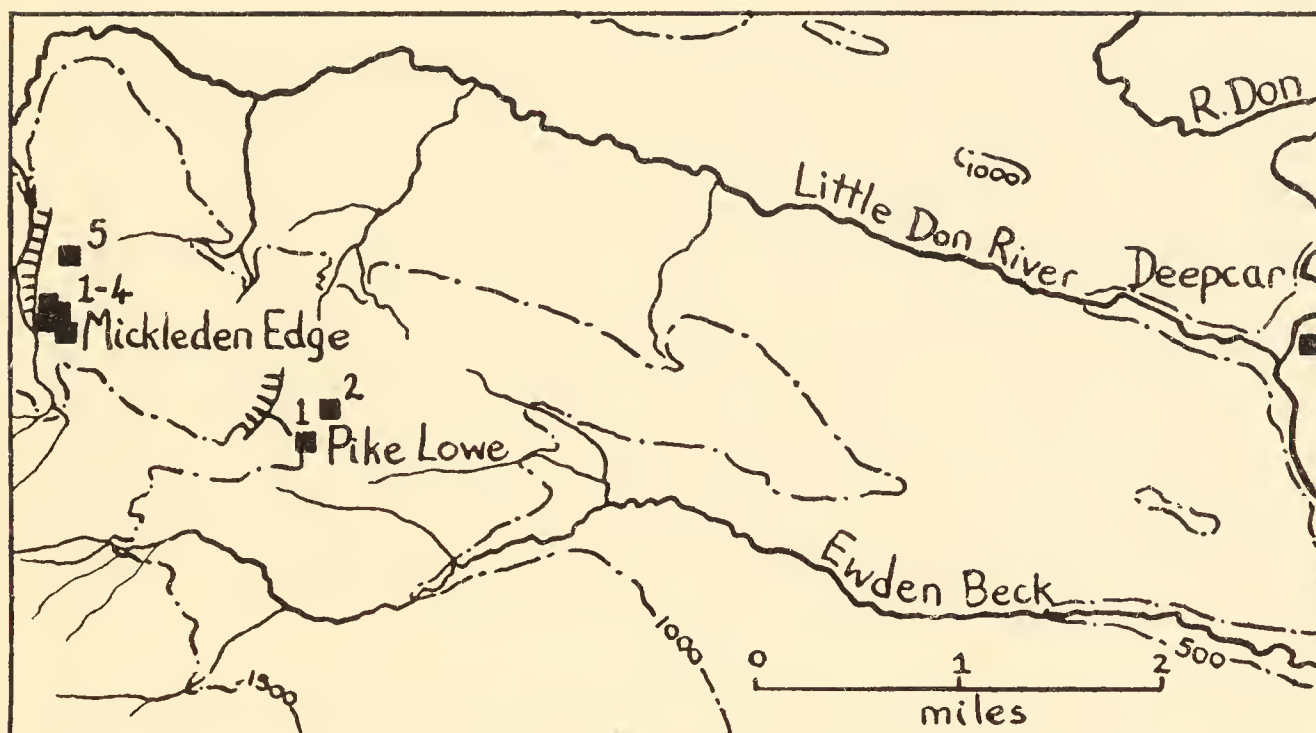


FIG. 1.

Part of the headwaters of the River Don showing the main sites, and a detailed plan showing the relationship of four of the Mickleden sites to each other and to the patches of peat.



*Pike Lowe 1* (SK.211972)

This is the most important site, situated on the edge of a flat to the S.E. of the summit of Pike Lowe. The site is a relatively stone-free area amongst several acres of angular block rubble, and was discovered in 1961 (Radley & Marshall 1963). Excavation showed that the site covered an area five yards square, being centred on a two foot square rock. The cores were all concentrated around this stone which suggests that it was either a seat or anvil stone. Artifacts were recovered from a depth of 20 ins. in the sandy soil, and of the 3,186 artifacts, 24 were brown flint. Ten pieces of chert were found 20 yds. away. Cortex fragments show that the flint had a pebble origin. Only 2.7% of all finds are definite tools, and another 4% show signs of definite use or secondary retouching. There are 294 whole or broken blades. (Table 1).

TABLE 1.

THE MESOLITHIC INDUSTRIES

	Pike Lowe 1	Pike Lowe 2	Mick. 1	Mick. 2	Mick. 3	Mick. 4	Mick. 5	Deepcar
Total Flakes and spalls	3060	395	139	102	1322	543	214	23,000
Do. longer than 1 cm.	1337	206	53	65	501	112	115	13,600
Cores	8	3	1	4	4	0	2	17
Core trimmings	38	17	4	0	7	0	4	111
Microburins, etc.	11	0	2	2	11	0	1	120
Implements								
Microliths	31	10	3	2	17	6	1	75
Scrapers	31	2	1	2	9	0	3	37
Burins	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	8
Truncated blades	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	5
Saws and dentate flakes	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2
Awls	0	0	0	0	3	0	1	2
Notched flakes	0	3	0	0	1	0	0	21
Axe sharpening flake	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Flakes exhibiting secondary working	31	7	2	4	15	7	11	167

The majority of the 31 microliths are variants of the obliquely blunted point, 2-3 cms. long. Reasonably complete examples tend to be elongated and narrow, and two are definitely rod-like. Curious,

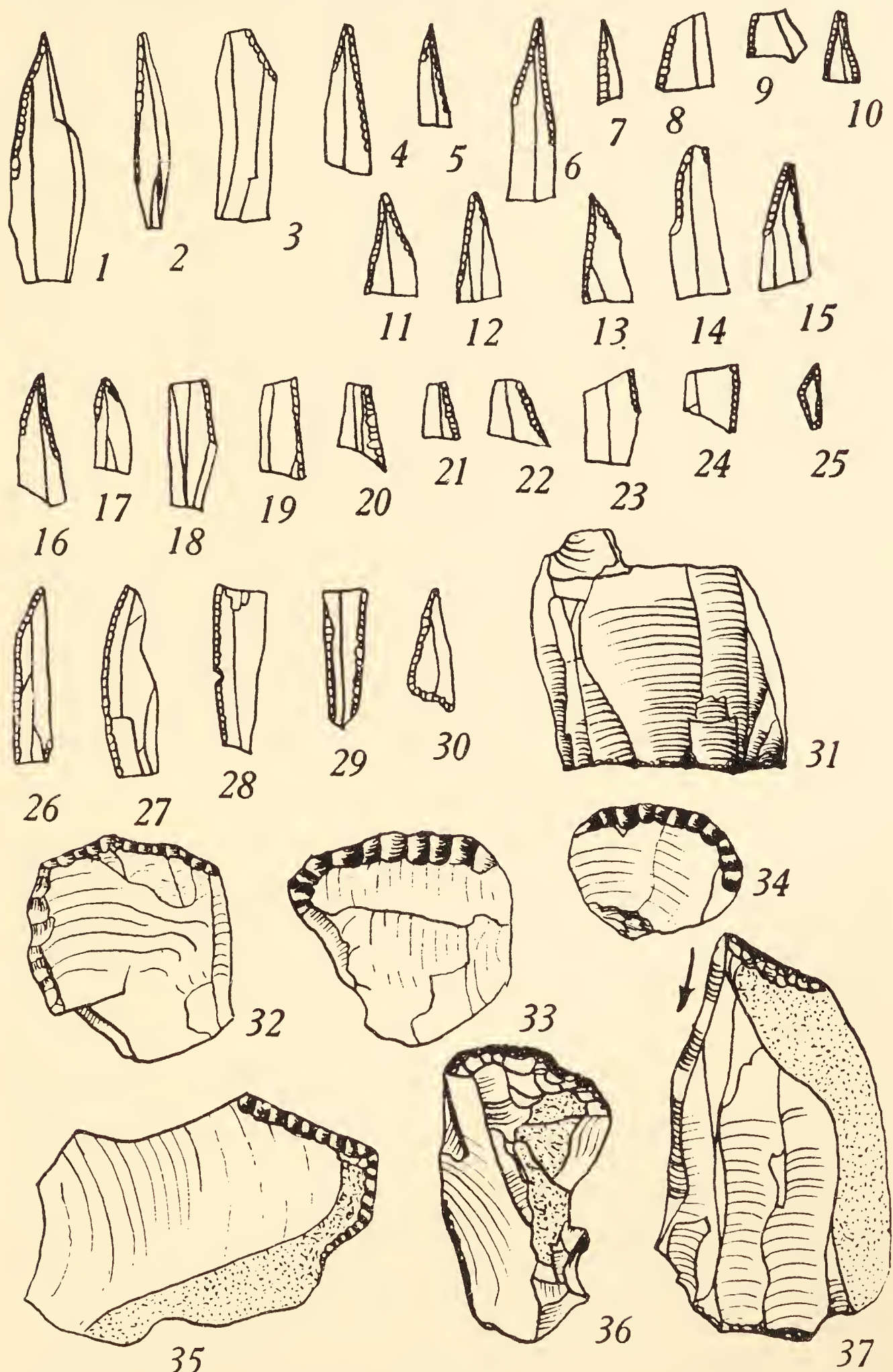


FIG. 2.  
1-35 are from Pike Lowe 1. 36-7 are from Pike Lowe 2.  $\frac{1}{1}$ .



and out of keeping with these, is as a unique delicate scalene triangle 8 mm. long (fig. 2).

The thirty-one scrapers, often crude, broken or unfinished, are of four types: large irregular flakes with steep retouch; short end scrapers on flakes and blades; four side scrapers; and two hollow end-scrapers.

Amongst the other pieces showing secondary retouch are several probable knives and a chopper.

Only 8 cores were found, averaging 34 grms. The eight microburins include one mishit form.

#### *Pike Lowe 2 (SK.213974)*

Situated 300 yds. N.E. of Site 1 at 1300 ft., it was found and excavated by F. Hepworth of Stocksbridge. It occupies a small sandy patch amongst the rubble field which covers the hillside. Excavation revealed no hearth or structure. About 30% of the finds are less than 1 cm. long and there are only five pieces of brown flint. The most outstanding tool is a superb burin (Fig. 2, 37), but there are also ten microliths, an end scraper and a side scraper. There are 41 whole and broken blades.

Also from this hill is a group of 559 flints found by Mr. A. Miller of Sheffield. They are all white flint and many pieces are fire-cracked. The tools include 3 awls, 5 scrapers (one of which is worked on a large core trimming) one microlith, and numerous worked pieces. Amongst the waste there are seven cores, 27 blades, seven core trimmings, and a microburin. Whether this assemblage constitutes another Maglemosian site or is a part of one of the above sites is not known.

#### *Mickleden 1 & 2 (SK.193981)*

These sites have been described elsewhere (Radley & Marshall 1963, p. 87) but were not then attributed to the Maglemosian. The few microliths, 3 from Site 1 and 2 from Site 2, are similar to examples from Deepcar and Pike Lowe, but there are few other tools. On Site 1 2.7% of all the finds are tools, and on Site 2 3.7%.

#### *Mickleden 3*

This site is only yards from Mickleden 1 and was discovered in 1964, when it was decided to excavate with only two surface finds as indicators. Of the 1,322 artifacts which were recovered only one piece is definitely brown flint.

The site lies between two peat hags and covers 15 sq. yds. (fig. 1). Excavation to a depth of 4 ins. into the mineral soil and under 16 ins. of peat revealed no hearth, structure, or stake hole. The artifacts were focussed on three concentrations, each about a yard across, and individual artifacts were recovered from below the incipient iron pan at 15 ins. Most of the microliths were confined to 1 sq. yd. and the scrapers to a similar area 3 yds. away. There are 29 whole or broken blades.

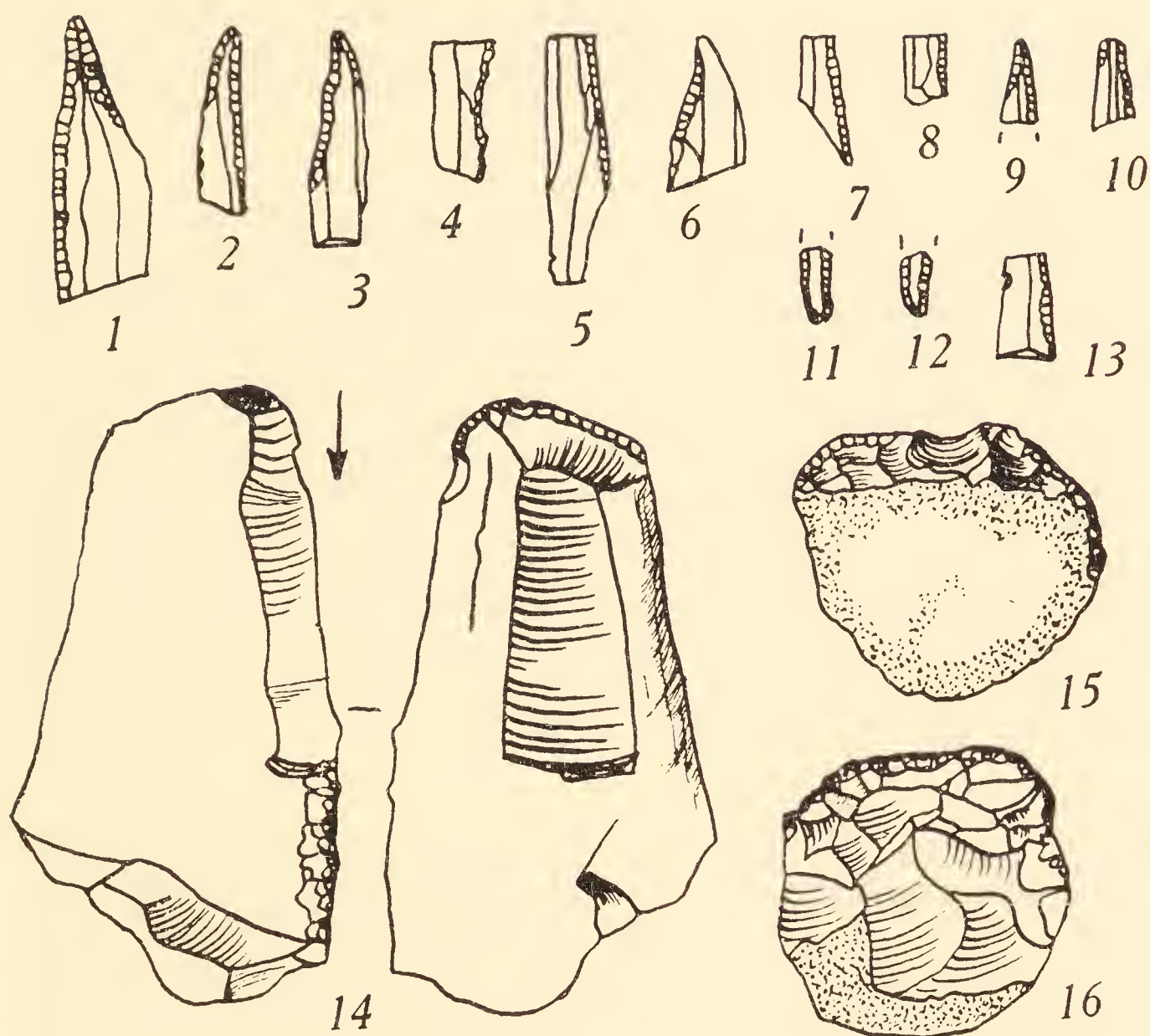


FIG. 3.  
Tools from Mickleden 3.  $\frac{1}{1}$ .

#### *Mickleden 4*

This site is 30 yds. south of Site 3 and occupied 4 sq. yds. Excavation revealed a circular area covered with over 500 artifacts. Curiously over 80% of the artifacts are less than 1 cm. long and only 8 blades were found, suggesting that this was a place where tools were finished rather than prepared. The principal tools were 6 microliths.

#### *Mickleden 5 (SK.194993)*

This site was revealed by the footpath from Cut Gate to North America Farm cutting through the thin peat cover and revealing the mineral soil. A small excavation of only 3 sq. yds., together with surface finds have yielded numerous artifacts but only one piece of black chert. Although only one microlith was found, the general character of the industry is similar to the others described above.

#### *Deepcar (SK.292981)*

Since the main excavation of 84 sq. yds. was completed, continued observation and trial-trenching in 1964 and 1965 has yielded over



2,000 artifacts, over 90% of which are less than 1 cm. long. Seven broken microliths, 18 microburins, and 4 scrapers have been found. There are now 75 microliths and 120 microburins from the site.

### *Other Sites*

In the southern Pennines, numerous sites of a Mesolithic nature have been examined, but there are no definite sites of a Maglemosian type. Small sites at Ashop Head, Burbage Bridge, and Birley Spa have been described elsewhere (Radley 1963); each has one or two obliquely blunted points, and at Broomhead 1 (Radley & Marshall 1963, p. 89) there are 'broad-blade' and geometric microliths, as at Shippea Hill (Clark 1955) which has been dated to 5600 B.C. (B.M. 587). Whether Broomhead 1 has two industries super-imposed or one late industry showing a fusion of cultures is not known. It seems probable that many of the sites from the central Pennines will be ultimately attributed to such a fusion of the early Sauveterrian-like industries with the early Maglemosian industries, which is likely to have happened after England became an island *c.* 5500 B.C., but before the Neolithic immigrants arrived.

### *Conclusion*

At Star Carr, a large flint assemblage yielded 248 microliths ranging from .75 ins. to 1.75 ins. in length; 334 burins; 326 scrapers; 107 awls; and 7 axes. Amongst the *débris* were 167 cores and 15 microburins. The microliths included 126 simple obliquely-blunted points, 45 generally scalene triangles, and 45 elongated trapezoids. The industry is closely related to the continental Maglemosian industries.

The sites at Deepcar and around Marsden are in the Maglemosian tradition but show significant differences in detail. The microliths are generally smaller, and there are no elongated trapezoids and very few triangles. Instead, the simple obliquely-blunted point has developed several variants, the main one being the use of retouch on the face opposed to the obliquely worked face. Another particularly prominent variant at Deepcar has the oblique working extended on some microliths to form an elongated point, which produces in some cases a rod-like microlith with sub-parallel sides (PPS. 1964, fig. 5, Nos. 56-68).

The sites under discussion in this paper have too few microliths to permit extensive analysis. However, it is evident that at Pike Lowe 1 the frequent opposed retouch (13 out of 30), and the elongation, evident even on microlith fragments, is similar to the detail on the Deepcar forms. Half the Mickleden 3 microliths have opposed retouch. At all the new sites large triangles and elongated trapezoids are absent, and the simplicity of the microlithic development is striking. (Table 2). The only outstanding item is the tiny triangle from Pike Lowe 1 which is unique. All the new sites tend to have narrow elongated microliths made on slender blades.

TABLE 2.  
MICROLITH TYPES

	Pike Lowe 1	Pike Lowe 2	Mick. 1	Mick. 2	Mick. 3	Mick. 4	Mick. 5	Deepcar
Obliquely blunted point. LHS <sup>1</sup>	4	5	1	1	1	1	0	20
"    "    "    RHS <sup>2</sup>	1	3	1	0	3	0	1	1
"    "    "    LHS, and opposed retouch	4	0	0	0	2	0	0	3
Obliquely blunted point. RHS, and opposed retouch	4	1	0	0	3	2	0	4
Points blunted all down one side	2	1	0	0	3	0	0	9
Large triangles	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Fragmentary points	4	0	0	0	4	3	0	25
Unclassified	12	0	1	1	1	0	0	5
Totals	31	10	3	2	17	6	1	68*

\*This total is for 1964.

The new sites have few burins, but they are the largest tools. There are a few scrapers on each site, usually the short or long end-of-blade types. Cortex is retained on several of them, a feature noticed at Deepcar and Star Carr. Saws, truncated blades, and awls are rare but there are numerous flakes, with secondary retouch. Axes were rare at Star Carr, and are totally absent from the new Pennine sites. Only one possible axe-sharpening flake has been recognised, at Pike Lowe 1, and this has been described elsewhere (P.P.S. 1964, p. 20).

Amongst the débris, there are very few cores, which is in keeping with Deepcar, and whereas Deepcar has produced many micro-burins, they remain relatively rare on the new sites, there being only 27 from 7 sites.

Less than one per cent of all the raw materials is brown flint or black chert. Almost all the artifacts are made from a conspicuous mottled white flint. Cortex remains always show a pebble origin, and bands in some of the larger pieces suggest tabular rather than nodular flint.

The new sites recorded in this paper have an essential unity of tool types, raw material, and geographical location. They are un-

<sup>1</sup> LHS = Left hand side.

<sup>2</sup> RHS = Right hand side.



fortunately not dated by pollen analysis or carbon 14 but they appear to be part of the Maglemosian type of industry. The absence of some characteristically Maglemosian tools may be a reflection of the smallness of the sites, or alternatively may be a reflection of the adaptation of the industry to the highland habitat. In general, each site has some microliths and scrapers, with one or two other tools. The elaboration which the basic microlith type, the obliquely blunted point, has undergone suggests that the industries are rather later than the simpler Maglemosian assemblages, exemplified in the Star Carr industry.

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# AN ANGLO-SAXON SETTLEMENT AT WYKEHAM, NORTH YORKSHIRE

By J. W. MOORE.

## *Acknowledgements*

The Anglo-Saxon hutted settlement at Wykeham, near Scarborough, Yorkshire, was excavated throughout the twelve months preceding October 1952. That a full study of the site was at all possible is owed very largely to the kindness of Lady Downe and Brigadier The Viscount Downe of Wykeham Abbey. Not only did they grant the necessary permissions, allowing me to move freely over the Wykeham Abbey Estate, they also aided the excavations by means of an initial financial grant. Later during the excavations the work was supported by visitors to the site.

During the excavations a number of people found an interest in lending practical aid. Of this group of helpers there are a few who should be named, for they gave generously of their time and labour. In this respect I offer my grateful thanks to Mr. Alfred Naylor, Mr. and Mrs. David Hopwood, Mr. Wilfrid Carter, Mr. F. D. Gilbert and Mr. and Mrs. Frank Rimington. I am also indebted for similar assistance to various members of the Scarborough and District Archaeological Society.

Mr. C. W. Phillips, M.A., F.S.A., of the Archaeology Branch, H.M. Ordnance Survey, very kindly facilitated the provision of maps and also provided a plan of the gravel quarry based upon recent aerial photographs.

The frequent visits of Mr. J. G. Rutter, Curator of Scarborough Museum, and of Mr. Charles Haines (7 Raymead Flats, Scarborough), for the purposes of photographic documentation were greatly appreciated. The cost of this work was borne by Scarborough Corporation.

At my express wish, and with the concurrence of the landowners, the finds were placed in Scarborough Museum, with the exception of three carinated plainware sherds from Site 9 (East); these were deposited at the Whitby Museum.

## *Introduction*

During the latter part of 1951 and the greater part of 1952 I undertook the present excavations, along, and somewhat within, the surrounds of a gravel quarry situated upon the north side of the main Scarborough-Pickering road, and at a few hundred yards east and clear of modern Wykeham (Ordnance Survey, Yorks. North Riding, Sheet XCIII 10).



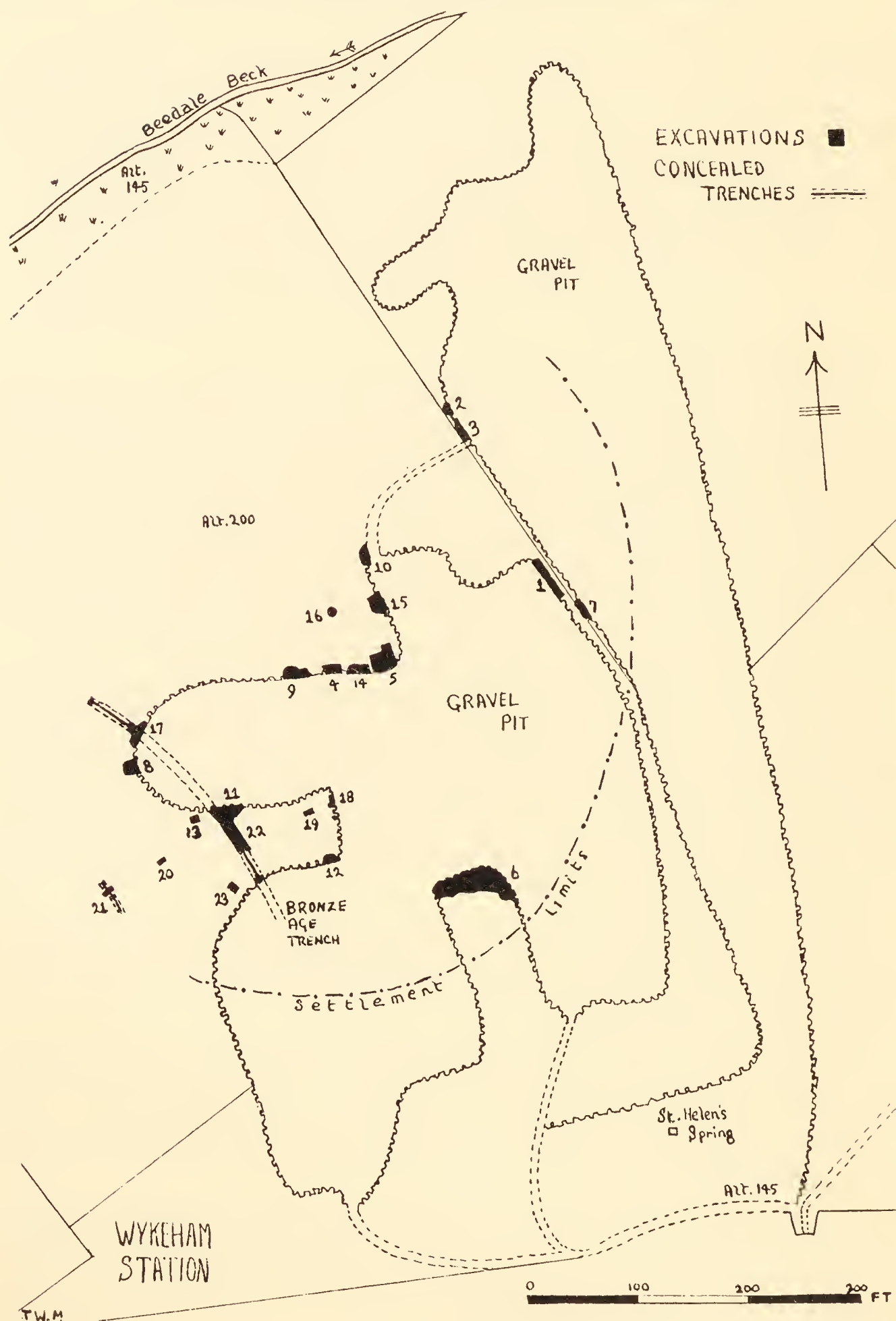


FIG. 1.

Plan of the 1951-1952 excavations at Wykeham.

Here, the deltaic moraine of Kendall (1)<sup>1</sup> travels as a prominent ridge of sand and gravel westwards along the Limestone foothills

<sup>1</sup> Numbers like this, in brackets, refer to the 'List of Publications quoted' (see p. 444).

from Ayton towards Wykeham. The ridge then passes in a south-westerly direction through the Wykeham Abbey park and disappears eventually into the levels of the Vale of Pickering. Detached configurations in the steep slopes of the Chalk Wolds at the south side of the Vale of Pickering, above Heslerton and Knapton, appear to mark the southerly extension of the same moraine.

The commercial exploitation of the Wykeham sands and gravels appears to have been most extensive during 1947 and ceased during 1948. It was in the flat summit of the morainic ridge that the gravel workings exposed the traces of Anglo-Saxon settlement.

The quarry possessed two portions (fig. 1), one being a wide, irregularly-shaped cavity and the other providing a long and deep channel which little concerns us here since the village remains barely reached the area.

An interesting geological feature of the gravel ridge was the presence, in the flat summit, of an extensive but shallow depression containing a sandy infilling; this being presumably a rainwash. Similar depressions occur in the Flamborough region and I consider this phenomenon to have been produced by the subsidences consequent upon the internal melt of ice in the gravel deposits.

Demonstrably prior to the era of Neolithic settlement this concealed deposit, often attaining a thickness of three or four feet, rests upon the commercial gravels which elsewhere within the area form the immediate subsoil.

The Anglo-Saxon settlers were found to have taken advantage of this feature since their hut-floor excavations were more or less restricted to the sandy zone. They had taken advantage of the economy of labour afforded by the softer ground.

The hilltop settlement, therefore, developed in plan in conformity with this geological feature. It was a well timbered region having access to the wealth of the fen-carr to the south and to the light soils of the Limestone slopes at the northern boundaries of the moorlands. Water was obtained from Beedale Beck, today partly of artificial origin, and also presumably from St. Helen's Spring. In any event, the settlers constructed small clay and stone-lined waterholders in the hutted area.

Now covered in, St. Helen's Spring was visited by the eminent Dr. Kirk of Pickering. Of his excavations nothing of significance can be gleaned from the scraps of material which he deposited years ago at the Malton Roman Museum. Another excavation is known to have been taken into Chester Hill field situated immediately to the south of the Wykeham site. I have no useful information on this point except to stress the unusual occurrence of the field name, and also to stress that the modern road dividing the Wykeham site and the field has a history of perhaps only a century. The Wykeham gravel quarry provides a good section of the ancient Wykeham road.

Despite the attractiveness of the Wykeham site from the aspect of military defence, an open approach from the direction of Hutton



Buscel and Ayton, along with a deficiency of any contemporary defensive works,<sup>1</sup> renders little aid to this important consideration. Excavation did, however, reveal a shallow, curvilinear ditch of the Bronze Age. This sealed off a portion of the ridge at the south-westerly extremities and upon the ditch parts of the Teutonic settlement encroached: the settlers having taken advantage of the cavity afforded thereat.

Another soil feature at the period of the occupation was that the northerly edge of the site showed gravels quite close to the surface, whereas the southerly limits were marked by a deposit of sandy loam possessing a thickness of app. 2 ft. At Site 6 a hut floor had been excavated into this hillwash, but by Mediaeval times (represented by 13th century coarseware)<sup>2</sup> the site acquired a further deposit of soil bringing the total thickness to about 4 ft. 6 ins. There is today, therefore, a gradual thickening of the capping loam along the slight declivity of the summit from north to south. But some of the southerly deposit is certainly part of the Mediaeval road passing towards Hutton Buscel.

A sporadic occupation of the site area from the Late Mesolithic period and into the Early Bronze Age is attested by the occurrence of numerous worked flints and a few small sherds of Early Bronze Age plainwares. The lower, undisturbed portions of the Bronze Age ditch contained potboiler stones and worked flints, but faunal remains were completely absent, the latter feature contrasting with the rich domestic deposits of the Teutonic levels.

A useful find, accentuating the continuum of the Neolithic Rinyo-Clacton wares of the North and South, was the discovery (Site 3) of a quarry-bisected pit of small dimensions containing fragments of a vessel which reproduces features to be seen upon the Woodlands and Honington specimens, as depicted by Stone (2) and Piggott (3). Of special interest is the presence upon the Wykeham vase of several small ribs standing erect from the rim as upon the Woodlands specimen (4).

### *Part II. The Excavations*

Cutting back the quarry face yielded various traces of Anglo-Saxon domestic activities, indicated by typical potsherds found in connection with potboiler stones; fire-reddened and unburnt slabs of the local limestone; the abundant meatbones of domesticated animals, pig and deer included; and objects of glass, bone, bronze, horn, clay and stone. There were no human remains.

There was ample evidence that the material rested *in situ*, this fact being demonstrated by the contiguity of the material with irregularly-laid floors of limestone slabs, settings of pebbles forming entrance paths, settings of stones forming roof-supporting devices, by postholes, and by fire-reddened soil or peat ash found together with burned and unburned bones, burned stones and potsherds in and around crude hearths.

<sup>1</sup> The westerly slope appears to be artificially scarped.

<sup>2</sup> J. G. Rutter, 'Medieval Pottery in the Scarborough Museum: 13th and 14th Centuries.' Scarborough and District Archaeological Society Research Report No. 3 (1961), pp. 28, 34, 41, 42 and 44.

It is extremely vital not to overlook the fact that soil normally constituted the contemporary bulk of any floor, the deposit accumulating during the tenancy of the hut.

The difficult perimeters of the floors, being often less prolific in domestic debris and therefore not being readily differentiated from the adjacent soil, could be traced through the agency of differences in soil texture, by the spread of potboiler stones, through the in-

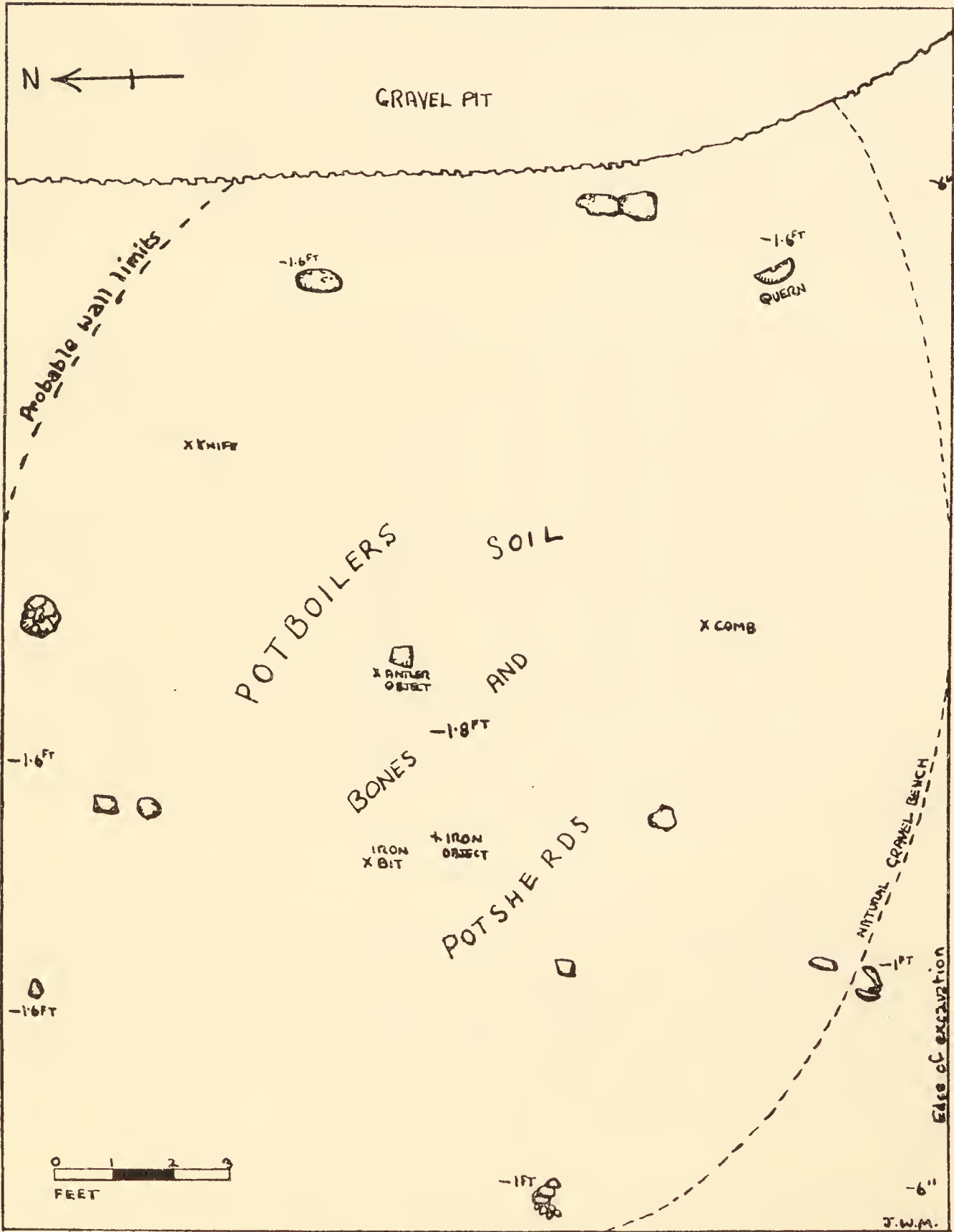


FIG. 2.  
Plan of Site 8.



dications afforded by isolated settings of stones, and generally by the saucering of the floor cavities.

The stratigraphical potentialities of the deeper floors were recognised at the commencement, the essential data being recorded by a rough and ready division of the deposits into three zones namely, 'Base', 'Middle', and 'Top', the material finds being marked accordingly. It was felt that only the very broadest divisions could prove analytically useful.

The Wykeham quarry contained, in bulk, only Teutonic settlement débris. The traces of Mediaeval activity were slight and were accompanied by scraps of bone, but the Neolithic and Bronze Age traces were not so accompanied. The absence of any Romano-British structural remains and any faunal remains that could not be linked directly to the Teutonic or Mediaeval visitants prompts the finds of Romano-British pottery be studied with extreme care. This matter is discussed more adequately under Part III.

### *Site 1*

A fragmentary, sunken floor. Section: 2 ft. 6 ins. of sandy soil resting upon the basal gravels with a dark, sandy layer at the junction. The Anglo-Saxon horizon rested in the 12 ins. of soil situated directly above the junction, being there indicated by the abundant bones and teeth of Horse, Sheep, Oxen, Deer and Pig.

Some of the bones were charred and the faunal débris was present with potboiler stones, reddened soil, pieces of limestone and reddened limestones. An undecorated sherd of Anglo-Saxon plainware was retrieved and also a small droplet of blue glass.<sup>1</sup>

In this excavation about 40 ft. of the quarry edge was cut back for about a distance of three feet, then terminated at a steel pipe and its shallow trough set at the hedgerow. A very large area had been studied hereabouts before the commercial works destroyed it; in it evidences of ancient soil disturbances were strong and potsherds and bones of the settlement were here no more than crumbs.

### *Site 2*

A fragmentary, sunken floor. Section: 24 ins. of sandy soil resting upon the basal gravels with a dark sandy layer intervening. Fauna as at Site 1. A fragmentary paving formed of limestone slabs, large stones of glacial origin, and potboilers rested at 18 ins. depth from the surface. Many of the stones were reddened by fire. When fully developed the floor postulated the one time existence of a flat-based, circular pavement of app. 12 ft. diameter. Only a half of the plan of the floor had survived the commercial operations.

The perimeter region of the hut floor proved uninformative and the signs of domestic activities faded rapidly. In and upon the

<sup>1</sup> One suspects this deposit was of a farmhouse 40 ft. in length.



IRON LATCH KEYS (Nos. 287.52 & 345.52)  
from the Wykeham Anglian settlement.



SMALL BRONZE BRACELET (No. 467.52) in  
profile, fragmentary, from Wykeham.



SMALL BRONZE "PICK" (No. 576.52)  
probably for toilet use found at  
Wykeham.



BRONZE OBJECT (No. 194.52), ornamented  
with animal's head design, of unknown  
use, found at Wykeham.



ANTLER IMPLEMENT (No. 186.52),  
probably a weaving tool, from  
Wykeham.



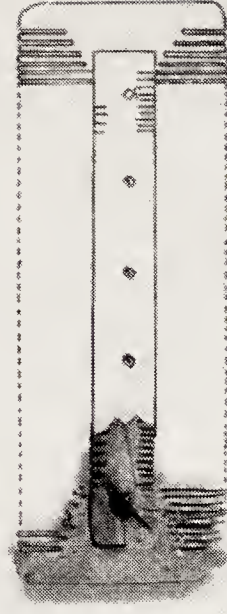
IRON KNIVES (Nos. 166.52, 390.52, 455.52,  
463.52), selected from over a dozen  
specimens found at Wykeham.



IRON NAIL (No. 127.52) from the  
Anglian village.



IRON STRIP-A-LIGHT (No. 464.52) from  
the Anglian village at Wykeham.



TOILET COMB (No. 372.52) of bone in  
fragmentary condition. Parts of  
three similar combs were found at  
Wykeham.



FRAGMENTS OF SMALL BRONZE BALANCES  
(Nos. 395.52 & 502.52) from Wykeham.



SCARBOROUGH MUSEUM





THREAD PICKER (No. 20.521, a bone  
weaving tool from Wykeham.

PLATE II.  
Miscellaneous finds from Wykeham, continued, including some sherds of decorated Anglo-Saxon ware.



paved area a few scraps of Anglo-Saxon plainwares were recovered. No postholes were seen.

#### *Sites 4, 5 & 14*

Fragmentary, presumably overlapping sunken floors. Section: fauna and hearth effects as at Site 1, excepting that the basal gravels were here replaced by 2 ft. of dark, sandy rainwash. The floors were earthen and flat in section and were contained within a 9 ins. thickness of soil studded with potboiler stones, occasional slabs of limestone, the usual faunal spread and a number of Anglo-Saxon potsherds. No indications of plans were recoverable, excepting at Site 4<sup>1</sup> where a circular area of app. 12 ft. diameter was defined by stones and bones. Site 4 yielded a setting of small limestone slabs piled upon one another. This device stood at 6 ft. distance west of the floor and at the level of the floor. The only adequate explanation of its purpose is that it had served to bolster a rotten post.

Site 5 yielded a hearth delineated by small boulders. At a little distance west of the hearth stood a cluster of three small boulders forming perhaps a pot support. Adjacent to the hearth stood a large lump of raw clay and from nearby came some scraps of fused bronze.

*Finds:* Site 4; 11 small sherds of Anglo-Saxon plainwares, a piece of fused bronze and a threadpicker (?) formed of the milk-tooth of Pig. From the surface: a sherd of Romano-British pottery. Site 5; 29 pieces of Anglo-Saxon pottery, of which one bore decoration and another consisted of a perforated lug-handle; four iron nails; fused bronze; iron scoriae; an amber bead; two pieces of bronze sheeting and an unidentified bronze object with zoomorphic decoration (fig. 7, no. 1). Site 14; one piece of plain AS ware and an iron knife.

#### *Site 6*

Fragmentary, sunken floors. Section: between 5 ft. and 10 ft. of quarry spoil resting upon an undisturbed sandy loam that attained a thickness varying between 3 ft. 6 ins. and 4 ft. 6 ins. The junction of the sandy loam and the basal gravels was often marked by a region of darkened sandy loam. In and below the dark layer worked flints, small potsherds of Early Bronze Age type, and potboiler stones were present along with traces of postholes. In this horizon faunal remains were quite absent.

In the overlying deposit, very obviously a rainwash into which the Anglo-Saxons put their hut floor excavations, the basal 18 ins. was taken up by the remains of at least two adjacent and fragmentary floors. They contained a sparse fauna associated with potboiler stones, sherds of Anglo-Saxon wares etc., the material being concentrated more towards the basal 9 ins of the section.

Significant finds were: 136 small sherds of AS plainwares, a small sherd possessing decoration, and the pedestal or foot of a small,

<sup>1</sup> The paved area of Site 4 may have been an aspect of a larger dwelling comprising Sites 4, 5 and 14.



handmade goblet of AS fabric. Restricted to the basal 4 ins. a few sherds of a hard, grey, wheelmade Romano-British fabric were found. These sherds offered comparison with finds from the Roman Signal Station at Scarborough and with finds from the Crambeck kilns (5).

This basal 4 ins., which must in any event be regarded as the bottom of the Anglo-Saxon floor, also yielded the pedestal or foot of a small goblet, wheelmade and of a similar fabric to the Crambeck sherds. A very careful check showed that this basal level was that at which the Anglo-Saxon sherds and associated débris became less frequent. Since no Romano-British floor was ever present it becomes clear that the first fact to be established concerning the Romano-British sherds is that the Anglo-Saxons handled them at Wykeham.

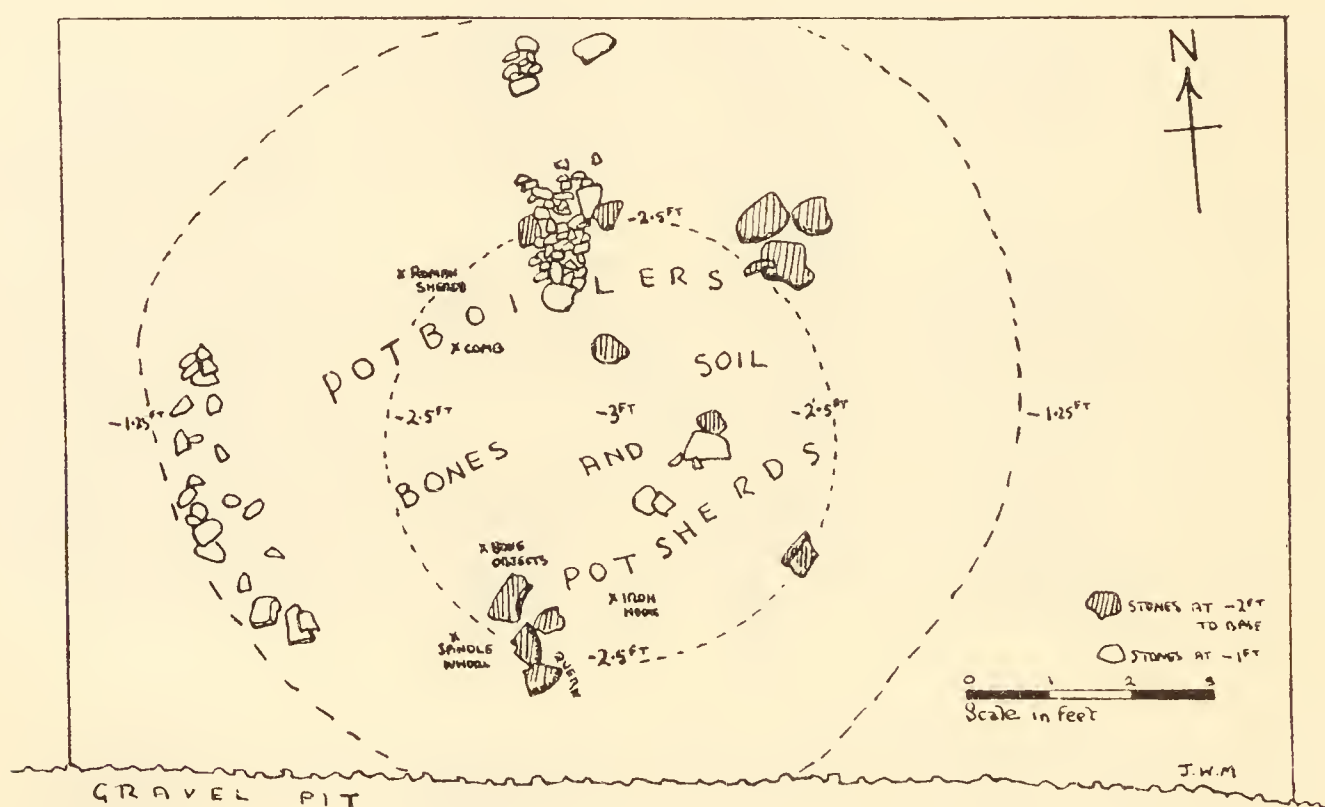


FIG. 3.  
Plan of Site 9.

A piece of the Crambeck ware was also found in the ploughsoil above the archaeological horizon. The occurrence of the goblet pedestals, one handmade, the other wheelmade, at or about the same level in the one floor raises a strong argument in favour of contemporaneity. A large rim of Anglo-Saxon plainware was also recovered from above the archaeological horizon.

Other finds were: a sharpened tine of Stag antler; three glass beads; iron nails, scoriae and fragments; two iron knives; fragments of bronze sheeting; a 'stiletto' or perhaps a 'threadpicker' of bone anciently gnawed by a small rodent.

The half of a large brown glass bead with green glass pattern is recorded separately by D. B. Harden (see Appendix II), and was found in isolation some inches above the Anglo-Saxon floor.

At between 9 ins. and 12 ins. above the Anglo-Saxon horizon I retrieved a number of sherds of coarse and glazed 13th century wares. Additionally I recovered at the same time a large quantity of Mediaeval coarseware sherds, apparently of several large panch-eons, from what appeared to be the base of a rubbish-pit or short trench. At one point the sherds rested upon the potboilers of a short stretch of Anglo-Saxon flooring<sup>1</sup> but the examination of a very large exposure revealed that a rubbish-pit was, in fact, involved; the Mediaeval level being as stated above.

This small patch of Anglo-Saxon flooring was continuous around the westerly side of the Site 6 headland and further Anglo-Saxon finds were made from it. The Mediaeval scatter was seen to resume its position well clear of the Anglo-Saxon level, i.e., at 9 ins. above the highest AS finds. The small patch of flooring recalled the evidence met with at Sites 1, 4, 5 and 14, and was flat-based.

#### *Site 7*

Two adjacent, fragmentary, sunken floors found at the edge of the steep declivity into the long quarry at the east side of the main quarry. They were much penetrated by tree-roots. Section: as for Site 1 with the exception that the floors were deeply concave, being about three feet deep at the centres. Diameters approximately as at Site 10, where very full evidence of this type of floor was recovered. The infillings consisted of soil, an accumulation of domestic meatbones, potboiler stones, and fire-reddened soil or peat ash. No traces of any kind of post supporting stones were seen and the compact nature of the infillings revealed no traces of postholes within the hut-floor.

The floors had been circular in plan. Deep ploughsoil prohibited any possibility of securing post or walling data from the hut-floor perimeters.

*Finds:* 6 sherds of plain Anglo-Saxon wares; two iron knives and an iron object; a fine, rectangular hone of haematite; and two fragments of bronze sheeting. The bulk of the finds came from the northerly of the two floors. One of the plainware sherds possessed a 'squeezed-out', perforated lug-handle.

#### *Site 8 (fig. 2)*

A complete floor. Section: about 18 ins. of sandy soil resting upon a sandy 'pan' formed at the surface of the gravels. The basal 6 ins. of the sandy soil constituted and contained the Anglo-Saxon floor. Potboilers, domestic meatbones and pieces of limestone were present in quantity, the bones consisting of scraps.

The floor plan indicated a dwelling of somewhat oval plan which had possessed a perishable superstructure and a sunken, earthen floor. Traces of baked and raw clay were found in the floor. Postholes were not seen and some cavities that penetrated into the 'pan'

<sup>1</sup> This 'potboiler' floor may have been integral to the whole of Site 6, yielding a floor of 40 ft. length.



were thought to have been the burrows of small rodents or the courses of tree roots since they passed laterally beneath the 'pan'. But large stones and settings of stones were found at spaced intervals along the oval perimeter of the floor. One of the stones appeared to have succumbed to crushing under a heavy weight. Another stone consisted of the broken, upper portion of a rotary quern.

This floor was left open for further study and, later on, it was observed that some unexcavated ground at the S.W. corner of the floor should, in theory, contain further large stones, sufficiently to complete the perimeter arrangement already found. Quite clearly these stones were post supports or were packed as stiffeners around posts which held the wall framework, which may have consisted of wattle and daub. At any rate the hut had been oval in plan and very probably had possessed a curved and sprung framework like the classical example excavated so skilfully at Bourton-On-The-Water (18). It is the sole instance of this type of hut at Wykeham.

*Finds:* 26 sherds of AS plainwares and one decorated sherd; two iron knives; a fragmentary iron snaffle-bit; an iron buckle; a knife tang of iron; iron scoriae; a fragmentary bone comb having an iron rivet; a sharpened tine of Stag antler; and the broken portion of quern.

*Site 9 (fig. 3; plate III)*

A complete floor. Section: 2 ft. of sandy soil which rested upon the glacial gravels, a sandy zone containing much dark shale occupying the junction. The floor proved to be circular in plan and deeply concave in section, its base resting at 3 ft. from the surface. The infilling, approximately 2 ft. in thickness consisted of soil, the very abundant bones and teeth of Horse, Sheep, Oxen, Pig, and some Deer; together with fire-reddened slabs of limestone and other boulders, similarly burned, and of glacial origin.

At the perimeter of the floor some dark patches in the soil (indicated in the photograph by white posts), were thought to have been the remains of a close setting of wall posts; it was, however, observed that these patches were produced by rotten pieces of shale thrown out during the construction of the floor.

The occupation of the deep 'saucered' floor apparently began with the haphazard arrangement of a few large boulders intended to accommodate a cooking fire. Such were the typical but impermanent hearths of Wykeham. The same level possessed a small and crude hearth made from the broken, upper portion of a rotary quern and several boulders. When exposed this setting of fire-reddened stones and peat-ash contained a large, charred meatbone of Ox. This, together with charred bones from the rest of the floor, an abundance of Anglo-Saxon potsherds and the rapidity with which fresh soil appears to have engulfed the remains, suggests at least a culinary mishap or perhaps something of larger note. The damage was, at any rate, not rectified by a re-excavation of the floor, the occupation being resumed without any long delay. It becomes

evident that there was a practice of renewing the floor surface with fresh soil, and that loose soil was available nearby. In no instance did any of the settlers leave behind them a floor that was free of these accumulations.

At various levels of the floor, but generally towards the base, flat pieces of burned clay were met with. In view of the mishap already noted to have occurred this clay may well have come from the superstructure. However, no traces of wattle impressions were seen.

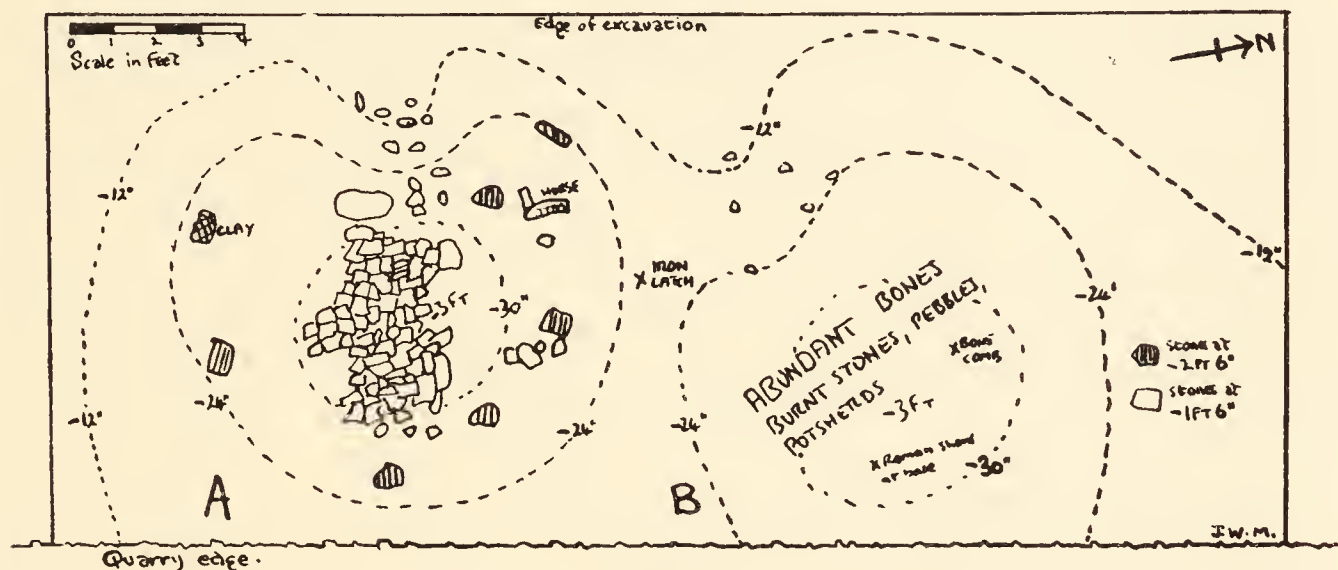


FIG. 4.  
Plan of Site 10.

A structural device encountered was a setting of pebbles, being chiefly potboilers and small pieces of limestone, set closely as to form a paved entrance, or inclined step, of somewhat triangular plan. This inclined towards its apex and from there merged into the floor deposits which, in their latter days, had become much less concave in section.

A consideration of the data of this floor postulates a round, sunken dwelling of 'beehive' shape. The floor debris was confined within the area of a circle prior to the ploughsoil being reached and, as it happens, a portion of the circular perimeter of the floor had been preserved in clear delineation by large stones and pebbles (at the west side). Immediately outside them the floor deposits ended abruptly, hence a more or less vertical wall with an entrance upon the north side is certainly evidenced here.

The duality of the floors at Site 7 and Site 10 made it a proposition that this Site 9 should also provide similar evidence of duality. At a later date, therefore, this was put to the test and another, circular, area of flooring was brought to light a few yards east of Site 9. This floor stood at a slightly higher level and proved to be similar in detail to Site 9, excepting that it had not seen so intensive an occupation. In diameter it was: 3 ft. diameter at 3 ft. depth, 6 ft. diameter at 1 ft. 6 ins. depth. Its final flooring, made of soil, small slabs of limestone, and potboilers, contained a circular area of approximately 8 ft. in diameter. Traces of a small entrance ramp



at the north edge were perceived, and there were the usual indications that cooking fires had been lighted within the hut. Domestic meat-bones were quite plentiful and from the floor deposits came three sherds of a plain, biconical Anglo-Saxon vessel.

The differences to be noted between the pottery from this floor and that of Site 9 proper, argue for the non-contemporaneity of the two floors. Very probably the second floor was representative of a new hut sited near its predecessor.

The Site 9 floor and its easterly partner stood 12 ft. apart, centre to centre, and a line drawn through the two centres was orientated app. NW/SE. There appeared to be no overlapping of the floor deposits, but since they were 'saucered' cavities any overlapping of the deposits would have taken place in what is now the 12 ins. of ploughsoil.

*Finds:* (From Site 9, West); Basal level; 73 sherds of AS plainwares; 3 sherds of decorated wares; a sherd of Crambeck ware and a clean chipping of Samian ware. Middle level; 17 sherds of AS plainwares; 2 sherds of decorated wares. Top level; 9 sherds of AS plainwares and one sherd of decorated ware. Other finds: a fragmentary bone comb; a bone knife-handle with perforation; two iron objects, one being a small hook from the gutted hearth; a fine, biconical spindle-whorl of AS pottery fabric; a sharpened tine of antler and the broken, upper portion of a rotary quern. The spindle-whorl came from the basal level.

#### *Site 10 (fig. 4)*

Two adjacent sunken floors. Section: as at Site 9. Faunal débris in the northerly floor was extremely prolific. The south floor contained only the scantiest traces of domestic activity. Both floors had been instituted by the placing of a few large boulders at the bases. As at Site 9 they had evidently been used to accommodate cooking facilities. In the southerly floor soil comprised the bulk of the infilling until at the top level, a crude paving of limestone slabs had been thrown down.

At the west side of this floor the pavement was observed to be continuous with an inclined entrance path made up of a studding of potboiler pebbles, stones and bones. A large slab of limestone, set at an angle of 25 degrees rested at the conjunction of the path and pavement. At the north side of this floor the rather flat pavement was augmented by several jawbones of Horse.

A large lump, and smaller lumps, of raw clay were seen at several places along the perimeter of the floor. These were assumed to have had some connection with the stemming of the hut wall which, on all the evidence, had been vertical at ground level. Why the floor showed so little evidence of occupation is hard to interpret, but an occupation during the summer, when cooking may have been more commonly practiced outdoors, may be indicated. At any rate there is no question but that the floor continued to be refreshed with





PLATE III.  
View of site 9, looking east.





PLATE IV.  
Post hole arrangements at site 11.



clean soil, but why the latter days of the hut should witness the arrival of the crude paving is not so readily answered.

The northerly of the two floors had very evidently seen the use of the larger bones of domestic animals, particularly the jawbones and crania, as paving material; a common practice at Wykeham. At any rate whoever it was that lived here did not possess very delicate sensibilities. None of the bones was gnawed, as by dogs, and human occupation was clearly indicated.

At the lip between the two floors I found a hand-wrought, L-shaped, iron doorlatch or key to which a fragmentary staple nail was attached by rust. This nail does not appear to have survived; it did, however, pass through a loop from which the latch or key had swung.

Concerning the design of the house, the absence of postholes and the compact nature of the soil infilling made it quite evident that no internal roof supporting devices were employed. Flimsy beehives as at Sites 7 and 9 seem here to be indicated. Finds: (southerly floor); a few plainware sherds. (Northerly floor); 26 sherds of AS plainwares and one decorated sherd. One clean sherd of Crambeck ware from among the basal débris. An iron knife, and the key or latch. A fragmentary bone comb.

*Site 11 (fig. 5; plate IV)*

A fragmentary, sunken floor. Section; about 2 ft. of sandy soil resting upon the sandy upper region of the basal gravels at this point. An examination of the quarry section revealed, firstly, a setting of stones situated about 1 ft. within the quarry face and at about 2 ft. depth from the surface. When fully exposed the stones were found to be those of a packing, or 'stiffener', set around a vertical posthole, the post having been about 6 ins. in diameter (pl. IV)

The packing stones consisted of thin, limestone slabs of various sizes. All showed traces of use elsewhere in connection with the use of fire. Potboiler pebbles helped to wedge the stones more solidly. Further excavation brought to light another posthole of similar design at about 12 ft. distance east of the former.

A careful study of the quarry face showed that beyond the postholes, extending to about 8 ft. at either side, the hutfloor sloped upwards along a slight curve towards the ploughsoil. The floor was seen to be shallow-concave in section. Eventually the sunken floor was developed by excavation and it was seen that only a half of the plan had survived. Potboiler stones and fragments of bone delineated the 'saucering' of the floor and this was seen to have had a diameter of about 28 ft.

The full study of the site showed that the floor had possessed a maximum depth at the centre of about 2 ft. 6 ins., and that the undisturbed perimeter regions rested at 12 ins. under the ploughsoil.

Three additional settings of large stones suggested that further posts were stood upon the circumference of a circle of which the



first finds formed the diameter, but only one of these additional settings formed a cluster of stones suggestive of a posthole or post packing. The remainder were flat slabs of stone that suggested use as the base supports of upright pillars. At three feet distance from the centre of the floor, and at the north side, a fragmentary quern of crude, beehive shape, and hence dissimilar to the flat-based 'doughnut' upper stones frequent in the Wykeham floors, was found resting upon a large slab of limestone. Its pitted surface possibly derives from a greater antiquity or from use as an anvil.

It was noticeable that the semi-circular area enclosed by the post-holes and stones contained the heaviest scatter of bones, potsherds and potboilers. Here, evidently, the bulk of the domestic chores had been performed. The resemblance of this working space to floors already described suggests that 12 ft. of space provided all the requirements of comfort and utility combined with an economy of constructional effort. Nevertheless the hut floor at Site 11 passed beyond the central working space to provide a floor of 28 ft. diameter, or 28 ft. in width, assuming this floor was the byre end of a long dwelling.

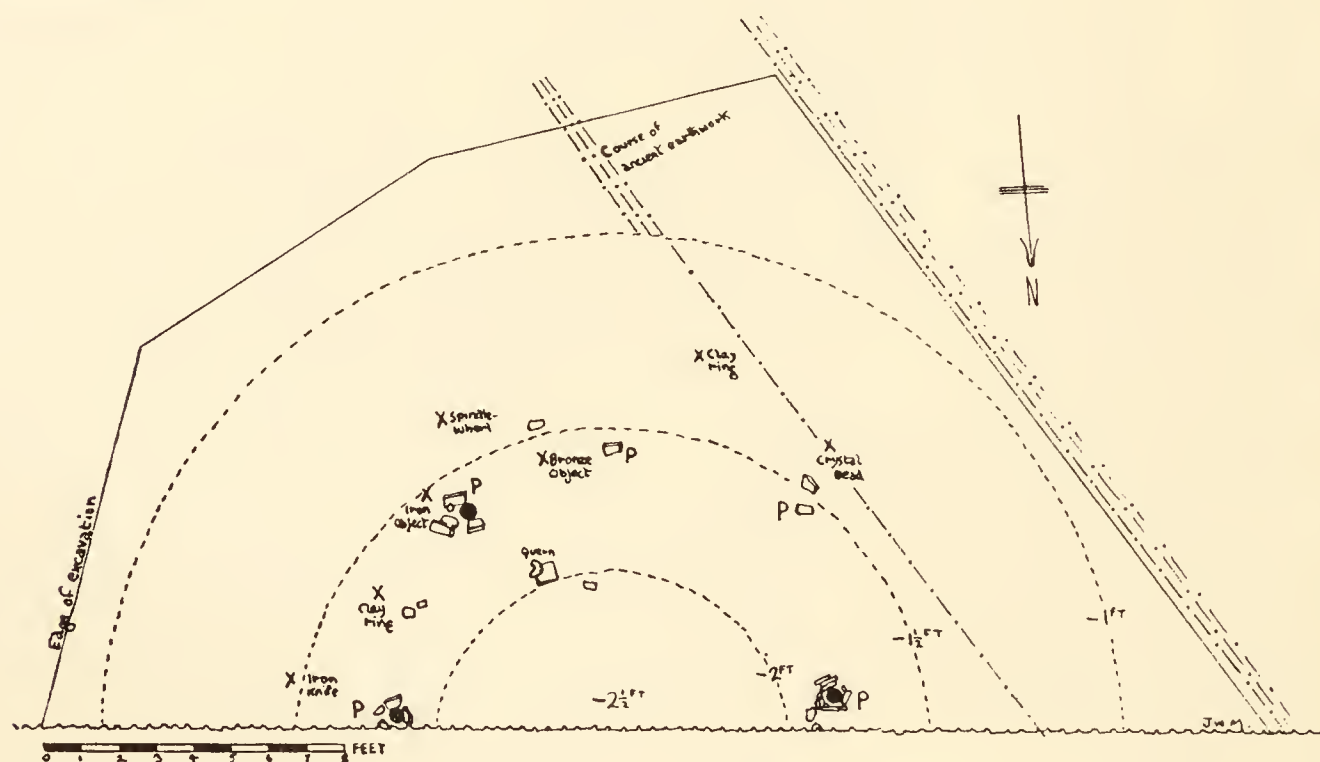


FIG. 5.  
Plan of Site 11.

Elsewhere we have seen that smaller huts were used that were set above deep floor cavities and that these floors terminated at the lip of the cavity. It may well be suggested that these deep cavities were cooking holes set within huts of larger diameter, but I have no evidence that would support this view, there being no apparent disturbances to the soil outside the rims of the deep, concave floors.

The evidence at Site 11 indicates the surviving half of a circular floor, a shallow 'saucer' excavated in order to accommodate a hut whose roof was supported partly upon the ground and partly upon

a few upright pillars forming a spaced, circular arrangement within the hut. In fact, a simple tent-shaped framework which rested above a sunken floor. This arrangement no doubt allowed free movement around the interior and, since there was no central pole, lent an ease of movement in the central working space.

It was observed, for instance, that the inclined roof spars need not all of them be supported upon upright posts within the hut; alternate roof spars need only be supported. It was also noticed that the eaves of the roof, which were placed at the grass level in the reconstruction, were more correctly to be situated within the lip of the floor. At Site 15, proof and an explanation of this, were to be forthcoming.

Baked and raw pieces of clay occurred in the floor infilling and patches of raw clay were seen upon the base of the floor cavity. This material may have had some connection with the rings of baked clay met with here and nearby, but the possibility for its use as wall plaster should always be considered. An unbaked ring of clay and a fragmentary ring of baked clay were found in this floor, these rings are said to be 'loomweights'.

The passage of the mechanical excavator which had been employed to scoop away the overburden capping the commercial deposits had, by all accounts, disturbed some of the Site 11 floor contents and appeared to have redeposited them a little distance beyond the westerly limits of the floor. There I found at the level of the Site 11 floor some Anglo-Saxon potsherds, bones and potboilers together with a piece of Roman flue-tiling and two sherds of Romano-British ware, of which one was shaped as a disc or counter. A satisfactory explanation of this deposit was forthcoming.

The Site 11 hut, it appears, had been sited partly upon undisturbed ground and partly upon the course of an Early Bronze Age trench. This trench traversed the westerly perimeter region of the floor. An excavation into the trench revealed that a basal 18 ins. of it had remained quite undisturbed by the settlers. The undisturbed trench infilling proved to be very sandy and compact. It contained ancient potboilers and pieces of worked flint. Faunal remains were quite absent.

A study of the trench infilling above its basal deposit provided acceptable evidence that the Roman and Teutonic finds had not, after all, been redistributed from Site 11. The cavity of the Bronze Age ditch, in fact, had provided a shallow exposure available for Teutonic exploitation. The economy of labour afforded by such a cavity is self-evident. I found a pickaxe necessary when at the height of summer the soil took on the consistency and stubbornness almost of concrete.

It appears that the Site 11 floor had been excavated at a time when the upper 18 ins. of the trench hereabouts already contained a contemporary Teutonic infilling to within 12 ins. of the surface. At the S.W. region of the floor perimeter I found that the upper infilling



of the trench again revealed an unusual quantity of Teutonic débris among which was another sherd of Roman fabric. Thus outside each end of the arc of the west edge of Site 11 the ditch rubbish was undisturbed.

It was evident that the construction of the floor had resulted in the destruction of the trench infilling within the arc of its perimeter; hence the peculiar disposition of the two deposits and the disturbance between.

The Site 22 excavations consisted of the examination of floors resting immediately south of Site 11. Here, pottery finds were very abundant and further Romano-British scraps came to light. There seems to be no direct proof that the occupants of the adjacent Site 22 floors were responsible for the Bronze Age trench rubbish of Teutonic and Romano-British facies, but at any rate Site 11 succeeded the deposition; and there is evidence that Site 11 was not of the primary stages of the Teutonic settlement.

What does seem certain is that the trench rubbish was the product of the Site 9 period, however brief the gap may have been chronologically, since a decorated sherd from the middle of the Site 22 deposits (very atypical there and probably related to the course of the Bronze Age ditch) is almost certainly a fragment of a vessel which was broken in Site 9. Compare sherds fig. 9, nos. 11 & 12 from Site 9 with no. 16 from Site 22.

It is to be noted that the two well-defined postholes of Site 11 recall features more suggestive of a rectangular Anglo-Saxon dwelling. The cavity of Site 11 should therefore have indicated something of the sort had such a hut been sited there. On the contrary the saucering of the floor cavity and the surviving semi-circle of the working space did not support this hypothesis.

*Finds:* 40 sherds of AS plainwares; a spherical, perforated bead of quartzite; a spindle-whorl of bone; a fragmentary ring of baked clay, much fire-reddened, and an unbaked lump of clay with a perforation; two iron objects, one being a knife; a cruciform object of bronze, probably part of a balance: this was found inserted vertically in the floor deposits; a sherd of a plainware biconical vessel and a stamp-impressed sherd. The ditch finds comprised: one 'buckelurnen' sherd with stamp impressions; a sherd annularly grooved and stamp impressed, from a biconical vessel; also a similar fragment to the last; and three sherds of RB ware, one being a counter; and also a piece of RB tile.

### *Site 12*

A fragmentary, sunken floor. Section: 18 ins. of sandy soil resting upon the basal gravels. Here a circular cavity had been sunk to 3 ft. 6 ins. depth to provide a dwelling floor. The infilling consisted of an accumulation of bones, potboiler pebbles, soil and some fire-reddened limestones. Reddened soil and charred domestic meat-bones were also present.

The floor at its final level before abandonment had become almost flat, being a shallow basin whose plan was circular and of 12 ft. diameter at approximately 12 ins. below the grass level. No post-holes were seen in the floor, the basal gravels not being disturbed by any small pittings. The dark, compact nature of the floor infilling and the small size of the floor suggested that no internal posts were employed.

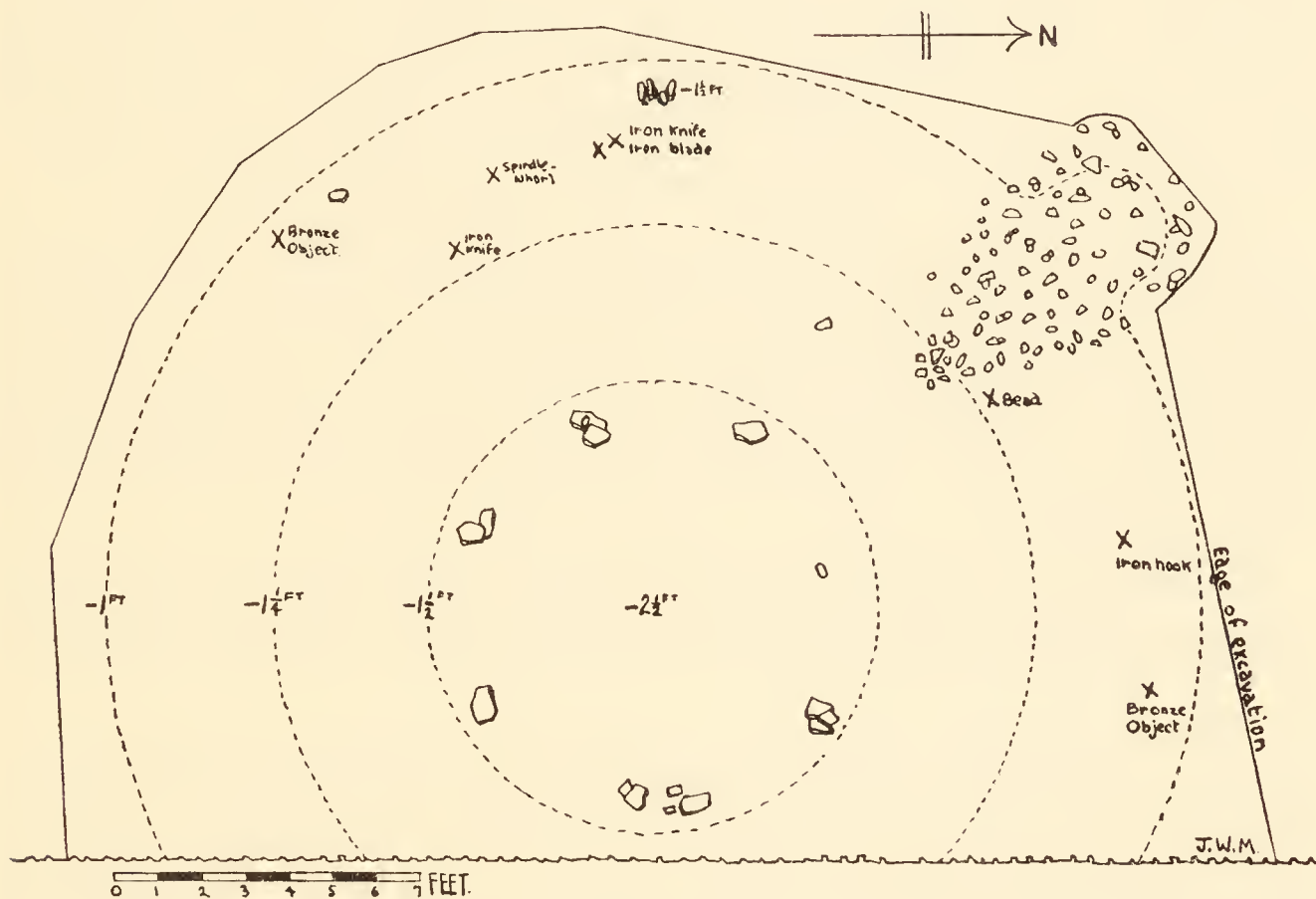


FIG. 6.  
Plan of Site 15.

A ramp of soil interrupted the circular plan of the floor as at Sites 9 and 10; this led from the north side into the final flooring. From the basal region of the floor deposits the domestic finds yielded a clean and unabraded sherd of Crambeck ware. Other finds: 32 sherds of AS plainwares; 5 fragments of a decorated AS vessel from the 'middle' level; 1 fragment of decorated AS ware from the 'top' level. The floor had been somewhat disturbed at the quarry edge by the passage of the mechanical excavator.

#### *Sites 13 and 23*

Exploratory trenches brought to light at these two places the sparse deposits of sunken flooring resting at 2 ft. depth. A few potsherds were retrieved in both cases and Site 13 also provided a small, fragmentary pebbled entrance ramp. No further information was gleaned, it being thought inadvisable to continue excavation where the occupation had left no useful guides to follow, such as reasonably large quantities of bones or stones as in other floors. Being sites of presumably temporary occupation it is here that one



glimpses the whole difficulty of the identification of earthen structures of this type, and in this kind of soil.

*Site 15 (fig. 6; plate V)*

A complete, sunken floor. Section: about 18 ins. of sandy loam resting upon the basal gravels, a dark sandy layer intervening. A study of the quarry exposure at this place had revealed a sparse scatter of potboiler stones and domestic bones. When further explored the quarry section was found to contain a number of limestone slabs at a position somewhat central to the horizontal scatter of bones and pebbles, and the slabs were situated at a distance of about 2 ft. into the face of the soil-section. Some of the floor had, it was seen, suffered destruction by the commercial operations.

Ultimately, as the exposure of the site progressed, a setting of spaced stones laid along the circumference of a circle of 9 ft. diameter was revealed. This circular alignment of flat stones and the area it contained were quite free of postholes. Six of these support stones were present, with traces of a seventh. The stones rested upon the dark sandy substratum which had nowhere been penetrated by small pittings.

All the floors, as here at Site 15, were explored in depth when dismantling them at the close of the excavations. No further evidence resulted from this work.

The post-support stones demarcated a circular area which was slightly more concave than the area of ground outside them. At the centre there rested an accumulation of domestic bones<sup>1</sup> and from the undisturbed features of this deposit it was possible to deduce that no centre post had been set up at this point. Here and there a few sherds of Anglo-Saxon wares were retrieved.

It was now felt advisable to follow along the 'saucering' of the rest of the floor in order to study the outcome. Now consider: Site 11 consisted of a circular floor of app. 28 ft. dia.; would it not therefore be advisable, at Site 15, to cut a boundary in the turf at a radius of 14 ft. from the centre of the ring of post-support stones? This would surely provide an opportunity for the predicted boundary of the floor to prove itself? One must always recall that any exploratory trench put unwittingly into the ground of some of the Wykeham floors would almost certainly have provoked the comment that no archaeological evidence existed thereat. Anglo-Saxon floors, it seems, return rapidly to the natural state of the parent soil and are best preserved where the floor cavities were cut into clean gravel.<sup>2</sup>

At any rate the predicted boundary of Site 15 had its success, and the results of this exploration were very heartening indeed. It is experiences of this kind that repay the field worker for many months

<sup>1</sup> Were the bones a votive offering and the stones supports for a related structure?

<sup>2</sup> The margin of error in this kind of soil still permits the hut's plan to have been oval.

of arduous labour. The removal of the turf and the surface soil brought to view a pebbled entrance of triangular plan at the north edge of the predicted boundary. It led inwards and downwards, the apex being directed towards the centre of the hut floor. In addition to this evidence certain material finds from the same perimeter fell, when plotted, roughly upon the arc of a circle.

It would appear that if one lived in a sunken dwelling of the conical roof type, there would exist at its perimeter, or eaves, an inaccessible recess formed by the eaves and the ground. Hence would arise at least one satisfactory postulate, for any losses of material in this recess must inevitably delineate the hut margins.

The perimeter finds were: at the north edge, a broken brooch of bronze, of pennanular form and recalling a common Romano-British type; a little to the north-west of the brooch came an iron hook and another iron object; at the north-west by the paved entrance came a blue glass bead. At the west side an iron knife and a tanged iron blade, or strike-a-light, came to light. The latter object possesses a blunt, convex end marked by small, longitudinal cuts on each face. It was coated with a hard, chalky material which after removal by means of chemicals revealed the iron in an excellent state of preservation. The qualities of tannic acid as a preservative against rusting suggest that this object may have been encased in leather, perhaps being greased as well.

At 2 ft. distance towards the south a bone spindlewhorl was retrieved and not far from this came another iron knife. At the S.W. edge of the floor perimeter I extracted a bronze object that is best identified as a plain, decorative plate from a leather belt. Other finds were: 18 pieces of AS plainware from the floor generally. From the 'middle' level of the floor came a sherd of Romano-British pottery, and from the 'top' level came two further pieces.

Three small limestone slabs, each approximately 6 ins.  $\times$  6 ins., had been placed upon edge in the subsoil at the inner lip of the floor, but a small space had been left between two of the slabs. A fourth slab had been placed in between the gap and the top edge of this stone rested at an angle of 45 degrees with the ground, the angle of inclination running down between the two outer stones.

If a pole was rested between the two aligned stones, and was allowed to rest upon the inclined stone, then such a pole would incline at 45 – 50 degrees from the rim of the floor upwards to a point above the centre of the dwelling.

The evidence indicated that the inclined roof spars had been jammed inside the lip.

The stones had evidently been inserted in order to correct the misalignment of an inclined roof spar.

At a later date during the excavations I did further work at the perimeter of Site 15 and found that the pebbled entrance path passed beyond the circular plan of the dwelling for a short distance.



It seems very possible that once the roof had been erected and covered, that earth was heaped against the outer eaves. This may explain the rapid infilling of the floors subsequently to their abandonment. But the later mediaeval folk were, in this part of Yorkshire, indefatigable hole fillers and levellers.

### *Site 16*

A pit for storing water. Section: about 18 ins. of sandy soil passing downwards into a dark sandy rainwash containing shale particles. At frequent intervals during the excavation of the Wykeham site numerous small trenches were sunk in the hope of locating additional floors. One of these trenches, situated to the west of Site 15, yielded pieces of fire-reddened limestone at the base of the ploughsoil. This site was developed and a core of débris was exposed consisting of clay, domestic bones and many small slabs of limestone.

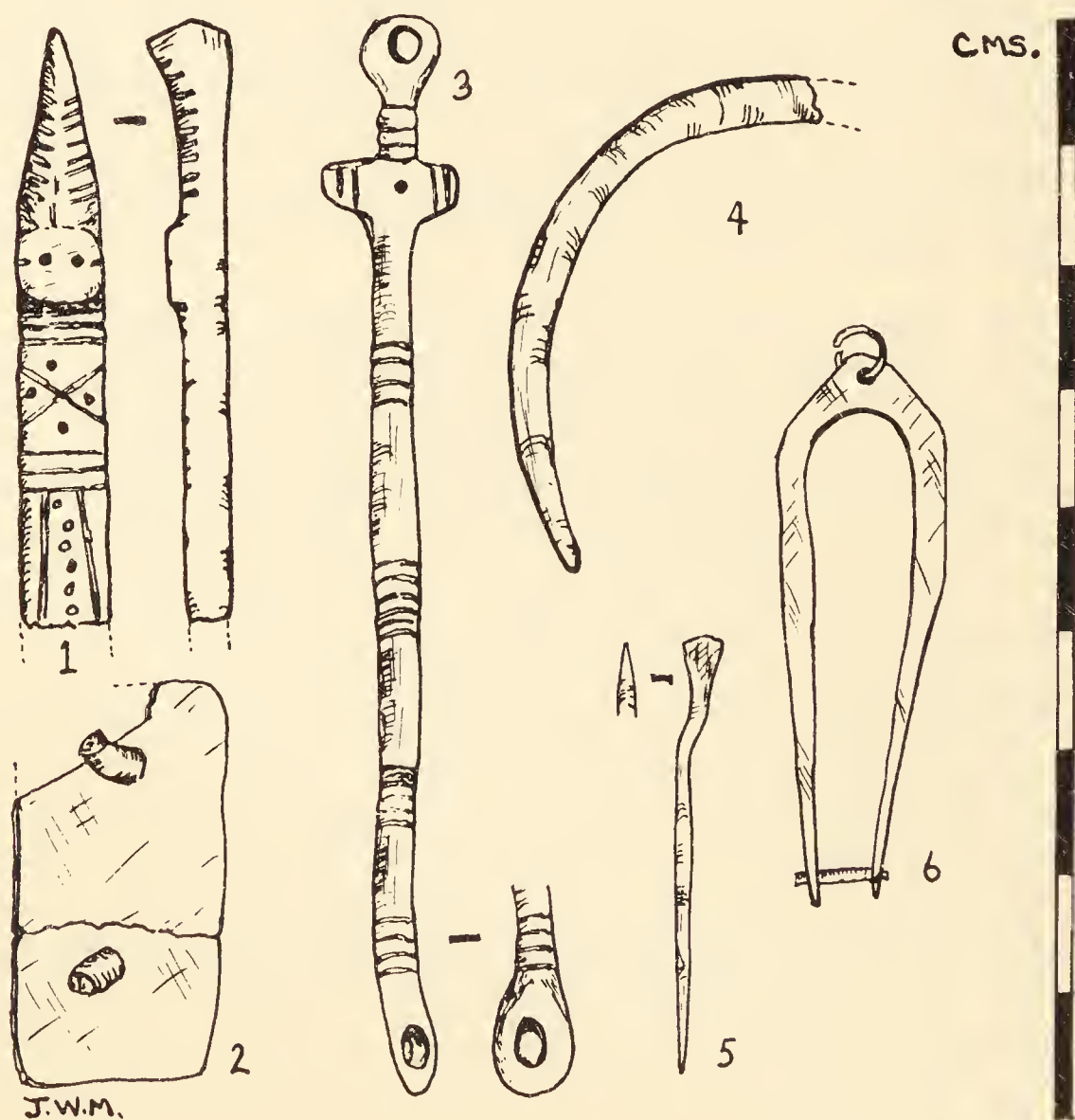


FIG. 7.  
Bronze objects from Wykeham.

No articles were recovered from the infilling of the waterholder, but at the top of the infilling, at the south side, the circular plan of the pit was broken by a wide and shallow approach. Here were





PLATE V.  
View of site 15, looking north-east.





PLATE VI.

View of site 22, looking north. Note the Bronze Age ditch exposed at site 17 along the quarry edge.



found a few plain potsherds of Anglo-Saxon ware together with a blue glass bead. The pit attained a depth of just over 4 ft., possessing vertical sides excepting at the approach, and was concave at its base.

A remarkable feature of the infilling was the abundance of clay which lined the base of the pit and which was seen at various levels above the base. Small, limestone slabs rested in the clay in such a manner that they produced the profile of a small basin. At various levels the same process had been repeated: always the outer slabs inclined downwards and inwards to produce, with clay, a lining of water-tight qualities.

The central region of the waterholder contained bones, stones and soil. It was evident that the waterholder had become progressively shallower due to accumulations and repairs. The effects of fire that were visible upon many of the stones in no way suggested a use for the pit different from that of storing water. Some of the clay revealed similar reddening, but it was noticed that some of it had taken up quantities of the friable, red powder of the burned limestones; hence the discolouration of the clay arose from the secondary employment of the limestones.

One or two of the limestones were reddened throughout, being reduced to a friable consistency although the clay in which they were embedded remained in the raw state. I should add that the limestones all contained the usual small fossils of the local Oolitic Limestone.

That a waterholder of this type was found a necessity at the settlement gave cause for some speculation. After some thought I came to the conclusion that the device had evidently been more than one of convenience since the available water supplies required only a small effort to be reached. In Norway and Sweden, hill-forts, of 400 – 600 A.D., often contained small reservoirs. (6)

The infilling of the Wykeham waterholder was exposed as a core to enable it and its surrounds to be studied in a fresh and moist condition. The dismantling of the core revealed a small pipe of soil passing through the infilling from about half-way down. At the base of this pipe rested the skull of a Sheep. The pipe was regarded as being the product of scooping out water at a time when the pit was in need of replenishment. The standards of hygiene at the waterholder reflected those of the domestic floors. That a post may have stood in the position indicated by the pipe seems ruled out by the possibilities of leakage such a post would infer.

### *Site 17*

A fragmentary floor over, and partly within, an Early Bronze Age ditch. Section: about 18 ins. of sandy soil resting upon the basal gravels. This scrap of flooring was in the form of a concavity recalling those at Sites 7, 9, 10 and 12. It contained potboiler stones, domestic bones and a few sherds of Anglo-Saxon plainwares, including some of a vessel with a moulded footring.



The surviving portion of a U-shaped ditch lay underneath this floor. After dismantling the floor I examined the ditch. At first appearance its orientation ran NW/SE, suggesting that another section of it should be exposed in the south face of the quarry. The latter section was duly located, but it was evident that the trench could not run in a straight line. An intermediate section was therefore sought along the quarry face in the vicinity of Site 11. The position of this third section of the ditch indicated that the course of the ditch was an arc sealing off the south-westerly extremities of the Wykeham ridge.

The Site 17 exposure of the trench (see top of plate VI) provided a lower 18 ins. of compact, sandy rainwash containing ancient pot-boiler stones. The basal 6 ins. of the section was archaeologically sterile.

In the capping 18 ins. of soil, the lower 12 ins. was taken up by material of the Anglo-Saxon settlement. Finds from this fragmentary floor were: 15 sherds of AS plainwares, of which several related to a pot with moulded base; an iron hook; an iron nail; and the suspension of a small, bronze balance. Beyond a short distance westwards all indications of the floor deposits were absent in the trench infilling.

#### *Site 18*

A fragmentary floor of which only a very small portion had survived the commercial operations. Bones, potboilers and sherds of AS plainwares were present. At about 6 ft. distance to the north the quarry section yielded an isolated slab of limestone tilted at an angle. The rest of the deposit gone in quarrying.

#### *Site 19*

Traces of a flooring similar to those at Sites 4, 5 and 14. It contained an abundance of potboiler stones, a slab of limestone and one potsherd of plain Anglo-Saxon ware. No further study of the floor was made due to the impending cessation of the excavations.

#### *Site 20*

At a depth of 2 ft. an isolated, rectangular pavement of small pebbles came to light. The paving, orientated E/W, measured  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ft. wide by 5 ft. in length and appeared to have been packed at one time in clay and then to have been subjected to heating. At the west end of the pavement a setting of stones was met with, that presumably supported a post. Two pieces of Anglo-Saxon decorated pottery were retrieved at the level of the pavement and at a distance of 3 ft. to the west. They were found in a dark sandy soil that lacked any of the usual indications of intensive domestic activities.

It is possible that here stood a hut whose occupation had been extremely brief. Alternatively the pebbled platform, on account of its regular features, may have been the site of some specialised task, e.g., a rotary spit.



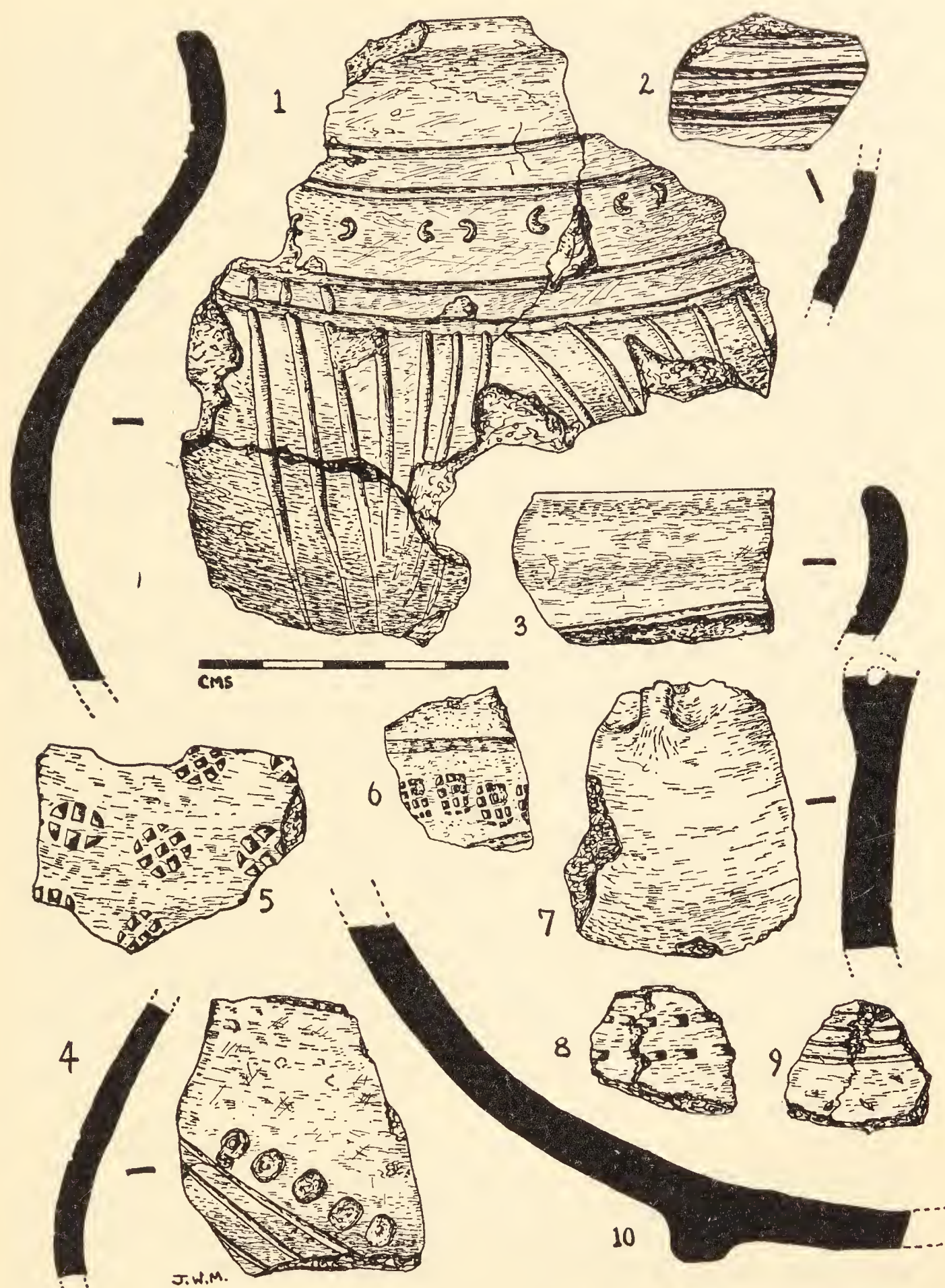


FIG. 8.

Sherds of decorated Anglo-Saxon wares from Wykeham.

### Site 21

Traces of another Bronze Age ditch were found here beneath a shallow, Anglo-Saxon floor of quite indeterminate character. This floor yielded a few sherds of Anglo-Saxon plainwares and a scrap of Samian ware.



*Sites 22 (plate VI)*

Fragmentary, overlapping floors. Section: about 2 ft. of sandy loam which rested partly upon the sandy upper surface of the commercial gravels, and partly upon the course of the curvilinear Bronze Age ditch. The undisturbed filling of the ditch consisted of 18 ins. depth of clean, compact sandy rainwash. The latter was free of faunal remains, and contained only potboilers of the period and worked flints.

Since two instances (Sites 11 and 17) of huts having been erected within the surviving exposure of the curvilinear ditch are known at this settlement, it is not surprising that other examples occurred. The settlers evidently noticed the old earthworks and took advantage of the economies in labour afforded by their cavities. The ditch appears to have possessed an exposure of 18 ins. depth at the time of the Teutonic settling, but any hint of the one time existence of a banking along the edge of the ditch has long since been erased by mediaeval and later ploughing.

Site 22 was found when an exploratory trench was taken into the ground between Site 11 and the quarry edge at the south. Traces of a pebbled entrance path were seen and when fully exposed it was found to consist of a compact pebbled area of triangular shape, its apex being orientated downwards and in a westerly direction. It duplicated the conditions of the entrance path met with at Site 15.

Some potsherds of Anglo-Saxon plainwares came from interstices in the pavement, but it was otherwise very compact being composed of potboiler pebbles and some other stones, all set in clay. The pavement appeared to have been heated by fire.

An area approximately 25 ft. by 12 ft., was opened along a N/S axis and further stones and other débris of a domestic floor were revealed. Despite the very great abundance of Anglo-Saxon plainwares and a moderate scattering of domestic bones, the site did not respond to excavation so far as determining its plan and the method of roofing the dwelling. At any rate the evidence hinted strongly at a floor of the Site 15 type.

About this time personal affairs dictated that the general excavations be brought to a close. This particular floor was therefore dismantled, part of the course of the Bronze Age ditch was examined, and the excavated soil returned to the cavity. However, since the floor deposits appeared to pass northwards towards Site 11 another excavation was performed here in order to examine the relationship between Site 11 and the southerly part of Site 22: in brief, to examine the intervening ground.

This work brought to light a floor very heavily paved with slabs of limestone. Many interesting features were present and the floor could more wisely have been studied over a period of months. However, circumstances did not permit such a study. A satisfactory impression of the deposit was nevertheless obtained.



It was observed that had the heavy pavement of this northern part of Site 22 been intact, and it was very nearly complete, it would have been of circular plan and of a diameter around 13 ft. The indication of circularity was provided by the pavement and also by the soil section at the NE corner of the excavation where the floor ended at a curved bench, reproducing the profile of a saucer.

A small bronze toilet pick was found at the bench, so again the perimeter of a hutfloor had offered evidence of losses at the eaves of a dwelling. It is possible that at Site 22 other finds remain to be made, but the soil conditions are very frustrating.

The earthen floor beneath the pavement was shallow-concave in section. At the west edge of the pavement a very satisfactory post-hole was present. This consisted as a vertical pipe of soil, free of pebbles and approximately 6 ins. in diameter. Around the posthole small slabs of limestone had been arranged against each other as one would lay roof-tiles. The post had evidently preceded the construction of the flooring in period of time.

The whole site, in every likelihood, consisted of the remains of two, perhaps three, overlapping floors; and while one post does not make a hut the position of the posthole at a short distance inside the edge of the pavement does suggest that the hut type was here of the Site 15 or Site 11 pattern. The roof would have covered a floor of about 25 ft. diameter at the most, hence it appears that the huts of Site 11 and Site 22 could not have existed contemporaneously.

As to the relative dating of the floors I think that it can be inferred that not a great passage of time separated the occupations. Both Sites 22 and 11 possessed features in common. How, then, had they occurred in point of time? I think that the northerly, paved floor of Site 22 provides a useful clue in aid of this problem. This floor had clearly been robbed of some of its stones at a time when they were accessible for that object. Since, upon archaeological grounds, the floors of Sites 22 and 11 were relatively contemporary, it seems to be certain that the slabs were utilised by the occupants of Site 11; especially on account of the evidence at the latter site of the utilisation of limestones that had already seen service elsewhere in the settlement.

The order of succession would appear to have started with Site 22 (South), since this was free of any large slabs of stone; then the northerly, paved floor of Site 22 was constructed; and finally Site 11: but none stood contemporaneously with the others, the movement occurring perhaps through the need of abandoning a dwelling in favour of a fresh structure set adjacently to the old. This is a feature for which there is other supporting evidence from Wykeham, as at Sites 7, 9 and 10; in fact, a kind of traditional practice is indicated. The movement along the course of the Bronze Age ditch, indicated by Sites 11, 17 and 22, gives logical aid to this hypothesis.

*Finds:* (Basal); 1 fragment of flue tiling, Roman, 34 sherds of Anglo-Saxon plainwares, all quite large; one iron object and frag-



mentary baked clay rings. (Middle level); 119 sherds of AS plainwares, all quite large; 2 decorated AS sherds; one tile fragment; a bronze toilet pick; fragments of bronze; 2 amber beads; one blue glass bead; 9 iron objects; fragmentary baked clay rings; a broken upper stone of a rotary quern (used as a paving stone); and an 'attached' handle of AS plainware. (Top level); 2 iron objects; one sherd of Crambeck ware; 43 sherds of AS plainwares; 3 sherds of AS decorated wares and a fragmentary 'attached' handle of plainware.

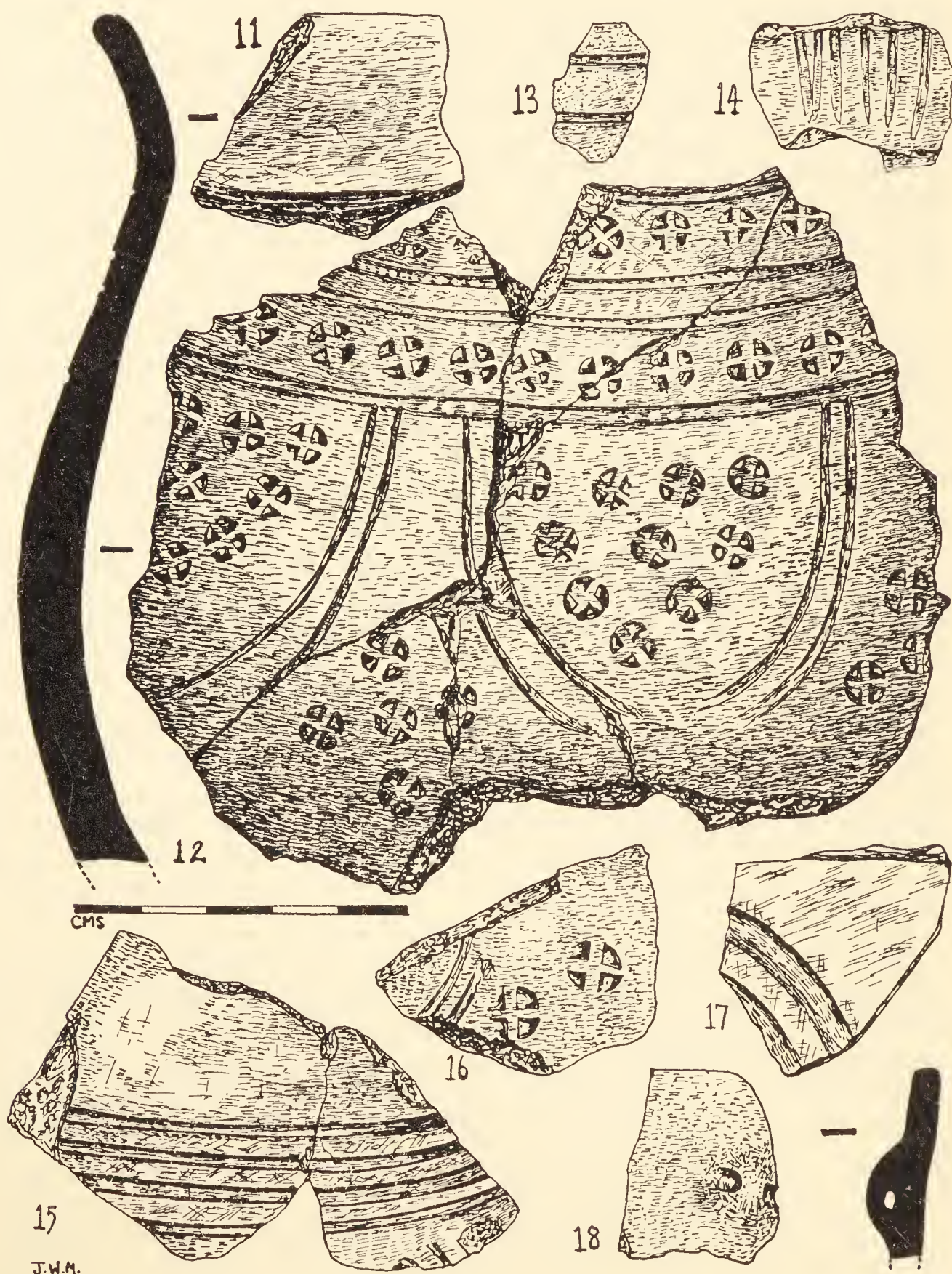


FIG. 9.

Sherds of decorated Anglo-Saxon wares from Wykeham, continued.







PLATE VII.  
View of site 22, looking south.



As the plates (VI and VII) of Site 22 are unaccompanied by any plan and section drawings, some additional descriptive data are as follows: Site 22 should be considered as providing examples of two dwellings of the Site 11 and 15 type.

Plate VII (looking south) is of the Site 22 excavation. In the background of the plate can be seen the triangular entrance paving; notice that the paving begins at the shallowest region of the floor, i.e. the east side of the excavation passes through the perimeter region of the floor. It was observed that at the SW corner of the excavation the floor deposits again began to rise from the concavity, giving an indication of the true size of the floor. The westerly side of the excavation, however, was not developed.

In the foreground of plate VII the height of the monoliths exaggerates the depth of the floor deposits which, in fact, terminated about 4 ins. above the sandy exposure at the base of the monoliths. Behind the ranging pole, another pole indicates the location of the southerly quarry exposure of the Bronze Age ditch.

The crude paving of Site 22 recalls that of some moorland byres and stables of present times. A Romano-British floor exactly like this was excavated at Crossgates, Seamer, barely a few miles to the east of Wykeham (17).

### *Part III. Discussion: The hut floors and pottery finds.*

It would seem acceptable that an examination of the remains of the settlement, in aid of securing the vital historical data, need only take account of the factors of:—

- A. The occurrence of a variety of sunken floors.
- B. The presence of Late 4th century Romano-British potsherds.
- C. The occurrence of plain and decorated Anglo-Saxon wares.

Regarding A it is amply demonstrated that despite the partial destruction of the Wykeham site by the commercial operations, intact evidences of settlement were sufficiently preserved as to infer the erection of three distinctive forms of hutments and a fourth type whose form was not resolved by excavation, as:—

(a) Sunken floors of small dimensions (sites 7, 9, 10, 12); deeply concave in section and circular in plan. Postholes or any other indications of internal roof-supports were totally lacking, the nature of the floor deposits and their abrupt terminations indicating that their walls started vertically; the walls providing the sole support for whatever form of roof was fitted. The occurrence of raw clay in the floors, particularly the large lumps found in Site 10, suggests that clay was employed as a plaster.

Sites 9, 10, 12 provided evidence that entrances to the huts took the form of a small ramp of soil studded with bones and stones. Hearths were crude and of a sporadic character. The floors were generally earthen, but were also stiffened by the use of bones, pebbles and stones. Entrances were at the north, west and north respectively.



Sites 7, 9, 10 yielded examples of 'twin' floors. These were felt to have been produced from the resiting of a new dwelling adjacent to the site of its predecessor. Had the two floors provided the compartments of a single dwelling there would have been little need of the individual entrance ramps as at Site 10.

It is possible that the quarry at one time held as many as three and four floors so crowded together as to give the impression that they had existed contemporaneously. Again, for example, had the two floors of Site 10 formed the floor of a single dwelling whose roof was supported upon a ridge pole, then surely there would have been a single, oval floor cavity. Some examples of oval dwellings are quoted by Erixon (7). At Site 9, for instance, the two floors were not at the same level.

At Sites 9 and 10 the evidence pointed to the erection of circular huts of approximately 12 ft. in diameter, but in view of the depth of the ploughsoil perhaps the diameter could be increased by another 12 ins. or so. For the walls of the huts a light framework giving a beehive shape seems to be indicated.

While it appears that small, circular dwellings have been encountered here for the first time in an Anglo-Saxon context, the form of the hut was one very popular in earlier periods. But in the special circumstances of Wykeham, where the huts of this class have to be assigned to the Anglo-Saxons, there seems to be little alternative but to draw parallels with the Teutonic hutments portrayed upon the Column of Marcus Aurelius, as well as to the Gaulish houses shown on the Antonine Column (8).

But the most valid parallel is to be found in the local Romano-British types. At Sherburn, across the Vale of Pickering from Wykeham, I have seen the traces of small circular hovels of late-4th century date. The plough had already cut into these deposits, and their observation and study rested with other workers. Similarly, at Caythorpe, deep ploughing has destroyed a late-4th century Romano-British village. The field, then only recently deep-ploughed, yielded ample evidence of small, circular hovels. It is surely in this context that one must seek parallels for the hovels of Class (a) at Wykeham.

That huts of this type should have been erected at Wykeham when much of the cultural evidence points to the popularity of small, rectangular hovels merely accentuates the interest of the problems posed by the Dark Ages. These hovels cannot be regarded as farms since it is well known that throughout Europe and the critical regions of Scandinavia (9), the farming peoples of the 'Adventus Saxonum' period were perfectly accustomed to the building of farmhouses devised upon adequate principles of husbandry and of architecture.

This proposition is readily seen in the case of Ezinge (10) where some large and very attractive Frisian farmhouses were gutted by Anglo-Saxons and were then replaced by the small hovels of the latter. In



England the same rectangular hovels reappear at Sutton Courtenay (11) and Waterbeach (12), but they are not farmhouses.

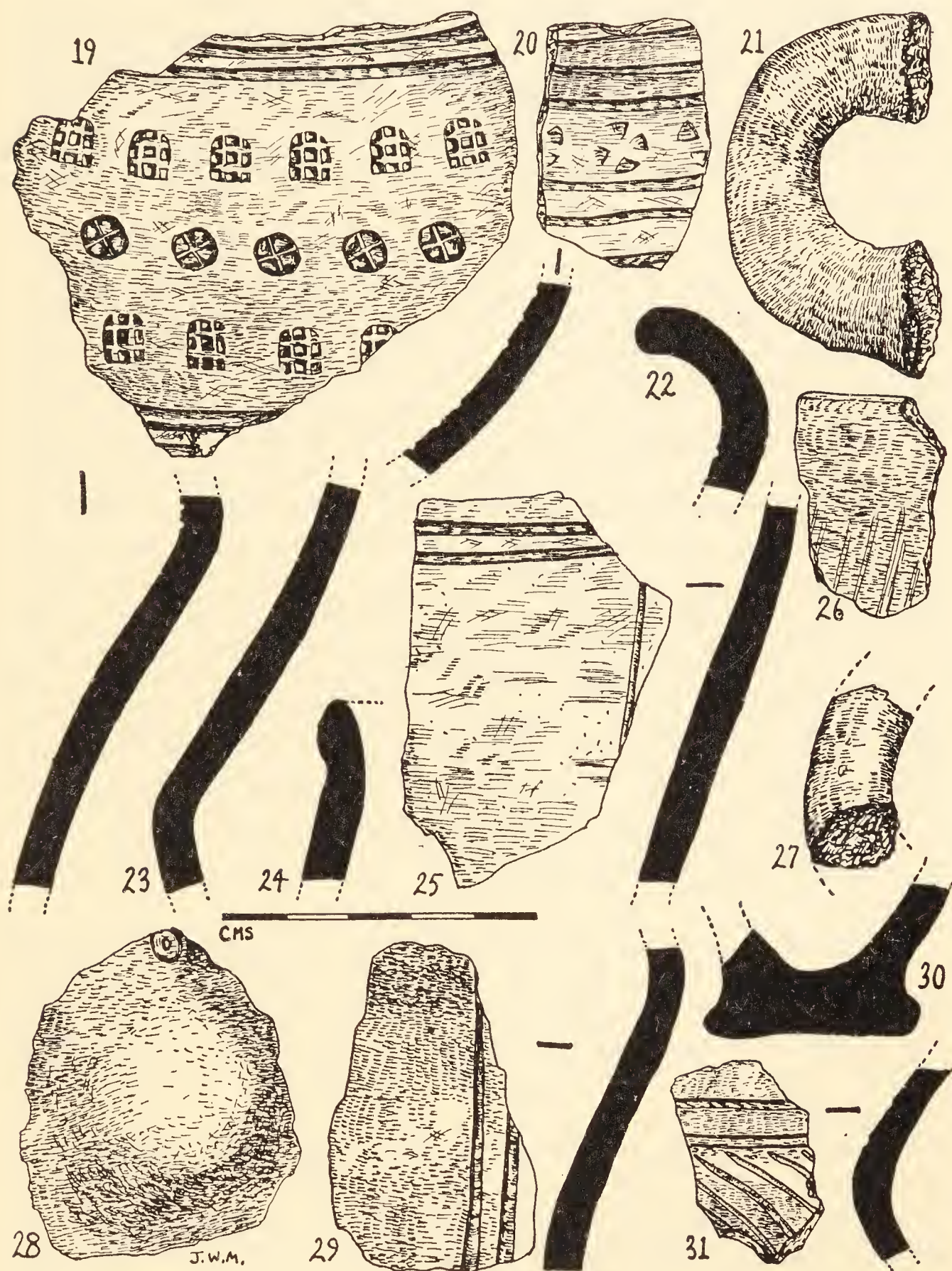


FIG. 10.

Sherds of decorated Anglo-Saxon wares from Wykeham, concluded.

It may be agreed, I think, that the pattern of the English village system developed very largely from a rash of isolated homesteads which sprang up with increasing vigour as the Teutonic conquest



proceeded. Such must be the inference of the numerous early place-names which would otherwise argue for a population out of all proportion to the facts.

Hence may be inferred the reason why no true English farmhouse of the primary era has yet come to light, although there should be the traces of at least one such farmhouse beneath any village whose name is chronologically appropriate. So Walton (13), therefore, does not take a liberty in assuming that from the earliest part of the 6th century the primary English farmhouse was constructed along customary lines.

(b) Sunken floors (sites 11, 15, the site 22 floors, and perhaps also the easterly portion of site 6); all of much larger dimensions than the huts of Class (a), i.e., 25 ft.-28 ft. in diameter. Circular in part and shallow-concave in section. Pebbled entrances were indicated at Sites 15 and 22. Ample evidence of the support of the roofs by means of internal settings of upright pillars set in postholes (sites 11 and 22), or upon flat stones (site 15); the pillars being spaced along the circumference of a circular area situated centrally to the floor cavity. No central posts were employed anywhere at Wykeham.

Experimental rebuilding (site 11) demonstrated that the internal ring of pillars could only support a sloping roof whose eaves rested at ground level. At Site 15 a setting of stones at the edge of the dwelling floor, upon the W. side, indicated that the roof spars were, in fact, seated below the grass level, being jammed inside the lip of the sunken floor; the roof spars inclining upwards at an angle of around 45 – 50 degrees. The Site 11 reconstruction suggested that only alternate roof spars need be supported upon pillars. There does not seem to be any possibility that the huts were constructed after the pattern of the steadings on the Roman *campagna* (7). But this hut tradition at Wykeham is a very old one (14) and is still extant.

The advantages to be gained from seating the sloping roof within a circular cavity in the ground were no doubt those of warmth. The reduction of draughts would also eliminate a fire hazard. Nevertheless the chief object in jamming the eaves below ground level was, as I discovered for myself, to give greater rigidity to the whole structure.

The weight of the roof tended to depress the upright pillars into the ground. This defect was overcome (entirely at site 15; partly at site 11), by seating the pillars upon large stones; and since the practice was not universally applied it must be assumed that, at any time, a pillar would be lifted upon a flat stone to regain height lost by the removal of rotten wood at its base. Such may be the significance of flat stones recorded from other excavations (15).

Added interest to this subject is offered by House 1, Caerau, Clynnog, Caernarvonshire (16) for its employment of internal pillars to support the roof, and for the indication that at least one of the pillars stood upon a flat stone.

At any rate a sunken dwelling (the excavator does not, in fact, specify the nature of the dwelling) can be recorded from near Wykeham, and in a late Romano-British context (17). The arrangement of this dwelling floor duplicates the evidence met with at the north end of Site 22. So here again a hut-floor at Wykeham has its best counterpart from the local Romano-British styles. There is, in fact, some evidence at Seamer to suggest that the site was not entirely without Anglo-Saxon connections, this point being raised again in the foregoing. Nevertheless, I rather feel that Site 22 concerns a farmhouse, appr. 40 ft. long, having rounded ends, an internal aisle of pillars, and a paved byre.

(c) A sunken floor (site 8), flat-based in section and oval in plan. An earthen floor was augmented by bones and stones, and packings of stones were employed to secure the pillars of the wall framework. While it seems that the pillars stood in an upright position it may also be pointed out that the purpose of the stones set within the lip of the floor could well have been to support a heavy, sprung framework set upon a curve. Clay found upon the floor and in the floor accumulations may indicate the use of this material for wall plaster. The similarity of this hut with the classic example excavated at Bourton (18) is to be noted.

(d) Sunken floors (sites 1, 2, 4, 5, 14) of indeterminate plans due to much overlapping and other disturbances. The terminal period of settlement must surely be indicated by these large effects of frequent resittings. The entire region of the quarry centre appears to have contained, at one time, the most intensively worked ground, and it may therefore be readily understood why I was able to make little of this kind of ground.

It is notable that all the floors of this class were flat-based in section. They also lacked postholes or post-supporting stones.

Site 5 provided the best evidence for the inextricable nature of the flat-based hut floors of this class, having consisted of the remains of at least three floors.

Site 2 provided a semi-circular fragment of flooring which, with Site 4, goes very far towards suggesting that this class of floor was very probably circular in plan.

The relative ages of the floors are discussed in the light of the evidence afforded by the pottery finds, both Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon.

B. With regard to the finds of Romano-British potsherds at the Wykeham site I am taking the view that to dismiss them off-hand as the products of redeposition would not be a satisfactory procedure: the evidence concerning them should be reviewed.

The discovery of Romano-British sherds duplicating material recovered from the Signal Station at Scarborough and from the Crambeck kilns, together with pieces of flue tiling and three chippings of Terra Sigillata was, in fact, a phenomenon to which the closest stratigraphical and regional attentions were given.



The Roman finds occurred as follows:—

The Class (a) floors yielded a sherd apiece from the basal levels of Sites 10 and 12; two sherds from the basal level of Site 9; further sherds from the basal level of Site 6, and one sherd from the plough surface thereat. The Site 6 deposit probably concerned a Class (b) floor; it was certainly not flat-based at this easterly side.

The Class (b) floors yielded at Site 22 one basal find of flue tiling, a piece of tile from the middle level, and a Crambeck potsherd from the top level; from the middle of the Site 11 region of the Bronze Age ditch infilling came three potsherds and a piece of tile; and from Site 15 two sherds came from the top level and one sherd from the middle of the floor infilling.

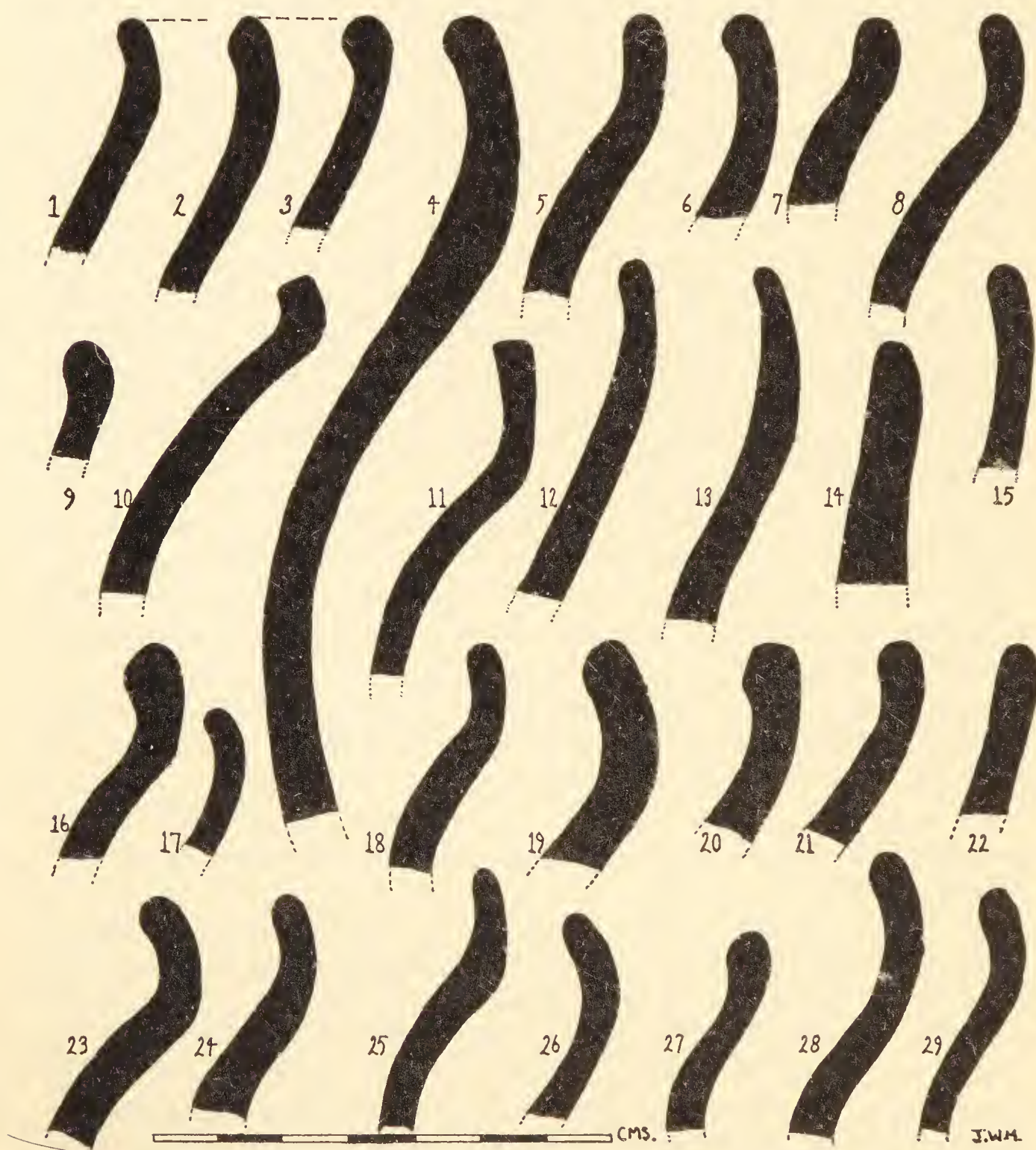


FIG. 11.

Plainware Anglo-Saxon sherds from Wykeham.



Class (c) and (d) floors yielded a single sherd from the surface of Site 4.

The Romano-British sherds were chiefly of the hard, grey wares, e.g.:—Crambeck, pl. 2, no. 32; pl. 1, no. 7. Or in relation to Scarborough Signal Station, fig. 4, no. 1. Or in relation to the late 4th-century occupation at Seamer, fig. 3, nos. 4 and 5. It should also be noted that the Crambeck kilns do not necessarily represent all that is known of late Roman kilns in this region. At Cold Camm, near Helmsley, I salvaged the contents of a bulldozed kiln revealed during the construction of a firebreak.

This new site contained prolific deposits arising from charcoal burning and iron smelting from late Roman times onwards. The Cold Camm kiln was of Crambeck type and it contained the partial skeleton of a young person.

During the process of developing the Wykeham site the quarry exposures were explored very minutely, being taken back some considerable distance in places. Additionally the field itself was explored by the sinking of numerous small trenches. From this work it became apparent that the Roman finds were more or less restricted to the Anglo-Saxon floors. I am obliged, then, to attribute the deposition of this material to the Teutonic settlers, for there is not a scrap of evidence to suggest a prior occupation by the Romano-British.

Oyster shells often attend settlements of the Romano-British, yet at Wykeham I saw only one such oyster shell and this probably derived from quite modern deposits, for the quarry section yielded a rubbish pit containing oyster shells, broken crockery and some of the conically-based mineral water bottles of the turn of this century.

The iron scoriae found so frequently at Wykeham was not traced to a source, as at a dump, but some evidence of charcoal burning was seen near Site 1. Since the scoriae was present both in a badly extracted form and as a fine, rippled clinker of a high extraction rate, some mediaeval smelting seems also to be involved. However, since the iron-ore was usually taken to the timbered localities for the extraction of the iron it is not improbable that some smelting by Romano-British workers was carried out at Wykeham. Yet if one is to assume that the potsherds and tile fragments arose from this source, the absence of any associated domestic bones, slag-heaps and hutfloors does not support the assumption.

One must, I think, accept what the evidence of the site suggests; namely that the Romano-British material was confined chiefly to the basal regions of the Class (a) floors, less basally to the Class (b) floors, and was absent in the Classes (c) and (d) floors; and that the material resulted from contacts made with Romano-British establishments in the region of the Vale of Pickering. One may ask: how much of the bronzes and iron goods arose from the same source? Or for that matter, the querns?



This kind of evidence does not stand alone. For instance, the late 4th-century Romano-British settlement at Seamer was of convenient access. It is very interesting to note, therefore, that during 1947 when I made the initial examination of this settlement I found traces of Anglo-Saxon wares in the quarry scree below a 2nd-4th century ditch infilling.

Subsequently I found that the potsherds had originated at the top of the ditch infilling and at a level approximately 6 ins. below the paving of a rough, mediaeval trackway (Long Lane). In all there were three sherds (now at Scarborough Museum) and a further sherd was retrieved during July 1953. The latter sherd duplicates upon a rim piece the incurving, barrel-like profile of some of the Wykeham plainwares.

Mr. J. G. Scott, Curator of the Archaeology Section of the Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum, adds an interesting point to the evidence of the Seamer trench. In carrying out some observations at this place during 1947 he retrieved a Roman bronze spoon at about 6 ins. below the metalling of Long Lane and, of course, within the trench in question. Hence the Anglo-Saxon sherds and the Roman spoon came from the same level.

At Elmswell, Wykeham and perhaps at Seamer, some degree of near-contemporaneity of Romans and Saxons seems to be indicated. The Elmswell site (19) no longer stands alone in demonstrating the need of a thorough review of this kind of evidence.

It is probably more than a coincidence that at Wykeham, at Site 6, the basal level yielded the foot of a small pottery, wheelmade goblet (not apparently recorded from Crambeck); and that a few inches above this level and within the same sunken floor I found the foot of another small goblet similar to the first, but this vessel had been handmade in the dark earthenware of the Teutons. It is equally strange to observe that Elmswell yielded just such a small, wheelmade goblet. One may add that a similar goblet was found at Sutton Courtenay, and that in Lincolnshire (20) a hybrid, wheelmade Saxon vessel is recorded from a villa excavation. For Wykeham the problem is not so much that contacts were made with an indigenous population, but on what footing they were made.

C. The occurrence of decorated and plain Anglo-Saxon wares at Wykeham in a strong domestic context marked a new adventure in regional Anglo-Saxon archaeology. At the time of writing these notes I have learned that the Seamer sand and gravel quarry has, in fact, produced another Teutonic settlement of a period apparently close to that at Wykeham. And latterly has come news that a hall of the type described in *Beowulf* has at last come to light in this country at Yeavering in Northumberland.

The overwhelming mass of potsherds from Wykeham (app. 800 pieces) belongs to plainwares of the class detailed recently by Jankuhn (21). Of this type of vessel 60 large rim sherds were retrieved, as well as numerous body sherds and a number of basal

fragments. The Schleswig connections noted for these distinctive globular vessels suggest that the cultural group at Wykeham was predominantly Anglian in character. Profiles of these sherds are given in figs. 11 and 12.

But also among the plainwares were 36 large rims of a similar type of plainware vessel possessing an upper profile resembling that of a barrel, i.e., with rims incurving or rising vertically from the body of the pot. Plainwares possessing a carination were also employed (fig. 10, no. 23).



FIG. 12.

Plainware Anglo-Saxon sherds from Wykeham, concluded.

This second group of plainware sherds, augmented by evidence of handled vessels (fig. 10, nos. 21 and 27; fig. 9, no. 18; fig. 8, no. 7), suggested that an additional cultural influence was present at Wykeham. Leeds (22) has suggested a Frisian source for handled vessels found at Sutton Courtenay, and certainly among the plainwares at Wykeham there are some which bear a strong resemblance to Holwerda's 'proto-Frisian wares' (23). However, these forms are not restricted to that region. Nevertheless the plainwares from Wykeham which are not of the globular Anglian form have useful counterparts among the 'proto-Frisian' wares.



The occurrence of handled vessels at Wykeham is not the first instance of this kind in Yorkshire. Myres (24) figures a handled vessel from York and draws close parallels with finds from Denmark and Holland. He reveals that handles of any kind are uncommon from English locations whereas their frequent occurrence upon the Continent suggests that in this country handled vessels belong to the earliest phases of the immigrations.

It is noteworthy also that Myres (25) would suggest that moulded footrings occurring in this country are not later in date than the 5th century and he indicates, as with the handled vessels, that the disparities of their distribution, as between England and the homeland, arose from the early severance of cultural connections. And since carinated vessels are demonstrably early, these and the four instances of moulded bases at Wykeham already combine with the evidence of the handles to suggest a 5th century dating for the institution of the Wykeham site.

So far as the stratigraphy and regional distribution of the Wykeham plainwaires is concerned, they occurred throughout the term of the occupation, without any noticeable alterations in style.

If the small, circular floors of Class (a) can be regarded as being the primary structures at the Wykeham settlement, and the large, circular floors of Class (b) as being successive in point of time, then it may also be said that the plainware sherds suffered no change except to become less frequent in occurrence, especially by the time of the erection of the Classes (c) and (d) floors. In fact some degree of impoverishment seems to be indicated in the latter floors, suggesting a gradual change in the character of the settlement towards its latter days. Perhaps a lesser degree of prosperity is to be marked by the paucity of sherds, and indeed by the paucity of large deposits of meatbones also.

At Wykeham the plainwares are often of a hard, brown or black fabric, but there is some that is less brittle in texture. This may have been expected, perhaps, since all the pottery at Wykeham was prepared for domestic use. Some reddish-coloured, probably over-fired, plainwares from Site 22 are very hard.

The decorated pottery from Wykeham is often thin-walled and of a burnished black or dark brown fabric. Some examples are; fig. 8, no. 1, this is thin-walled, of a hard burnished fabric and dark brown to black in colour. Many of the stamp impressed wares are of a hard, glossy black fabric, a feature which Myres regards as being early in English sites. fig. 10, no. 19, is a fine example of this fabric; similarly fig. 10, no. 25 and fig. 9, no. 17 are of the thin, black burnished ware.

The handles from Site 22, as with some of the plainwares, are brown in colour and somewhat porous in texture, but generally throughout the site the fabric and design is of as high an order as with anything to be met with in the homeland or with the earliest English finds.

Elsewhere I have indicated that the Class (a) floors instituted a chronological development that terminated with the indecipherable mass of the flat-based floors of Class (d). While this evidence is very real, providing as it does the only basis upon which I can discuss the distribution of the decorated sherds, I should add that I do not think the various hut types were representative of a village complex of dwellings and byres or, for instance, a complex based upon distinctions of rank within a semi-military community.

Had potsherds of Romano-British type not been more in evidence in the Class (a) dwellings and less so in the Class (b) dwellings and suggestively absent in the Classes (c) and (d) floors, besides being absent from the quarry sections outside the regions of the hut floors, perhaps I should have been less willing to hold to the chronological development so far outlined.

But, at any rate, it was seemingly not an organic development, although a case could be made out for the flat-based floors having resulted from the failure to recall the primary traditions of deeply concave sunken floors; for the former became relatively flat in section upon gaining the infillings of soil and domestic debris, involving perhaps the passage of at least a decade. It is difficult to get at the roots of important problems of this kind.

It should be apparent from the tables given below that the decorated Anglo-Saxon sherds from Wykeham were restricted to the Classes (a) and (b) floors. The two finds from the flat-based floors, Sites 5 and 8, sherds nos. 18 and 9, could very well have been redeposited. This process is clearly demonstrated by a sherd from the middle of the Site 22 deposits, fig. 9, no. 16, which is obviously related to the vessel broken in the base of the Site 9 floor, fig. 9, Nos. 11 and 12.

*Distribution of the Decorated Wares*  
(Moulded plainwares are marked 'P')

ZONE	CLASS (a) FLOORS	CLASS (b) FLOORS	CLASSES (c), (d)
Top	Site 9, Fig. 10, No. 29	Site 11, Fig. 8, No. 5 Site 22, Fig. 10, No. 25 P. Site 22, Fig. 10, No. 27	Nil
Middle	Site 12, Fig. 8, No. 1 P. Site 7, Fig. 8, No. 7 Site 10, Fig. 8, No. 8 Site 9, Fig. 9, No. 14 Site 9, Fig. 10, No. 19 Site 20, Fig. 10, No. 20 Site 20, Fig. 10, No. 31 P. Site 17, Fig. 8, No. 10 Ditch, Fig. 8, No. 4 Ditch, Fig. 9, No. 15 Ditch, Fig. 10, No. 28	Site 6, Fig. 8, No. 2 Site 6, Fig. 8, No. 6 Site 6, Fig. 9, No. 13 Site 22, Fig. 9, No. 16 Site 22, Fig. 9, No. 17 P. Site 15, Fig. 10, No. 22 P. Site 11, Fig. 10, No. 24	Site 8, Fig. 8, No. 9 P. Site 5, Fig. 9, No. 18
Base	Site 9, Fig. 8, No. 3 Site 9, Fig. 9, No. 11 Site 9, Fig. 9, No. 12 P. Site 9, Fig. 10, No. 23	P. Site 22, Fig. 10, No. 21 Site 6, Fig. 10, No. 26 P. Site 6, Fig. 10, No. 30	



If such was the case then this sherd, fig. 9, no. 16, should be disregarded in the analysis of the distribution and this would strengthen the evidence for the decorated wares being more commonly present in the Class (a) floors. In this respect the instance of the ditch finds adjacent to Site 11 is interesting. It will be recalled that these finds, fig. 8, no. 4; fig. 9, no. 15; fig. 10, no. 28, came from the middle level of the ditch just outside the area of constructional disturbance. It was clear and beyond doubt that these sherds had preceded the construction of the hut at Site 11 in point of time, and they seem to be referable to any Class (a) floor that may have existed in the vicinity of the ditch and where is now the quarry cavity. So again there is a useful hint that the decorated sherds were largely the product of the occupants of the Class (a) floors.

It is not improbable that these three sherds from the ditch infilling are fragments of a single vessel, and in this event they would have belonged to a vessel of Anglian type possessing a shallow carination and with bosses of the *buckelurne* type resting below the carination. Such a vessel, upon the strength of Myres' categorisations, would be safely assignable to the 5th century.

It is significant that the large, wide-mouthed vessel of Anglian type from Site 12, fig. 8, no. 1, possesses a scored decoration which is repeated at another floor of Class (a), at Site 9; see fig. 9, no. 14; and an almost similar decoration of horizontal scoring, with also diagonal scoring across a strong carination, was met with at Site 20; fig. 10, no. 31.

Again, from Site 20, comes another sherd from a carinated vessel possessing horizontal scoring and stamped impressions; so if the Class (a) huts were the primary structures at Wykeham, then one may also say that biconical vessels were the products of the occupants of the Class (a) huts.

#### *D. Concluding remarks*

Despite the meagre yield of decorated pagan wares, the scarcity of bronzes and the general ambiguity of the soil disturbances, sufficient evidence resulted from the Wykeham excavations to justify certain conclusions being inferred concerning the nature of the occupancy.

From the field records it is clear that the earlier period of occupation witnessed the erection of two dissimilar types of hutments and that these two types were not contemporaneous. The deep cavities of the Class (a) huts, the infilling of the trench adjacent to Site 11, and the deep cavity of Site 12 contained most of the decorated pagan wares, but no beads and very little bronze. In contrast, the wide and shallow concavities of the Class (b) floors contained all the beads, most of the bronzes, and the 'loomweights'. But this distinction may have arisen from divisions of class and servitude.

In a region so heavily saturated by Romano-British activities it is always possible that the Wykeham hilltop should have received some

of the débris of that era, and particularly since there is some evidence that the old trackway traversing the hilltop during Mediaeval times had done so during the Roman period and in much earlier times.

While the study of Teutonic ceramics remains at its tentative stages one cannot expect any really close dating to arise from the study of the decorated wares from Wykeham. Typologically they do not appear to be as early as those from the York cemeteries, but are very nearly so. One has perhaps to consider the beautifully fashioned York pots in the light that they represent the highest achievements of the Teuton ceramic art and are in a sense atypical in that a measure of tradition was involved in their fashioning; especially since they may well have been the grave furniture of Saxon notabilities who were accorded some deference to the severed traditions of the homeland; in which event the designs of a preceding generation would be employed to the best abilities of the potters concerned.

One would not expect such care and considerations of tradition to operate as strongly at a domestic site where strictly utilitarian principles came foremost. Nevertheless, even at Wykeham, the carinated sherds and the more comprehensible sherds of stamped impressed and incised globular vessels all demonstrate the rare combination of aesthetic and utilitarian motives that categorise the earlier Teutonic wares of this country. What is significant to Wykeham, however, is that these decorated wares are typologically early and are domestic pots.

The whole history of the English Conquest is one of homeland traditions soon forgotten. At Wykeham the life of the settlement, which cannot have attained to more than a century and a half, is terminated by the extensive earth disturbances of numerous hovels where decorated ware was absent, and where an air of inertia and poverty would appear to have been present. Here in a Class (d) floor (Site 5, fig. 7, no. 1), occurred a zoomorphic decoration on a small bronze object that could very well be assigned to the end of the 6th century.

Subsequently the settlement was abandoned, and was only reopened again by Mediaeval pottery-users of the 13th century. Already, too, by the time of the construction of the 'Bourton-type' hut at Site 8, the deposits of meatbones are not so massive.

I have always felt that the earlier days of Sutton Courtenay, of Ezing and also Wykeham, were not truly representative of Teutonic settlement aspirations. Almost everywhere in the Homeland, and in Sweden and Norway, are fine examples of farmsteads constructed upon the most adequate principles of architecture and of husbandry. This surely was the Teutonic aspiration; the ownership of a farm, however isolated, where one may live and prosper by independent effort.

This surely is the basis upon which arose the complex network of our early villages, for beneath each of these villages must rest the



seed sown by the Anglo-Saxon homesteader; or otherwise were they to be of the Sutton Courtenay, Ezinga or Wykeham 'collectives' the implied population would be out of all proportion to the facts.

Thus Wykeham was very probably a pioneer 'collective' at the outset of its activity. This aspect is brought out strongly by the appearance of beads only in the Class (b) floors. The Class (a) huts were, I suggest, the work of an advance party who selected the Wykeham hilltop for its defensive properties, its timber and water resources, and its control of an important trackway. Indeed the Wykeham situation is interesting in that it rested at the edge of a region that was later to become Deira. When confidence was established perhaps the Class (b) hutments were set up in order to accommodate more properly the requirement of family life; hence the appearance of the beads and the loomweights. But some women were certainly present at the outset.

But, as we have seen, the Class (b) hutments mark the commencement in the decline of the use of decorated wares. Tradition being strong one must assume that the womenfolk were responsible for this change of practice and that, therefore, they were no longer predominantly of the homeland stock.

Clearly the Class (b) huts must have been erected later than the Class (a) huts. Perhaps a generation later, if we consider the loss of ceramic skills, although the plainwares do not appear to degenerate. A new generation was growing up during these turbulent times and perhaps only the plainware traditions of potting survived. Upon the Chalk Wolds, however, we do see some evidence of decorated wares passing into degeneracy by the end of the 6th century; and since Blair (26) reiterates the opinion that some of the Wolds material cannot be dated later than the 5th century, a century was evidently ample to allow degeneracy to set in.

Is there any answer to field problems like these? The great quantities of meatbones associated with the settlement's primary phase can only have been the products of plunder, purchase or payment. This material is less in evidence at the closing stages of the settlement and must therefore reflect a rich contemporary husbandry at the outset of settlement. Whose was it, Saxon or Romano-British?

Whatever may be the answer to these and other problems arising from the Wykeham excavations my own personal inclinations should perhaps be considered. I do not see clearly why the northern edge of the Pickering marshes should have appealed to the settlers unless they envisaged predatory activities or were employed to stem the tide of other predators. Most certainly the very attractive soils of the Chalk Wolds cannot all have been taken up at this time. It is my opinion that the Class (a) huts were set up as part of a defensive scheme which can only have concerned the Chalk Wolds and the coastal approaches to York (27).

APPENDIX I.  
BONES FROM WYKEHAM GRAVEL PIT  
By F. C. FRASER.

<i>Ox</i>	3 horn cores			
	7 fragmentary lower jaws			
	8 teeth			
	Phalange			
	4 astragali			
	Metacarpal	length	190	<u>189</u>
	2 metatarsals	lengths	209, 210	<u>207</u>
<i>Horse</i>	2 lower jaw fragments			
	4 teeth			
	3 proximal phalanges	lengths	83, 82, 82	<u>67</u>
	Distal end metacarpal	width	52	<u>38</u>
<i>Sheep</i>	Horn core			
<i>Sheep or goat</i>	5 incomplete lower jaws			
	4 teeth			
	Astragalus			
	Incomplete tibia			
<i>Pig</i>	4 incomplete lower jaws			
	3 incomplete upper jaws			
<i>Bird</i>	2 limb bones			
<i>Burnt</i>	Horse metacarpal			
	Sheep jaw			

*Note:* All measurements in millimetres. Ox bones are compared with those of a Chillingham ox. Horse bones are compared with those of a New Forest pony. The figures underlined are those of Museum specimens with which they were compared.

The ox bones are from small short horned animals about the same size as a Chillingham ox. The horse bones are rather larger than those of the New Forest pony with which they were compared, and the bones of pig and sheep are too incomplete for measurement. Two bones, the horse metacarpal and one of the sheep jaws have been burnt.

*Excavator's Note:* A further selection of the animal bones from Wykeham was deposited at the Scarborough Museum. There appeared to be no useful purpose served by retaining the mass of bones and fragments from Wykeham.

APPENDIX II.  
GLASS BEAD FROM SITE 6

The bead is quite clearly, in my opinion, Anglo-Saxon rather than Mediaeval. The shape is a typically Anglo-Saxon one and the opaque brown glass is also very common in that period. The only peculiar thing about the bead, and one for which I have not yet found a parallel in any coloured reproductions of Saxon beads, is the clear green glass pattern which overlies the white. Both these, seen from the section of the bead, are trailed and marvered glass, that is to say, the glass has been put on in relief and then rolled, by rolling the bead on a hard surface. It is fortunate that there is a section through the bead, for had we not had that it might well have looked as if the green was painted on it, and the bead is therefore a very interesting demonstration piece, for many archaeologists have already called this glass trailing 'paint'. Normally the colours on these beads are blue and white and I can find no example of a green and white on brown.

The bead would therefore, in my view, date somewhere between the 5th and 8th century A.D.

D. B. HARDEN.



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## A YORKSHIRE FARMER IN THE MEMORANDA ROLLS

By BRYAN WAITES.

'On the shore where Time casts up its stray wreckage', said Professor Trevelyan, 'we gather corks and broken planks whence much indeed may be argued and more guessed; but what the great ship was that has gone down into the deep, that we shall never see'.<sup>1</sup> Rarely can the historical present be recovered as it once existed, and the possibility of recapturing some of its elements must inevitably vary from century to century, as the chance survival of records varies.

One important class of records has proved to be a rich source of history, springing pleasant surprises from time to time with reasonable consistency – the *Memoranda Rolls*. They hold many secrets, some of which have been discovered but most lie unsuspected and unknown. It has been ably shown that they can be of immense use in tracing out the intricacies of the mediaeval wool trade, among many other things. Professor Power was among the first to build up a wonderful story of this trade mainly through a diligent use of the Cely and Stonor Papers together with the *Memoranda Rolls*.<sup>2</sup> Occasionally, we may be fortunate enough to find within the *Rolls* details of individuals. When we do we must treasure them; they are priceless. So much of our notion of mediaeval economic life is created by a study of the great monastic farmers, the mighty lay lords or the omnipresent wool merchants that we lose sight of the matrix into which they were fixed. We forget the peasant farmers, the craftsmen and the smaller wool dealers. And yet, they probably contributed most to the complete picture. 'If we know less about them', wrote Professor Power of the peasant farmers, 'it is simply because, unlike the manors, they have left behind them very little documentary evidence.'<sup>3</sup>

But within the dusty confines of the Public Record Office upon a Lord Treasurer's Remembrancers *Memorandum Roll* for 1366-67 there can be found such documentary evidence of a Yorkshire farmer called Thomas de Westhorpe.<sup>4</sup>

In 1366 Thomas was declared an outlaw: his lands were forfeit and an inquisition made into his possessions. The details of this are given in the *Memorandum Roll*. Because they are unusually full they

<sup>1</sup> 1927 Inaugural Lecture at Cambridge.

<sup>2</sup> See especially, *The Wool Trade in English Medieval History*, (London, 1941).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 29.

<sup>4</sup> *L.T.R. Mem. Roll E 368/139 m.24.*



give an important indication of the type of farming practised by a smaller land-holder in the North-East of Yorkshire in the fourteenth century.

The reasons for Thomas's outlawry are obscure. It was said to be the result of a suit with William Haldane in Buckinghamshire and heard in King's Bench as a plea of trespass, but Thomas appears to have died only a few months after the Inquisition. He certainly had been a man of influence within the Vale of Pickering, which lies to the south-west of Scarborough. He held lands in several villages, notably in Brompton, Snainton, Sawden and Ebberston, all near to each other, along the northern margin of the Vale. Besides being a farmer he was a wool dealer of some importance. The two occupations were connected for he kept large flocks of sheep throughout his lands. Thomas had many contacts with local wool growers, and appeared to be a collector and middleman, despatching the wool he purchased to the great merchants of York and Beverley. He was found to have a treasure box,<sup>1</sup> for instance, containing not only £200 but also details of many debts owed to him by men such as William Playte of Scalby, Robert de Malton, William de Appleton and Thomas Thurnes of Ebberston, all men whom the *Assize Rolls* show to have been wool buyers in the district during the middle fourteenth century.<sup>2</sup> These men appear to have been the lower stratum of merchants and producers from whom Thomas de Westhorpe obtained the wool he subsequently sold to the merchants of Beverley and York. The *Memorandum Roll* refers to his connections with such merchants: Thomas de Beverley was said to have bought half a sack of wool from Thomas de Westhorpe; John de Giseburn and John de Stoke were said to be indebted to the extent of one hundred marks.<sup>3</sup> Again, the contemporary *Assize Rolls* show that these were prominent wool merchants of York with a widespread sphere of activity.

The farming of Thomas reflected his activity as a wool merchant and middleman. Pastoral farming was, for example, his main concern, and in particular sheep farming was emphasised. His total possessions were valued at £512-16-7. One third of these issues derived from sheep and lambs owned by him. He had a total of 2,723 sheep and 152 lambs on all his lands in 1366. Twice as many, that is, as the Duchy of Lancaster on its Honour of Pickering in the early years of the century. Even some of the great monasteries had fewer at this time; Whitby Abbey having only 1,307 sheep and Meaux Abbey 1,471 in 1366.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Richard de Westhorpe, a relative of Thomas, was accused of seizing the box and its contents which contained 'divers obligations which the said Thomas holds of divers men' (*m.34*).

<sup>2</sup> See, *Yorkshire Sessions of the Peace* (1361-64). Edited by B. H. Putnam for the Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, Volume 100 (1939).

<sup>3</sup> *Membranes* 28, 34 – details of other debtors on *m.9*, 25, 33.

<sup>4</sup> *Chapters of the English Black Monks* (1215-1540). Edited by W. A. Pantin. Volume III, pp. 63-68 (Camden Series, Vol. 54, 1937). Also, *Chronica de Melsa* (Rolls Series No. 43, Ed. E. A. Bond) III, p. 152.

The value of cattle on his lands was only slightly less than that of sheep. Both were well suited to the land he farmed; the former flourished on the alluvial carlands of the Vale while the latter found ample sustenance on the High and Low Moors hereby. Thomas had 135 pigs at Brompton, 53 oxen at Brompton and Ebberston cotes, 253 cows, calves and young oxen with 28 horses, and foals in the same places. He had, thus, a total of 469 animals other than sheep on his lands. His arable farming was small, in comparison: only one eighth of the issues noted at the Inquisition came from sown land. In fact, the amount of land sown with wheat, barley, oats, rye, peas and beans was larger than its value would suggest. 238 acres, for instance, was the total amount of land sown with crops by Thomas in 1366, a much larger amount than most farmers cultivated in the district. But, on the evidence given by the Inquisition it is clear, without doubt, that pastoral farming was the predominant interest of Thomas de Westhorpe.

Thomas can hardly be regarded as a typical farmer of the fourteenth century. His dual role of merchant and producer made him unusual. Moreover, the scale of his activities was much greater than might at first have been thought possible for an individual who was not a great lord. His activities as a farmer illustrate several general themes in the mediaeval development of the North-East. His specialisation in sheep farming was paralleled by the Duchy of Lancaster, the monasteries and even, it appears, by peasant farmers. The area was particularly suited to sheep farming which, in turn, was conducive to the development of large estates. Thomas de Westhorpe was at least a typical product of the North-East: from the twelfth century the agrarian scene had been characterised by the landowner who farmed large estates and devoted himself principally to sheep farming, conducted on a very large scale, carefully organised and adapted to physical and economic conditions. The monastic farmers were the outstanding example of this but it should not be forgotten that modest laymen such as Thomas also illustrated this very important theme. Thanks to a small insertion in the *Memoranda Rolls* we can achieve a better sense of historical perspective and at the same time acquire many interesting details of an individual's farming activities.

#### EXTRACTS FROM AN INQUISITION INTO THE POSSESSIONS OF THOMAS DE WESTHORPE OF BROMPTON, OUTLAW, HELD AT SHERBURN IN HERTFORDLITHE (1366)

HE HAS GOODS AND CHATTELS TO THE VALUE OF £473-0-4 OF WHICH THE  
FOLLOWING INQUISITION TAKES NOTE:—

*In Brompton, Snainton and Sawden:*

	£	s.	d.
64 acres of land sown with wheat value/acre 6/- .. ..	19	4	0
6 acres of land sown with rye at 6/- per acre .. ..	1	16	0
80 acres of land sown with barley at 5/- per acre .. ..	20	0	0
14 acres of land sown with beans and peas at 3/4 per acre ..	2	6	8
19 acres of land sown with oats at 3/4 per acre .. ..	3	3	4



<i>At Ebberston cotes:</i>					£	s.	d.
27 acres of land sown with wheat at 6/8 per acre	..	..	..	..	9	0	0
16½ acres of land sown with barley at 5/- per acre	..	..	..	..	6	10	0
11 acres of land sown with peas at 3/4 per acre	..	..	..	..	1	16	8
1 acre of land sown with oats at 3/4 per acre	..	..	..	..		3	4
<i>In Brompton:</i>							
37 oxen value 13/4 each	..	..	..	..	24	13	4
<i>At Ebberstoncotes:</i>							
16 oxen value 13/4 each	..	..	..	..	10	13	4
<i>At Brompton (Langedon) and Ebberstoncotes:</i>							
152 cows and beasts value 10/- each	..	..	..	..	76	0	0
55 year old oxen at 4/6 each	..	..	..	..	12	7	6
46 calves at 2/- each	..	..	..	..	4	12	0
12 cart horses at 6/8 each	..	..	..	..	4	0	0
8 foals at 5/- each	..	..	..	..	2	0	0
6 (stagges) at 3/4 each	..	..	..	..	1	0	0
1 horse 'pro sella suo' at 20/-; another horse at 6/8	..	..	..	..	1	6	8
<i>And he has in the villis and places aforesaid:</i>							
1350 sheep at 1/6 each	..	..	..	..	120	15	0
1350 hog sheep 'les drapes' at 11d. each	..	..	..	..	73	15	10
144 lambs at 9½d. each	..	..	..	..	5	14	0
<i>At Hutton Wood in the custody of John del Hay:</i>							
23 sheep at 20d. each	..	..	..	..	1	18	4
8 lambs at 9½d. each	..	..	..	..		6	4
<i>At Brompton:</i>							
80 pigs at 3/- each	..	..	..	..	12	0	0
38 small pigs at 2/- each	..	..	..	..	3	16	0
17 young pigs at 6d. each	..	..	..	..		8	6
15 acres meadow at 1/6 per acre	..	..	..	..	1	2	6
60 acres meadow 'of no value because of flooding by the river Derwent'							
1 close of 2 acres meadow at 1/6 per acre	..	..	..	..		3	0
½ acre close, meadow, at 1/-	..	..	..	..		1	0
From rents of free tenements each year	..	..	..	..	1	11	0
In Ebberston also of free rents/year	..	..	..	..	1	1	0

The sums of money given in the *Roll* do not always add up correctly but no attempt has been made to correct them here. A further inquiry valued Thomas's goods at £512-16-7 the difference coming mainly from 16 sacks 10 stone of wool valued at £73-14-7, previously entered as 11 sacks valued at £40-6-8.

Many more details are given in the *Roll* relating to Thomas's varied possessions, including personal ones, debts owed to him, transactions with wool merchants, etc.

Source: P.R.O., L.T.R. Memorandum Roll E368/139m. 24.

## THE MINUTE BOOK OF THE YORK COURT OF QUARTER SESSIONS, 1638-1662<sup>1</sup>

By JOYCE W. FOWKES.

At York, the Court of Quarter Sessions was held in the Guildhall at Easter, Midsummer, Michaelmas and Epiphany. Its responsibility for the preservation of law and order and the reformation of abuses included the Ainsty as well as the City of York. The Minute Book for 1638 to 1662 informs us of the wide range of duties discharged by the Justices of the Peace, in an era of uncertainty and change, during the period of the Civil War, the Interregnum and the Restoration. As in several other counties, however, the Court at York was suspended during the early years of the Civil War. There are no entries in the Minutes between 11 January 1643<sup>2</sup> and 7 April 1646, nor, for almost three years, from 10 March 1654.

The Justices of the Peace for York were not nominated by the Crown in the Commission of the Peace as were those for the counties. They automatically held that office following their election as Aldermen. By the terms of the charter which Richard II granted to the City in 1393, 'the mayor and twelve aldermen of the said city or at least two of them with the said mayor shall have such power to correct, punish, enquire, hear and determine all matters within the said city, suburbs and liberty as the justices of the peace, labourers and craftsmen shall have without the same, saving to the king any fines, amercements or profits thence arising.' (*Calender of Charter Rolls*, 1341-1417, page 333). For this reason, some cases of summary justice are recorded in the *Corporation House* (Minute) *Books*, although most were referred to the next Court of Quarter Sessions.

The business of the Court was dealt with according to a regular form of procedure: firstly the orders of the Court, then the presentments by the jurors for the City east of the Ouse, followed by those jurors for the City west of the river and finally the presentments by the jurors for the Ainsty.

By the seventeenth century, the Justices of the Peace had become burdened with many administrative duties in addition to their original judicial functions. After three centuries of responsibility for keeping the peace, an ever increasing proportion of the magistrates' time became devoted to administering matters connected with bridges and highways, regulating prices and labourers' wages,

<sup>1</sup> Among the City Archives deposited at the York City Library.

<sup>2</sup> New Style dating.



licensing alehouses and above all administering the poor law. Petty offences, which in the City had formerly been dealt with by the Wardmote Courts were, by the seventeenth century, an additional concern of the Justices. The large number of presentments for such matters as failing to sweep or pave the causeway in front of one's house or to scour ditches, or for keeping swine to the annoyance of neighbours, illustrates the incessant, if none too successful, attempt to improve conditions.

The responsibility for maintaining many highways and bridges traditionally rested with individuals or parishes and in some cases with the wapentake. Otherwise the burden fell upon the County. Every inhabitant was obliged by an Act of 1555 to perform four (later increased to six) days' unpaid labour each year on the parish roads, or to provide someone in his stead. Those who owned horses or oxen and carts were bound to lend them for work on the roads, which was supervised by the parish Surveyor, an elected unpaid officer. Refusal to do common 'day-work' or disobedience to the Surveyor were among the offences for which individuals were presented by the Constables at the Quarter Sessions. Occasionally there are graphic descriptions of the conditions of the highways. In 1650, it was reported that there were such deep ruts in the wain way in Holgate Lane 'that the carriages goes into the verie wastes of the wheelles.' Eighteen months later there had been no permanent improvement. The lane was again presented as in need of repair 'for no man can passe with carte or carriage'.

By the Statute of Bridges, 1531, the Justices in Quarter Sessions were to enquire into any reported cases of bridges in decay and take the necessary proceedings against those liable for their repair. Accordingly the Justices, in 1647, ordered that the records should be searched to ascertain by whom Holgate Bridge and the east end of Tadcaster Bridge had been repaired previously and that those responsible should repair them again. The costs of bridge repairs for which the county assumed responsibility were defrayed out of a special county rate, as in 1652, when the Tadcaster and Skip bridges were repaired. On occasion, a surplus was used from the fund, established by an Act of 1592, for the relief of maimed soldiers and sailors.

The Minutes contain many references to the distribution of this fund. The Court of Quarter Sessions appointed a Justice to act as 'Treasurer for the Maimed Soldiers', the collection of the weekly contributions from each parish being entrusted to the petty constables. The names of recipients are recorded with the amounts of their pensions, but only rarely do we learn details of their service. In 1647 and 1648, two soldiers who had served in the Irish wars, in Elizabeth's reign, received pensions. The majority, if not all, of the other recipients, during the period covered by this volume of the Minutes, must have been 'in the Parliament's service'. During the period 1642-1660, there were several alterations in the laws governing pensions for maimed soldiers, then strictly confined to those who

had served in the Parliamentary forces. After the Restoration, however, an Act was passed restricting pensions to soldiers who had served the Royalist cause. In the meantime, the assessments in the City and Ainsty had been doubled in 1649 because of the great increase in the number of 'lame' soldiers.

Provision for the poor was the responsibility of the parish where they were born, but the rigidity with which this rule was applied in a period of great economic change and increasing mobility of labour, resulted in many cases of severe hardship. Parishes seem to have been more concerned with the charge on the rates than with adequate provision for the poor. Disputes arose between parishes and had to be determined by the Justices. Strangers were ruthlessly expelled unless they entered recognizance not to become chargeable to the parish or city. It was a punishable offence for anyone to take in lodgers or 'undersettles', or maintain a child of unknown parentage which might become chargeable. There were numerous presentments for bastardy and orders for fathers to contribute towards the child's maintenance.

Vagrants who resorted to stealing were even more harshly treated. A woman guilty of petty larceny, theft of goods valued at less than one shilling, was in 1658 ordered to be whipped severely on market day 'until she be bloody,' and then expelled from the City. A persistent offender, Matthew Wilson, was branded on the hand with the letter 'T' for felony and sent to his birth-place where he was to be employed. Occasionally, the Minutes contain a brief but enlightening biographical description.

Stephen Martin, committed to gaol as a dangerous rogue, was brought to trial and found able-bodied but unwilling to work. He got his living by begging. Born in Filey, he had for several years wandered in the County and City of York. Despite having been punished for forcibly entering a house and terrifying a young gentlewoman, he had not reformed and was therefore branded on the left shoulder with the letter 'R'.

The magistrates also had surveillance of the apprenticeship system and regulation of wages and trade practices. The relationship between master and apprentice was not always happy and, in York where the apprenticeship system was firmly enforced by the guilds, a number of petitions were made to the Justices from time to time for release from indentures. A typical case was that of David Bell who was discharged from his apprenticeship in 1638, because he had been unreasonably beaten by his master, lacked meat, drink and apparel and had not been taught the trade. More unusually, another apprentice was discharged by the Court because he had been sent to London, where he had neither employment nor maintenance. His master, John Gillott, had ceased trading and was imprisoned in Poland. On the other hand, a master might petition to be freed from his obligation of maintaining an apprentice who frequently ran away or was ill-behaved.



The wages of carpenters, joiners, masons and bricklayers were, in 1651, fixed at 1s 4d per day from Lady Day to Michaelmas and 1s 2d per day for the remainder of the year. Apprentices were to receive 10d per day in their first year, gradually increasing with length of service. A great variety of trade abuses were brought before the Court, the most frequent of which was the use of fraudulent weights and measures. Complaints were made against offering coals and fish for sale in markets other than at York, forestalling and regrating,<sup>1</sup> and against the Lord Mayor for allowing corn to be bought before the toll bell rang.

Such abuses were chiefly confined to the City, but the preservation of common lands and rights was of great concern both in the City and in the parishes of the Ainsty. There were presentments for enclosing a common lane, for erecting a cottage on Copmanthorpe common and so obstructing the common watering-place, cutting reeds having no right to do so, breaking the pinfold and retrieving impounded stock, and illegally putting animals on the common. In 1659, the Pasture Masters of Bootham Ward were presented for not keeping a common bull. In York itself, there were two cases of destruction of the City Walls, one offender even making a door and window through them.

Although a secular authority, the Justices of the Peace in Quarter Sessions were invested with considerable powers in religious matters. The cases most frequently brought to their attention were of working, drinking or not attending church on Sundays. There were presentments for disturbances in church, including an interruption of the sermon by an offender who called the minister of All Saints, Pavement, a Jew, and by a drunken woman using threatening behaviour towards a proctor. In 1660, a minister was presented for not recording marriages in the parish register. The Minutes also contain many lists of recusants, sometimes, as in October 1657, of as many as thirty persons.

The extreme Puritanism of the age was, moreover, reflected in the control of games. Fines were levied for playing such unlawful games as bowls, quoits and cards, or football. In 1660, the windows of All Saints' Church were broken by eight people playing football in Ousegate, after having been warned.

In the seventeenth century, as now, the Justices of the Peace were responsible for licensing ale-houses and this aspect of their authority is amply illustrated in the Minutes of Quarter Sessions. Most of the entries are presentments of those who sold ale without a licence. When there were thought to be too many ale-house keepers or malt makers, those with an alternative livelihood were liable to be refused a renewed licence.

It was also the magistrates' duty to uphold the game laws, yet there are few entries which illustrate this, either because there were

<sup>1</sup> A forestaller bought corn before it reached the market, a regrater bought at a market for resale.

few offences or by deliberate oversight. Two persons were, however, presented for shooting hares, rabbits and moles contrary to the statute while another, who had not the necessary property qualification of £100 per annum, shot and killed two geese with a gun loaded with powder.

A number of officials were appointed at the Court of Quarter Sessions, including the Warden of the House of Correction, the Chief Constable of the Ainsty, and the Treasurer for the lame soldiers' fund. The actual maintenance of authority was the duty of parish constables who were presented for neglect of duty, allowing football in the streets, refusing to obey the Mayor's warrant and retaining an ornamental staff belonging to the office of constable.

Although there is more information in these Minutes concerning presentments, the orders of the Court provide interesting evidence of the methods of punishment employed and, in many cases, of their severity. Fines and imprisonment were the more common but punishments in public, such as whipping, setting in the stocks and branding, were frequent. Offenders seem to have been put in the stocks for periods of two or three hours for swearing or drunkenness. Fetters were used, apparently at times without justification as when, in 1660, William Rowen was ordered to be released from his fetters, there being no evidence against him. Punishments could be mitigated by order of the Mayor, but there seems to have been little consideration for the health of the malefactor. A sick woman, guilty of petty theft, was not excused the usual punishment, but was ordered to be whipped privately because of her infirmity.

The examples quoted have been chosen as typical of the cases dealt with by the Court of Quarter Sessions. Others are of interest because of their rarity or as unexpected glimpses of obsolete attitudes and customs. John Arminson, a yeoman of Heslington, was believed to have magical powers and was consulted by John Bennington, grocer, about the charms to be recited for the cure of his wife's illness, 'in great derogation of the honour of God'. In 1641, a certain Roger Richardson of Acaster Malbis was presented for clipping coins, twenty ninepenny pieces (or Irish shillings) and thirty shillings, and spending them deceitfully. The case was referred to the next Assizes. It was customary in the seventeenth century to start a fire with lighted fuel from a neighbour's hearth. This practice is clearly illustrated in the complaint against Thomas Ellison of Copmanthorpe for setting a haystack so near to his house that it was dangerous to fetch fire from a neighbour's. In presenting the case of an unrepaired bridge, the jurors stated that it had become dangerous not only to those who needed to cross but also to boys. It seems that boys have always enjoyed playing in dangerous places!

There are occasional references in the Minutes to national events. Among these is one relating to the transport of corn to Berwick for the English army in Scotland, in 1651. Perhaps the most interesting entry in the volume refers to presentments for spreading rumours about the King and the Lords and Commons shortly after the



Restoration – ‘That five and twenty of the Parliament House was sent to the Tower and that the King went with a list of their names and that the Duke of York puld the Speaker out of the chaire, and that the King would have drawne his sword but was hindered by his nobles.’

## ORNAMENTAL PORCHES OF MID-SEVENTEENTH CENTURY HALIFAX

By A. J. PACEY.

### *Introduction*

Parts of the West Riding of Yorkshire, especially the area around Halifax, are notable for the many stone houses built in the seventeenth century for farmers, clothiers and local gentry. Ambitious and unusual in their architecture, these houses have often attracted attention, but not many authors have attempted to trace the development of the local building tradition to which they belong. Notable among the few who have, Ford<sup>1</sup> picked out a group of especially elaborate houses, built between 1630 and 1650, which he thought formed 'an island in the style's progress'. These 'ornate gothic houses . . . all have projecting porches possessing certain features not found in the less pretentious houses' – parapets with rainwater spouts, rose windows in the upper storey and classical columns flanking the entrance.

Ford discussed five houses which have these features; there are, in addition, other contemporary houses which, although not so elaborate, are essentially similar in design. They all have a porch whose distinctive feature is not so much the rose window or classical columns as a certain standard profile at the roof-line.

Several of the houses have a characteristic plan which gives the porch a special emphasis. It conforms to the local tradition in having a hall set between a service wing and a parlour wing, and entered at the fireplace end from a cross passage. In older houses the wings projected beyond the front wall of the hall, but after the middle of the seventeenth century, it became more common to build the wings and the hall to the same building line. Neither plan showed off a porch to advantage, because in one case the porch was squashed against the service wing; in the other, it was an isolated projection on a flat facade. The solution was to build the service wing and the hall to the same line, but balance the porch by a projecting parlour wing. This arrangement can be described as the F-plan (figure 1b), and is exhibited by five of the 'ornate gothic' group of houses.

The ornate porches are of two storeys and gabled. But the gable is half hidden by the low parapet behind which it rises, and from

<sup>1</sup> T. F. Ford, 'Some Seventeenth Century Houses in the Parish of Halifax', Thoresby Soc., *Miscellanea*, 28, (1928), pp. 1-64. see also: L. Ambler, 'Old Halls and Manor Houses of Yorkshire', Batsford, 1913.



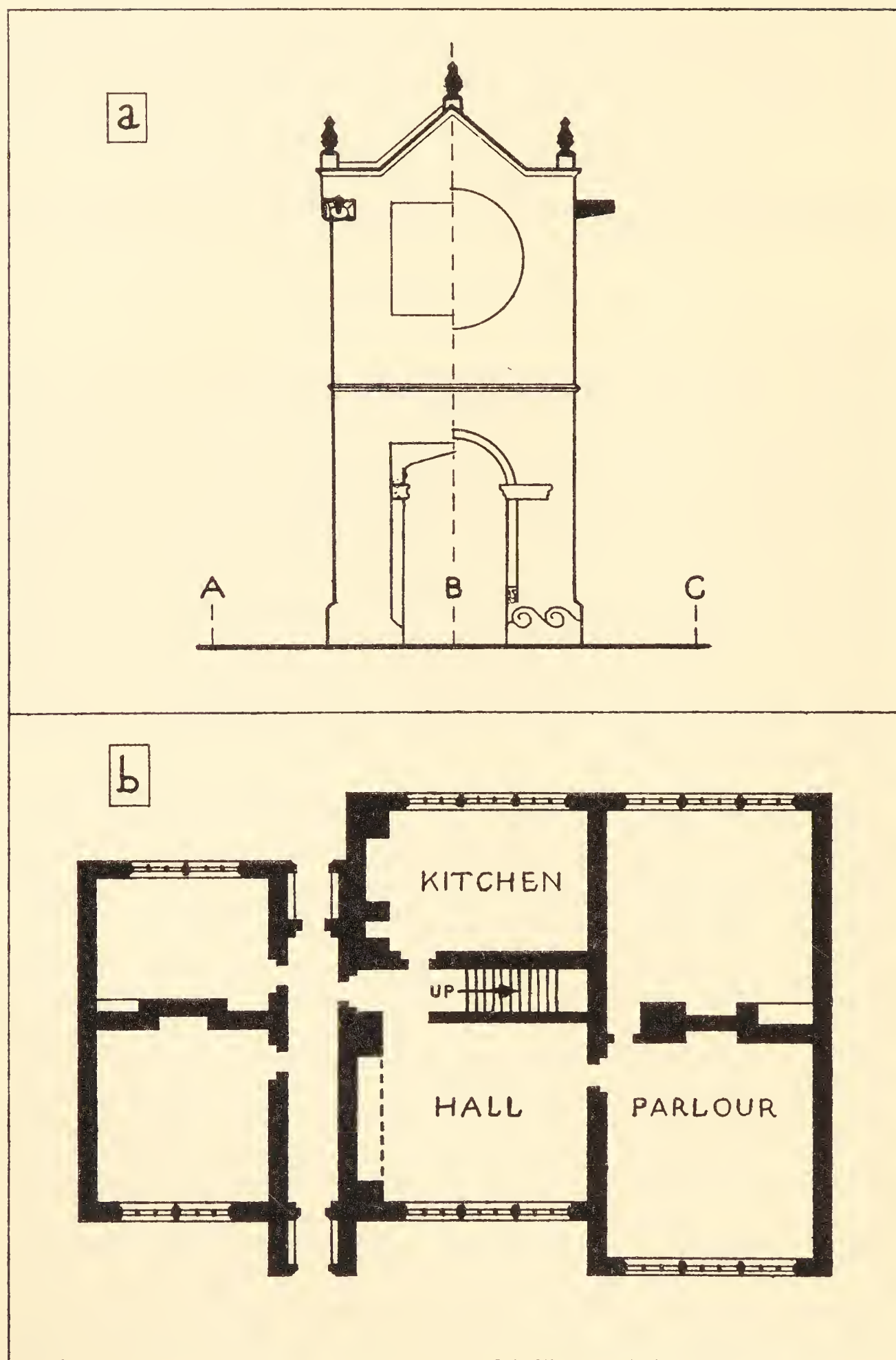


FIG. 1.

- (a) The design of the ornamental porches. AB represents the earlier porches (Norland Lower Old Hall and Long Can); BC represents the later porches (Oats Royd and Kershaw House). (Not to scale.)
- (b) The F-plan; based on Oats Royd, Luddenden (1645), but with the parlour wing restored. (Not to scale.)

which the rain water is drained by large spouts. It is surmounted by finials which are of the same standard design on all the porches of this type. The division of the storeys is marked either by a string course or, if there are columns, by an entablature, and the doorway is spanned by a four-centred lintel or a semicircular arch.

Porches with these features (which are summarised in figure 1a) associated with F-plans, are characteristic of the main group of ornate Halifax houses. But with the group thus defined, two of the 'ornate gothic' houses listed by Ford are excluded. They are High Sunderland (Halifax) and East Riddlesden Hall (Keighley), but it will be shown that many of their details are, in any case, foreign to the Halifax area.

### *The Earliest Ornate Houses*

High Sunderland, now demolished,<sup>1</sup> is the first Halifax house in which classical columns are used. The front door, which had a four centred lintel, was flanked by Ionic columns, and above it were carved the 'shameless little boys' which Emily Brontë transferred to the house at Wuthering Heights. She describes the 'quantity of grotesque carving lavished on the front'. This work dates from c. 1629, according to Ford, when the original timber framed house was remodelled with a flat front and a high crenellated parapet.

The carving was of a rounded, three-dimensional form completely foreign to Halifax, and there were pilasters at the garden gate decorated with a complex curvilinear pattern. A high parapet hid the gables, in complete contradiction of the local taste for gabled facades. But even if the house was built by craftsmen from outside the district, some of its details – the front door, and the ogee sectioned mullions – recur on other Halifax houses, and it seems to have provided the stimulus for some of the elaborate local architecture of the next two decades.

Norland Lower Old Hall (1643)<sup>2</sup> has an F-plan and the earliest porch to have the characteristic profile of gable, water spouts and finials. The water spouts point forward, and the parapet is jettied out slightly to accommodate the gutter. The doorway has a four-centred lintel with a heavy moulding of two orders and is flanked by columns which are similar to the ones at High Sunderland, except that they have Roman Doric rather than Ionic capitals. The pedestals have a simple diamond pattern, and the entablature has a plain frieze with an architrave of three fascias, more appropriate to the Ionic than to the Doric order.

The arrangement of the water spouts, parapet and finials which is found on this Norland porch is repeated at Fallingworth Hall, Norland (1644) and on a smaller porch at Long Can, Ovenden

<sup>1</sup> High Sunderland was recorded by J. Lister, *Halifax Antiquarian Soc. Trans.*, 1907, p. 113. It is also illustrated by Ford and Ambler, *op. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> Unless otherwise stated, all dates given are those which are carved on the date-plaques or door-lintels of the porches themselves.



Wood, Halifax (1637). The latter has a doorway without flanking columns, but its jambs have mouldings identical to those at Lower Old Hall. The only modification is that a moulded impost has been added, like the one on the front door at High Sunderland. Fallingworth Hall is clearly in imitation of Lower Old Hall, which is a few yards down the road, but the similarities are confined to the roof-line of the porch, the workmanship and plan being very different.

### *Barkisland Hall*

Barkisland Hall (1638) is another house with an F-plan, and like Norland Lower Old Hall has long transomed windows with mullions of ogee section. But unlike all contemporary houses in the area, it is of three storeys, and has room for two orders of columns on its porch, as well as a round window on the top floor. This window has tracery made up of seven circles – one at the centre surrounded by the other six.

On the ground floor the Doric columns are very similar to the ones at Norland (plate IIb). They support an Ionic order, which has a curious zig-zag in the fluting of the columns, an idiosyncrasy which also occurs at Norland. The doorway has a much flatter moulding than is found at Long Can or Norland, but the impost is now fully developed and the jamb moulding is finished by an elaborate stop which would not be out of place in a fifteenth century church. The inner doorway of the porch is an arch, with moulded imposts and rusticated voussoirs. A similar doorway, but surmounted by a flat moulding and dated 1631, has been found dismantled in the grounds of Shibden Hall, Halifax. It may be related to the contemporary work at High Sunderland.

Three later houses have ornamentation very clearly derived from Barkisland Hall. In two of them, Howroyde, Barkisland, and Elland New Hall, the seventeenth century work consists of alterations to late mediaeval houses. Both had a new window provided for the hall, a stone fireplace and a new entrance.

At Howroyde, the new entrance (1642) merely consisted of moulded doorways at both ends of the cross passage, each with columns and an entablature. The front door has Ionic columns like the ones at Barkisland Hall and High Sunderland. At the back, Doric columns support an entablature whose frieze and cornice are given unusual emphasis by being carried across as a lintel, but whose architrave is suppressed, except immediately above the columns. It is significant that this work was commissioned by the brother-in-law of John Gledhill, for whom Barkisland Hall was built. There is evidence that the same plasterers were employed at both houses<sup>1</sup> and it would not be surprising if the same masons worked at both also.

Elland New Hall was modernised c. 1640,<sup>2</sup> but there the alterations included the construction of an ornamental porch, which has

<sup>1</sup> H. P. Kendall, *Y.A.J.*, xxvi, (1922), p. 144.

<sup>2</sup> L. Ambler, *op. cit.*

a rose window and the usual Doric columns. Both doorways in the porch are arches, the inner one having rusticated voussoirs as at Barkisland Hall.

The third house related to Barkisland Hall is Oats Royd, Luddenden (1645). It has an F-plan (figure 1b) and a plain, simple porch with the same profile as the earlier houses, except that the rainwater spouts now point sideways. The arched doorway has imposts, mouldings and moulding stops similar to those at Barkisland Hall, and the first floor level is marked by a moulded string course to which the date plaque is tied by another moulding. But the architecture of the whole house is somehow stiff and uncomfortable, lacking the assurance of other houses in the group.

### *The Murgatroid Houses*

Oats Royd and the porch at Long Can were built for James Murgatroid, a wealthy Halifax clothier. His influence may have been considerable in the development of the ornamental porch, and other houses to be mentioned were built for him.

Murgatroid bought East Riddlesden Hall, Keighley, in 1638, and by 1640 the outhouse in front of the Hall was under construction. It was finished with the carving in relief of the King's head on a merlon, with the inscription 'VIVE LE ROI 1642'. Similar carved heads, presumably representing Charles I, appear above the doorways of other houses in this group with dates ranging from 1637 to 1649. Construction at Riddlesden continued with the building of the south wing which has, on a fireplace, the inscription 'THEY MAIDES OF COIGN.IN A[NNO] 1648'.<sup>1</sup> This wing has a cross passage with porches at both ends, each having a rose window, columns and entablature, all of an unusual kind. The main doorway has the only local attempt at Corinthian capitals, and the pedestals and frieze were originally elaborately decorated. The hall fireplace has columns encrusted with a thistle pattern. Only on the garden front is there a Doric order, but even there the details of the mouldings are unusual. The rose windows follow mediaeval rather than earlier Halifax precedent in having eight spokes with cusped arches (on the entrance front) and with trefoil headed lights (on the garden front). Both windows have hood moulds with stops, and the porches are surmounted by battlements and elaborate finials. Another unusual feature of the house is the plinth decorated with a scroll pattern which runs right round the south wing. There are similar plinths on the porches at Oats Royd and Kershaw House, Luddenden.

<sup>1</sup> For details of the houses owned by James Murgatroid, see T. W. Hanson, *Halifax Antiquarian Soc. Trans.*, 1910, p. 90. The inscription has so far defied interpretation. The word COIGN is cut less clearly than the other words, probably by a different craftsman, and the G has been so much altered that it could be read as H, L or E. However, COIGN, meaning QUOIN, is the only interpretation which makes sense. Then if MAIDES is accepted as an old Scots form of MADE (*Oxford English Dictionary*), the wording 'they made of quoin' indicates that the house was rebuilt in quoin stone, i.e., dressed stone. The ambiguity of COIGN, which can also mean COIN, may have been an intentional reference to the lavishness of the rebuilding.



Riddlesden is very different in atmosphere and detail from the main group of Halifax houses, although the use of columns and rose windows derives from them. The influence of Riddlesden is best seen at Kershaw House (1650), which was built for Thomas Murgatroid. Although very large, this house uses the F-plan, and has a porch whose general design is like that at Oats Royd (plate Ib). But there is a rose window which is identical to the one on the garden front at Riddlesden, complete with similar hood mould and stops. The detail of the doorway mouldings is clearly derived from the doorway at Barkisland Hall. There are no classical columns; their omission makes possible a restrained, uncomplicated design which contrasts markedly with the forbidding, grotesque atmosphere of Riddlesden and High Sunderland.

But if Kershaw House has the finest of the ornate porches, Lumb Hall, Drighlington has one which marks the end of the development illustrated by figure 1a. In this figure, the half-elevation AB represents the early porches with forward pointing rainwater spouts, while in the later stage, BC, the spouts point sideways and the arched doorway has become standard practice. Barkisland Hall and Elland New Hall are in between the two – their porches lack water spouts, and mark the transition between the four-centred and arched doorways. All the porches have the combination of parapet and gable surmounted by finials, and it is this essential feature which is discarded at Lumb Hall, together with the F-plan. The porch at Lumb Hall is linked to the main group only by its rose window and arched doorway which are very similar in detail to those at Kershaw House.

#### *Other West Riding Rose Windows*

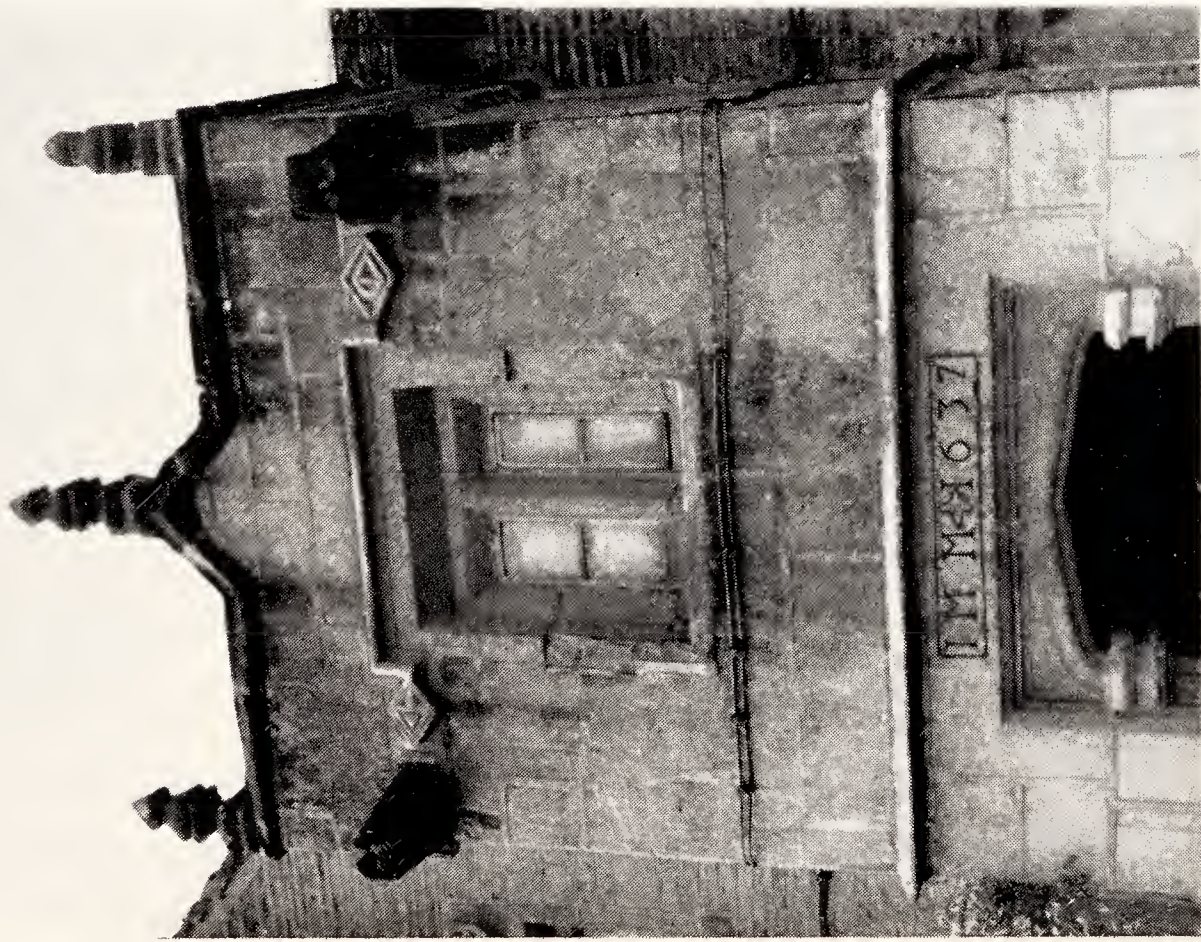
The main group of ornate Halifax houses are not the only buildings in the West Riding to have rose windows. Pevsner<sup>1</sup> mentions others at Penistone, Sowerby, Bradford and Threshfield. At Cat Hill Farm, Penistone (1634) there is a small eight-foiled round window high up in the end gable of the house. It is probably more closely related to the Jacobean habit of putting small round windows in gables than to the Halifax rose windows.

Wood Lane Hall, Sowerby (1649) is a large and spectacular house with an F-plan and an ornamental porch. The large hall window with crenellation above, and the rose window in the porch are reminiscent of Elland New Hall. But the roof-line of the porch does not conform to the normal, gabled pattern, and the doorway is unusual. Elsewhere on the house there are large hood mould stops and unusual carved rainwater spouts, and the finials are large and elaborate. The whole effect is quite different from houses of the main group, from which it must be excluded.

Later in the century, round windows occur at Threshfield, in Wharfedale (with six spokes), and at Horton Hall, Bradford (with

<sup>1</sup> N. Pevsner, 'The West Riding of Yorkshire', Penguin Buildings of England Series, 1959, pp. 38-42.



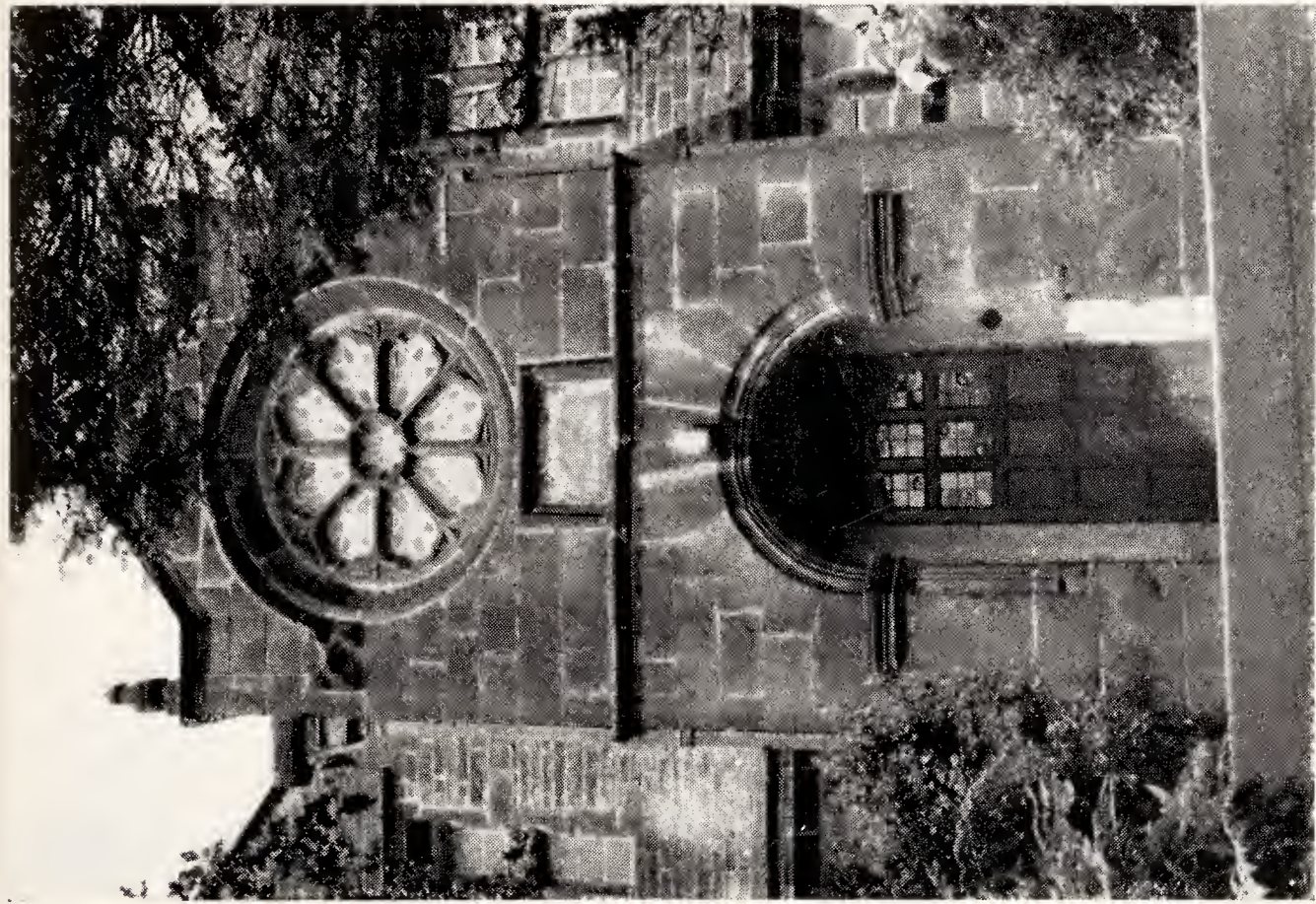


a

PLATE I.

The ornamental porches (a) at Long Can, Ovenden Wood, Halifax, 1637; and (b) at Kershaw House, Luddenden, 1650.

b





a



b

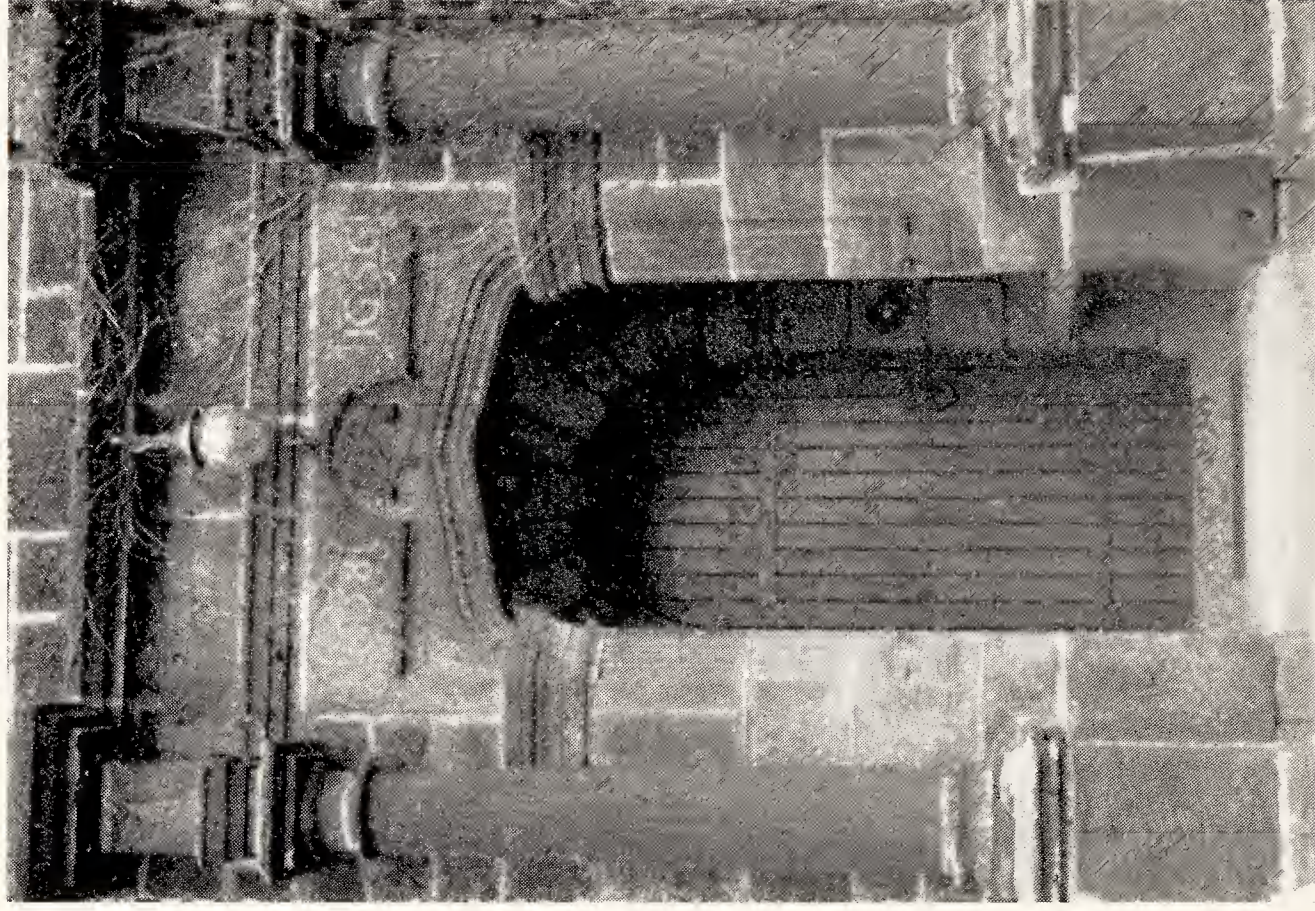


PLATE II.

The Doric order (a) in the Fellows Quadrangle, Merton College, Oxford, 1608-10; and (b) at Barkisland Hall, 1638.



eight spokes). Horton Hall, built around a timber framed house c. 1675, is of special interest in that it is the only one of these houses for which an original drawing survives.<sup>1</sup> It shows the ground plan, and is covered with notes in the writing of Thomas Sharp, a clergyman, who owned the house and seems to have designed it. His notes quote Sir Henry Wotton, so it is not surprising that the design does not conform to local building practice in every detail.

### *The Akroyds' Buildings*

Two rose windows in the Halifax area have not yet been mentioned because their early date gives them special significance. They were at Heath Grammar School, Halifax and Bradley Hall, Stainland, both of which were begun at the end of the sixteenth century and erected by the masons John, Abraham and Martin Akroyd.

Lister<sup>2</sup> recorded Bradley Hall as it stood in 1919 and was able to piece together the rose window from fragments. Its tracery was made up of seven equal circles like the later window at Barkisland Hall. The window at Heath School, now incorporated in a Victorian building, was designed on the same principle, except that the six outer lights were not circular but pear-shaped. It is, in fact, known as the 'apple and pear' window, and is like the later windows at Elland New Hall and Wood Lane Hall, Sowerby.

The dates of the different parts of Bradley Hall are not clear, but it was probably in the period 1598-1605 that the Akroyds were employed there and the rose window was made. The construction of Heath School is described in correspondence between Sir John Savile and Dr. Favour, the vicar of Halifax.<sup>3</sup> In September, 1597, Dr. Favour wrote that 'with the workmen we have agreed upon the form (plan) and upon the price'. Construction seems not to have begun until June 1598, and was not quite finished in 1601. The main structure cannot have advanced very far by 1599, and it seems unlikely that the rose window was made before 1599 or 1600.

These dates are important because among Robert Smythson's<sup>4</sup> drawings there is a picture of an 'apple and pear' window dated 1599. It has twice as many lights as the Akroyds' window, and was designed to fit into a curved wall. There is no known connection between Robert Smythson and the Akroyds, but it is a remarkable coincidence if these basically similar windows of a kind otherwise unknown in Elizabethan England were designed independently at the same date. It is also worth noting that the tracery in some of the round-headed windows in Smythson's Wollaton Hall (1580-8) was made up of circles in much the same way as the Bradley Hall rose window.

<sup>1</sup> 'Abraham Sharp', Bolling Hall Museum, Bradford, 1963, no. 62.

<sup>2</sup> J. Lister, *Halifax Antiquarian Soc. Trans.*, 1919, p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted by T. W. Hanson, 'Halifax Builders in Oxford', *Halifax Antiquarian Soc. Trans.*, 1928, p. 253.

<sup>4</sup> Mark Girouard, (ed.), 'The Smithson Collection of the R.I.B.A.', *Architectural History*, 5, (1962), p. 119.



Bradley Hall was owned by Sir John Savile whose brother, Sir Henry, was Warden of Merton College, Oxford. When, in 1608, Sir Henry was planning extensions to the College, a dispute between the University and the local builders prompted him to bring masons from Halifax to do the work.<sup>1</sup> Thus the Fellows' Quadrangle at Merton (1608-10) was built by John Akroyd, assisted by John and Michael Bentley, also of Halifax, and by Thomas Holt, a carpenter. These men went on to build part of the Bodleian Library, no doubt at the suggestion of Sir Henry Savile, who assisted Sir Thomas Bodley with its foundation.

The most notable feature of the Fellows' Quadrangle is the frontispiece of four storeys, with a different order of columns on each floor. On the ground floor is a four centred doorway, whose jamb moulding is interrupted by an impost and terminated by a stop not unlike the one at Barkisland Hall. On either side of the door there are coupled Doric columns which have pedestals decorated with a simple diamond pattern, and support an entablature with a continuous scroll design on the frieze instead of the normal Doric triglyphs. This is exactly the version of the Doric order which occurs in the Halifax area in the 1630s and '40s, except that there a plain frieze replaces the scroll pattern.

The upper storeys of the frontispiece are much more elaborately decorated, and there are no Halifax parallels, except, perhaps, the scrolly strapwork frieze on the ground floor and a similar design higher up which are very like the scroll patterns used on the hood mould stops of Halifax house windows. Simple hood mould stops occur in Halifax early in the seventeenth century, but it is significant that the scroll patterned stops first appear on the houses with ornate porches<sup>2</sup> – Long Can (1637) and Barkisland Hall (1638). However, this motif is found quite frequently on Jacobean furniture and panelling, and could as easily have been derived from such a source as from the Akroyds' frontispiece at Merton.

### *The Influence of the Akroyds*

Although the stylistic similarities between the Akroyds' buildings and the later Halifax houses are clear and striking, it is not easy to see how the two groups of buildings are connected. John Akroyd spent most of his last years in Oxford, and died there in 1613.<sup>3</sup> The same applies to his colleagues, the Bentleys, who died in 1615

<sup>1</sup> T. W. Hanson, 'Halifax Builders in Oxford', *loc. cit.*; see also *City of Oxford Inventory*, R.C.H.M., 1934, p. 83. Hanson shows that the Akroyds worked at Methley Hall from c.1593, and suggests that they may also have worked at Howley Hall, near Batley (demolished). It has been suggested that Thomas Holt, the Akroyds' colleague at Oxford, built Stonyhurst Hall, near Clitheroe; (John Gerard, 'Centenary Volume of Stonyhurst College', 1894, pp. 52-7).

<sup>2</sup> The only exception to this is a single hood mould stop at Scout Hall Farm, Halifax (1617). Its date, and its location near Martin Akroyd's home make it possible that he was the mason responsible.

<sup>3</sup> T. W. Hanson, *op. cit.*

and 1618. However, Martin Akroyd continued to live near Halifax, although he spent some time in Oxford during the period 1610-13. He died at Hipperholme, near Halifax, in 1618, leaving two apprentices. They might perhaps have kept his drawings and used them again when the building boom of the 1630s gave them opportunity. There was relatively little building work in progress around Halifax during the period 1615-30, and this might explain why no houses earlier than Norland Lower Old Hall show characteristics derived from the Akroyd buildings.

But although there is this uncertainty about how the Akroyds' work came to influence later Halifax builders, it can be positively stated that the rose windows at Barkisland Hall and Elland New Hall were copied from the Akroyds' work at Bradley Hall and Heath School. However, there is no such certainty about the classical columns. The Akroyds' Roman Doric order at Merton College is certainly the same as the order at Norland Lower Old Hall and Barkisland Hall, the special features being the diamond patterned pedestal and the form of the entablature. But this version of the Doric order is not unique to Halifax and Oxford. Examples of it on the great Elizabethan houses of Northamptonshire are probably amongst the earliest, and it could have reached Halifax by other routes than Oxford.

Part of the difficulty is to decide what role High Sunderland played in transmitting ideas to the Halifax masons. The pilasters decorated with elaborate curvilinear patterns as well as the rounded decorative carving and the idea of the high parapet indicate that it was built by men from outside the Halifax area. Yet there are sufficient details taken over from High Sunderland and used in the Halifax houses to suggest that the masons who built the ornate porches must have worked there in some, possibly junior, capacity. Norland Lower Old Hall and Long Can have the earliest ornate porches, and there is no detail in their design or decoration which could not have been derived from High Sunderland. But at Barkisland Hall, the imposts and moulding stops on the door jambs follow Akroyd practice rather than what one would expect from High Sunderland, and the rose window is copied from an Akroyd design. So the most reasonable hypothesis seems to be that High Sunderland acted as a stimulus, and set a fashion, giving to masons already familiar with the Akroyds' work, ideas as to how it might be applied to the kind of houses they were building. Such a hypothesis could, however, only be confirmed if documentary evidence were available, identifying the masons of the Halifax houses, and indicating their connection with the Akroyds.

These last comments only refer to details – classical columns and rose windows – which vary from one house to another. The essential design of the ornate porches, consisting of a particular combination of parapet and gable, is a constant feature of several houses built between 1634 and 1650. It is very probable that all these houses



were the work of a single group of masons, and it is clear that these masons were local men. The characteristic porch-design and the F-plan are developments of the local building tradition, and only decorative details were borrowed from elsewhere.

## SUMMARY OF BUILDINGS DISCUSSED

Key to main features: R rose window  
F F-plan  
P porch as figure 1a  
D Doric columns

Map Reference	Name and Location of House	Main Features	Date of Main Features
	<i>1. Akroyd Buildings:</i>		
SE 0924	Heath Grammar School, Halifax	R	1599-1601
SE 0820	Bradley Hall, Stainland	R	1598-1605
SP 5106	Fellows Quadrangle, Merton College, Oxford	D	1608-10
SP 5107	Schools Quadrangle, Bodleian Library, Oxford		1610-24
	<i>2. Important West Riding Houses:</i>		
SE 0926	High Sunderland, Halifax		c. 1629
SE 0742	East Riddlesden Hall, Riddlesden, Keighley	RD	c. 1640-48
	<i>3. Ornate Halifax Houses:</i>		
SE 0622	Lower Old Hall, Norland	FPD	1634
SE 0626	Long Can, Ovenden Wood, Halifax	P	1637
SE 0619	Barkisland Hall, Barkisland	FPRD	1638
SE 1120	New Hall, Elland	PRD	c. 1640
SE 0519	Howroyde, Barkisland	D	1642
SE 0326	Oats Royd, Luddenden	FP	1645
SE 0325	Kershaw House, Luddenden	FPR	1650
SE 2229	Lumb Hall, Drighlington	R	c. 1650
	<i>4. Other West Riding Houses:</i>		
SE 0622	Fallingworth Hall, Norland	P	1644
SE 2405	Cat Hill Farm, Penistone		1634
SE 0423	Wood Lane Hall, Sowerby	FRD	1649
SE 1532	Horton Hall, Bradford	R	c. 1675
SD 9964	Threshfield Manor House	R	

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author wishes to acknowledge the advice and help he has received in discussions with Mr. M. W. Barley and other members of the Vernacular Architecture Group; and with Mr. J. Walton and Mr. J. L. Midgley of the Architecture Department, Huddersfield College of Technology. Thanks are also due to Mr. Philip Pacey for help in taking detailed photographs of most of the houses mentioned, and to the occupants of the houses for allowing this work to proceed.

# PARK LANDSCAPES OF THE EAST AND WEST RIDINGS IN THE TIME OF HUMPHRY REPTON<sup>1</sup>

By BRYAN E. COATES.

In the years following the inventions of Hargreaves, Arkwright, Watts, and Cort the speed of industrial change in Britain increased rapidly. Moreover, goods and passengers were, by the aid of the canals and the stage-coaches which traversed the increasing number of turnpike roads, moved about the country with greater speed and safety and at cheaper rates. The tempo of change was quickening. In order to serve a growing population and villages, which almost overnight had become towns dependent upon the productivity of the surrounding countryside, the landowners of the kingdom hastened hundreds of Enclosure Acts on their way through Parliament and, in the process, reorganised the productive resources of land which for centuries had been cultivated under the inefficient open-field system. In the new enclosures, as in the park enclosures previously, new techniques of livestock farming proceeded without the limitations and dangers, including the spread of disease, inherent to the organisation of agrarian activity in terms of the open-fields.

The landowners were equally anxious about their account books, their daughters' marriages and their sons' debts and professions. Their attention was directed to their estates and to the county business on the bench of magistrates, as well as to their hounds and horses, and they were devoted to their gardens, parks and ponds a little more than to their books; living a wholesome and useful life, half public, half private, wholly leisured, natural and dignified.<sup>2</sup> Many of the better-to-do gentry, as their letters and diaries show, were getting several thousands of pounds a year from their estates. Incomes were bolstered by the accelerating demand for agrarian products and for land itself, for the building of factories, roads, mines and dwellings. The Fitzwilliam, Wharnccliffe and Norfolk families in Sneffield and the Ramsden family in Huddersfield were to benefit greatly by their ownership of land already being submerged by the spread of these towns which, on the edge of the coalfield, supplied the growing demand for iron and woollen manufactures. The increasing use of coal also led to the enrichment of many landed

<sup>1</sup> This article is based on chapter 5 of the author's thesis on 'The Development and Distribution of the Landscape Parks in the East and West Ridings of Yorkshire' presented to the University of Leeds in September 1960.

<sup>2</sup> See G. M. Trevelyan, *English Social History* (1946), 308.



families by way of royalties resulting from their ownership of the mineral rights.<sup>1</sup>

'If the England of the 18th century, under aristocratic leadership, was a land of art and elegance, its social and economic structure was assistant thereto.<sup>2</sup> Life and art were still human and not mechanical and quality still counted for more than quantity. The aristocratic atmosphere was favourable to art and taste and these had not one or two isolated centres but hundreds scattered all over the country in 'gentlemen's seats'. It is not surprising, therefore, that the demand for a country-house and park was greater than ever.

Landowners throughout Yorkshire shared in the increasing prosperity of Great Britain at this time. Country-mansions were rebuilt and extended and new ones made their appearance. Around the mansions the park pale pushed out into thousands of acres of the countryside. Bogs, heaths, rough pastures and even arable land were transformed into the magnificent parks which represent one of the most valuable contributions of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries to our cultural landscape. Many of these parks remain as the 'high places' of the English countryside, but, generally speaking, the present-day parks are merely residuals of their former extent and grandeur. Many of the elements of the park landscape can still be discerned but the over-all design has been mutilated by the housing-estates, railways, tractors and mines, and by the transformed social and economic conditions of a highly-organised industrial society. However, the interest of the parks which have survived is further increased by the fact that within the parks themselves are also preserved many fossilised landscape features from earlier times. The prehistoric earthworks of Becca Banks and the Roman Rigg (through Wentworth Park) stand alongside the pattern of mediaeval fields and field-roads revealed on the ground and more strikingly on the air photograph. There are old iron-stone pits at Tankersley, coal bell-pits at Cawthorne Park Wood, and the Cistercian Abbey of Roche, as well as the remains of the 18th century iron-forge with its mill-pond and sluice-gates, at Sandbeck. In this context M. W. Beresford points to the importance of the large areas within the park pale where 'a sight of greensward was sufficient'. Here the older elements are not disrupted by the flooding of valleys, the removal of hills, cottages and even villages, and the erection of little hills and earth-mounds.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Coal production expanded steadily in the 18th century. Favoured by the numerous outcrops of good quality coal and by the nearby markets production from the Yorkshire coalfield reached 2½ million tons by 1816. Thereafter production increased rapidly to 7.75 million tons in 1855 and 43.7 million tons in 1913: W. Smith, *An Economic Geography of Great Britain* (1953), 124 & 282-3. For detailed studies on the rôle of the landowner in the development of the coalfields see D. Spring, 'The English Landed Estate in the Age of Coal and Iron: 1830-1880'. *The Journal of Economic History* (1951), 3-24 and J. T. Ward, 'West Riding Landowners and Mining in the Nineteenth Century', *Yorkshire Bulletin of Economic and Social Research* (May 1963), 61-74.

<sup>2</sup> G. M. Trevelyan, *op. cit.*, 396.

<sup>3</sup> M. W. Beresford, 'A Journey Through Parks', in *History on the Ground* (1957), 187-8.

In tracing the development of the landscape parks in the period 1790-1820 attention will be directed first to the extent of emparking and second to the changes in taste which gave rise to the park landscapes characteristic of the period. Finally, a brief assessment will be made of Repton's contribution to landscape gardening and this will be followed by examples of his work in the West Riding.

### *The Distribution of Parkland*

The county maps clearly show that emparking was still proceeding rapidly. Jefferys portrayed 53 parks in the West and 10 in the East Riding on his map of 1772. Tuke, however, in 1816 deemed it necessary to raise these figures to 72 and 18 and Greenwood, a year later, to 76 and 9. The discrepancy between the number of parks in the East and West Ridings first demonstrated by Saxton and Speede had continued. During the most important period of landscaping, 1760-1820, far more parks were built in the West than in the East Riding. If Greenwood's figures are taken it would appear that the West Riding contained 8 parks worthy of inclusion on a small-scale map of the Riding for every one so judged in the East Riding.

Greenwood introduced as many as 24 parks to the West Riding list. The most important of the additions, in terms of size, future growth, and the extent of deliberate landscaping, were Rudding, Leathley, Grimston, Sprotborough, Frickley and Owston.<sup>1</sup> Both Tuke and Greenwood included Whitley, an example of Brown's work.

The distributional pattern of parkland in the second decade of the 19th century was essentially that which was to survive into the 20th century. Most of the large parks were already in existence while others were to extend their acreage appreciably in the 19th century. The 85 parks shown by Greenwood occupied approximately 26,500 acres with 23,000 acres in the West Riding alone.<sup>2</sup> Three parks – Bramham, Harewood and Wentworth Woodhouse – each occupied more than 1,000 acres, while a further 10 covered between 500 and 1,000 acres. These were Bretton, Wentworth Castle, Bolton, Studley Royal, Temple Newsam, Ledstone, Fixby and, in the East Riding, Burton Constable, Londesborough and Scampston. A further 28 parks enclosed between 250 and 500 acres leaving 44 parks with under 250 acres within the park pale. The crown of the Wolds, the Vale of York and the Pennines generally above 400 ft. O.D. had been avoided by the emparkers. In the upper Ribble valley there was a series of small parks from Waddow House to Gisburne Park. The Wharfe, Aire and Calder valleys had been picked out by the 'improvers' but the parks along the Calder valley were noticeably smaller than their counterparts in the valleys

<sup>1</sup> Rudding and Owston were landscaped by Repton in the 1790's; Grimston was laid out by Nesfield in the 1840's and Sprotborough eventually encompassed 700 acres before its decline in recent years when a large portion was sold for development as a private residential-estate.

<sup>2</sup> The eight additional parks marked by Tuke would add approximately 1,000 acres to the East Riding total.



of the Wharfe and Aire below Ilkley and Leeds respectively. The most important concentrations were on the Coal Measures and the Permian belt of the West Riding. Many of the large parks were on the Coal Measures while on the Permian the parks to the south of Stapleton tended to be smaller than those to the north which included among their number Bramham, Ledstone, Studley, Allerton, Parlington, 'Rudding, Wetherby Grange and Byram.

The inclusion for the first time of a park on the county map cannot be taken as an indication that the park was a new creation but rather that the park had reached a certain size. Wortley Park is a case in point. As far as the county maps are concerned Wortley made its appearance with Greenwood's map of 1817. Yet the park was in existence by 1591 for in 1593-4 Richard Wortley was complainant with regard to 'the killing of the Deer and throwing down the fence of the chase in Wharncliffe and pulling down the pales of the park at or near Howbrook lane. The facts committed 33 El. 1591'.<sup>1</sup> In a Survey of Wortley and Pilley taken in 1684, 'methodiz'd in Six Mapps' (now lost), reference is made to the 118 'Parcells' of the 'Old Park' and these included an area of 236 acres in 'the Hall Demeanes'.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, the 'Account Book for the years 1684-1687'<sup>3</sup> contains several entries relating to the 'walling in' and 'rate money' of the 'New Park'.<sup>4</sup> In the years under discussion, 1790-1820, Wortley, along with many other parks in Yorkshire, was subjected to the changes in taste, and hence landscaping, associated with the Picturesque movement and, in particular, with the name of Humphry Repton.

### *The Change from 'Natural' to 'Picturesque' Landscapes*

After the death of 'Capability' Brown in 1783 the idea grew that landscape should not merely imitate Nature but imitate Nature in the raw and so display 'the bold roughness of Nature'.<sup>5</sup> The romantic reaction in taste soon began to distract attention from Brown's positive achievements. He was soon remembered only for his curious nickname and as the destroyer of formal gardens.<sup>6</sup> The Picturesque critics attacked Brownian landscape because funda-

<sup>1</sup> Wharncliffe Muniments (WH.M.), 48. Papers deposited in the Sheffield City Library.

<sup>2</sup> WH.M. 72.

<sup>3</sup> WH.M. 137.

<sup>4</sup> Entries are from 12th Jan. 1684 to 1st May 1686 and the money spent on the work totalled £55: 16. 10.

<sup>5</sup> H. C. Darby, 'The Changing English Landscape', *Geographical Journal* (1951), 389.

<sup>6</sup> For a detailed analysis of Brown's work see D. Stroud, *Capability Brown* (1950). Brown landscaped thousands of acres of the English countryside between 1750 and 1783. His chief works, with dates, in Yorkshire were Harewood (1771-1782), Temple Newsam (1765), Scampston (1773), Burton Constable (1774), Rise (1775), Sandbeck (1766-1774), Whitley Beaumont (1780) and Byram (1782).





PLATE I.

A 'Picturesque' Landscape.

Illustration from R. Payne Knight, *The Landscape: a didactic poem* (1794).





PLATE II.

A 'Natural' Landscape.

Illustration from R. Payne Knight, *The Landscape: a didactic poem* (1794).



mentally it was physical and intellectual in its appeal.<sup>1</sup> They found a lack of visual excitement<sup>2</sup> and they scorned Brown's constant repetition of the clump, the waving inner belt and the circling belt around the estate, and lamented his total exclusion of the avenue to provide a majestic vista from, or approach to, a country house.<sup>3</sup> Payne Knight, for instance, attacked the 'thin meagre genius of the bare and bald, whose desolating hand' set the mansion 'midst shaven lawns, that far around it creep in one eternal undulating sweep'.<sup>4</sup> The advocates of the Picturesque sought to create a closer harmony between the house and its girdle of parkland. Great importance was attached to the pictorial unity of a building with its landscape setting and this led the Picturesque protagonists to recognise the necessity of some architectural setting for country houses, which Brown had as strenuously denied.<sup>5</sup> A greater degree of formality was introduced in the immediate neighbourhood of the house while beyond the ha-ha or iron fence, which Brown had often dispensed with altogether, stood ruins, temples, grottoes, hermitages, rustic pavilions and cottages. Outstanding examples of such buildings are the thatched cottage in the open park at Bramham, the gothicised deer shed at Cannon Hall and the gothic farm buildings at Sledmere.

This new conception of enabling nature to grow as it would, with the different parks characteristic in their individualism, was well summarised by Uvedale Price whose technique was that 'of riding nature on a loose rein towards the kind of visual effects which please a painter's eye'. Payne Knight expresses his 'principles' by means of two illustrations, the first (pl. I) shows an 'undressed' landscape and the second (pl. II) is a sketch of the same view after improvement 'dressed in the modern style', that is in Brownian fashion. The initial 'undressed' state pleased the Picturesque impresarios because of its excitement, luxuriance (in the sense of neglect), ruggedness, wildness and chiaroscuro, that is its attention to visual values. These qualities were as complicated as the theories on

<sup>1</sup> Brown attempted to create, or recreate, an ideal state of nature. In selecting the individual elements which together formed his landscape he was clearly influenced by Burke's conception of 'Beauty' (E. Burke, *Inquiry into the origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, 1756). Above all, however, Brown's system was firmly based on Hogarth's 'serpentine line of Beauty' (W. Hogarth, *The Analysis of Beauty*, 1753): Brown's plantations, lakes, inner belt, coach roads and vistas all 'waved'.

<sup>2</sup> As Brown's park landscapes gradually matured, the clumps and hillocks were softened and the painter's art of light, shade and texture became more apparent. But so successful were many of his landscapes that their artificial origin tended to be forgotten. See C. Hussey, 'Landscape and the Picturesque', *The Listener* (8th June 1950).

<sup>3</sup> In 1772 Sir William Chambers, the propagandist of the Chinese style of gardening, exclaimed: 'if the mania (for clumping) is not checked three trees will not be found in a straight line from Landsend to the Tweed'.

<sup>4</sup> R. Payne Knight, *The Landscape: a didactic poem* (1794). A copy of this poem is among the Woolley Estate Papers, Brotherton Library, Leeds.

<sup>5</sup> C. Hussey in D. Stroud, *op. cit.*, 9 & 14.



which the paper battle was fought.<sup>1</sup> The important point to realise is that the controversy arose because the treatment of the natural garden had become as stereotyped as that of the formal garden which it had displaced. Nevertheless, the 'natural landscapes' associated with Brown are characteristic of the majority of present-day parks in Yorkshire.

### *Repton's Contribution to Landscape Gardening*

The Picturesque critics deprecated the imposition of an artificial pattern – whether 'formal' or 'natural' – on a natural site. The desire for individuality in park landscapes led to a much more careful analysis of the advantages and disadvantages of the local topography. Attention was drawn to the overall setting of the park and to the value of irregular grouping, broken skylines, the enrichment of its surface and also its surroundings. Significantly, Price recognised that Vanbrugh had taken these qualities and combined them with classical architecture. Repton in his first book deemed it necessary to devote a chapter to 'Different Characters and Situations' and a further one to 'Proper Situations for a House'. His guiding principle was: 'all rational improvements of grounds, is, necessarily, founded on a due attention to the character and situation of the place to be improved; the former teaches what is advisable, the latter what is possible to be done'.<sup>2</sup>

Humphry Repton filled the gap vacated by Brown and for thirty years was the most prolific landscape gardener in England<sup>3</sup> with the erection, transformation, or improvement of at least 200 important

<sup>1</sup> The influence of painting on landscape gardening became, after the death of Brown in 1783, a controversial subject. The chief combatants were Humphry Repton, the new 'Monarch of Landscape', Sir Uvedale Price, the established authority on the Picturesque, and Richard Payne Knight, an arbiter of taste. Rousseau, in landscape as in political thought, stressed that freedom must be the aim and this new, free approach to the visual world was termed the picturesque in 1794 by Uvedale Price in his *Essay on the Picturesque*. In 1798 Sir Uvedale Price supplemented his now famous essay with another on *Architecture and Buildings*. In 1805 Richard Payne Knight followed up his poem with an *Analytical Inquiry into the Principles of Taste* which carried the whole subject of visual values into the realm of aesthetic psychology. Humphry Repton published a series of collected extracts from his 'Red Books' in 1795, 1806, 1808 and 1816. And in 1806 John Claudius Loudon, a notable newcomer, entered the debate with a two-volume *Treatise on Forming, Improving, and Managing Country Residences . . . so as to Combine Architectural Fitness with Picturesque Effect*. Throughout the period of the Picturesque, books of designs for country houses and cottages in picturesque renderings of many styles were produced by enterprising architects inspired by Price and Knight's 'principles', for example, J. Malton (1798), J. M. Gandy (1805), W. Atkinson (1805), R. Lugar (1805), W. F. Pocock (1807), P. F. Robinson (1823), J. Thompson (1827) and T. F. Hunt (1827).

<sup>2</sup> Ed. J. Nolen, *The Art of Landscape Gardening by Humphry Repton Esq. Including his 'Sketches and Hints on Landscape Gardening' and 'Theory and Practice of Landscape'* (1907), 7-16 & 23-31 (Chapters 1 and 3).

<sup>3</sup> A comprehensive survey of Repton's work has been published since this article was submitted. It contains a chronological account of Repton's work in the field of landscape gardening and an appendix listing the Works of Humphry Repton: Dorothy Stroud, *Humphry Repton*, published by Country Life Limited.

parks to his credit. Repton wrote down his observations and suggestions in book-form and presented them to the landowner as the Red Book of the particular estate. The books are illustrated by a ground-plan of the intended improvement and by first-class water-colours of scenes as they already existed. An overlay was then included to illustrate the scene that Repton wished to create and this overlay he called a 'slide'. Repton's publications are essentially quotations from the 'Red Books'.

Generally speaking, Repton followed the precepts of Brown rather than those of his contemporary Picturesque critics. He saw his profession as an opportunity for design and was essentially a practical man who came into gardening after a varied career.<sup>1</sup> To Knight and Price objects were either picturesque, beautiful ('the false landscapes of Mr. Brown') or sublime, a sort of exaggerated or more spectacular picturesqueness. Repton the practitioner, however, favoured 'utility, convenience and comfort'.<sup>2</sup>

From a landscape point of view Repton took elements from both Le Nôtre and Brown and blended them into a single landscape eminently suited to the particular characteristics of the site in question. Many of Repton's ideas and methods were those formulated by Brown. His lakes were similar, though he preferred to build rivers and regarded them as being easier than lakes when imitating actual nature. He introduced walks around the water features and planted more trees along their banks. The approach road through the park took a shorter course from lodge to house and left the Highway at an important bend or junction rather than at right angles.<sup>3</sup> The boundary fence continued to be concealed from the house – by plantations, by slender iron fences painted green, by sinking the fence (or fosse or ha-ha) or by a light hurdle instead of heavy wood palings.<sup>4</sup> Brown's 'belt' was abolished, for it 'becomes a boundary scarce less offensive than the pale itself'.

The site for a landscape must not be 'low and damp' but 'picturesque and cheerful' using 'the gentle swell of the ground' as the 'first object of improvement'.<sup>5</sup> 'Modern taste has discovered that greatness and cheerfulness are not incompatible; it has thrown down the ancient-palisade and lofty walls because it is aware that liberty is the true portal of happiness.'<sup>6</sup> But Repton was not averse

<sup>1</sup> Repton, *op. cit.*, Nolen's introduction.

<sup>2</sup> These three words are stressed by Repton in both his general chapters and in the Red Books.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 50-1. One of the eight requisites given by Repton is that it ought not to be of grass with the traveller left wandering about to find it at night. As at Owston, Rudding and Oulton the highroad ought to appear to branch from the approach, rather than the approach from the highroad.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 126. 'That the boundary-fence of a place should be concealed from the house is among the few general principles admitted in modern gardening'.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 10 & 12.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.



to providing a dignified setting for the house by means of a terrace<sup>1</sup> and lofty avenues in circumstances where he thought they were required. Repton's objections to the avenue and the arguments he advanced<sup>2</sup> clearly illustrate the change which had taken place over the preceding one hundred years.

Repton was a strong advocate of the necessity of having moving objects to enliven the scene and to provide a standard by which to measure distance and height. The use of 'sunk fences or the ha-ha' allowed cattle, deer and sheep to brighten the 'solitary grandeur' of a large lawn while boats added movement and perspective to an otherwise 'dreary waste of water'.<sup>3</sup> To make a lawn appear larger 'Alderney cows' – a 'small' animal – were often introduced.<sup>4</sup> Similarly, with artificial rivers he often used bridges of more than one arch 'to give to the scene importance'.<sup>5</sup> At Wentworth Woodhouse, for instance, Repton found that the 'artificial management' of the lakes gave them the appearance of 'several distinct pools and not the series of lakes which nature produces in a mountainous country'. To offset this, Repton attempted to give the water the character of 'one large river (rather) than several small lakes' by introducing a bridge 'not more than 50 yards long' into his 'slide' to give the impression of continuity and extent by 'showing the impossibility of crossing it by any other means'.<sup>6</sup>

Great emphasis was placed on the natural shape of the ground, for the juxtaposition of wood and water dominated Repton's as well as Brown's attempts at landscape composition. Regarding planting 'Brown, (mainly because of the practical followers . . . . who lacked his force of genius), has been treated with ridicule by the contemptuous observation that all his improvements consisted in belting, clumping and dotting'. The fault, however, lay with

<sup>1</sup> 'Indeed, in all that appeared artificial in the ancient style of gardening, I have frequently regretted the destruction of those majestic terraces which marked the precise line betwixt nature and art . . . . the line of demarcation between the dressed ground and the park'; Repton, *op. cit.*, 130 and 170.

<sup>2</sup> Repton generally condemned avenues on the grounds of the 'sameness' induced by them whereby 'all novelty or diversity of situation is done away; and the views from every house in the kingdom may be reduced to the same landscape, if looking up or down a straight line, betwixt two green lines, deserves the name of landscape'. It is wholly typical of Repton that in his search for principles he gives four more objections to the avenue. He asserts that 'the eye of taste hates compulsion', the avenue 'divides the park and cuts it into separate parts', and 'acts as a curtain drawn across (scenery) which is infinitely more interesting'. Finally, avenues acted as 'wind-spouts to direct cold blasts with more violence upon the dwelling'!

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 41-2.

<sup>4</sup> Conversely anything in the landscape which 'circumscribed' it by ill-judged application of the principle of 'comparative proportion' was swept away. At Wentworth Woodhouse, for example, 'the large trees which surrounded the lawn appeared depressed by four tall obelisks: These have been removed, the stately trees have assumed their true magnitude, and the effect of confinement is done away': Repton, *op. cit.*, 73.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 73-5.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 100. The 'Before' and 'After' Slides are published in Repton's book of 1795.



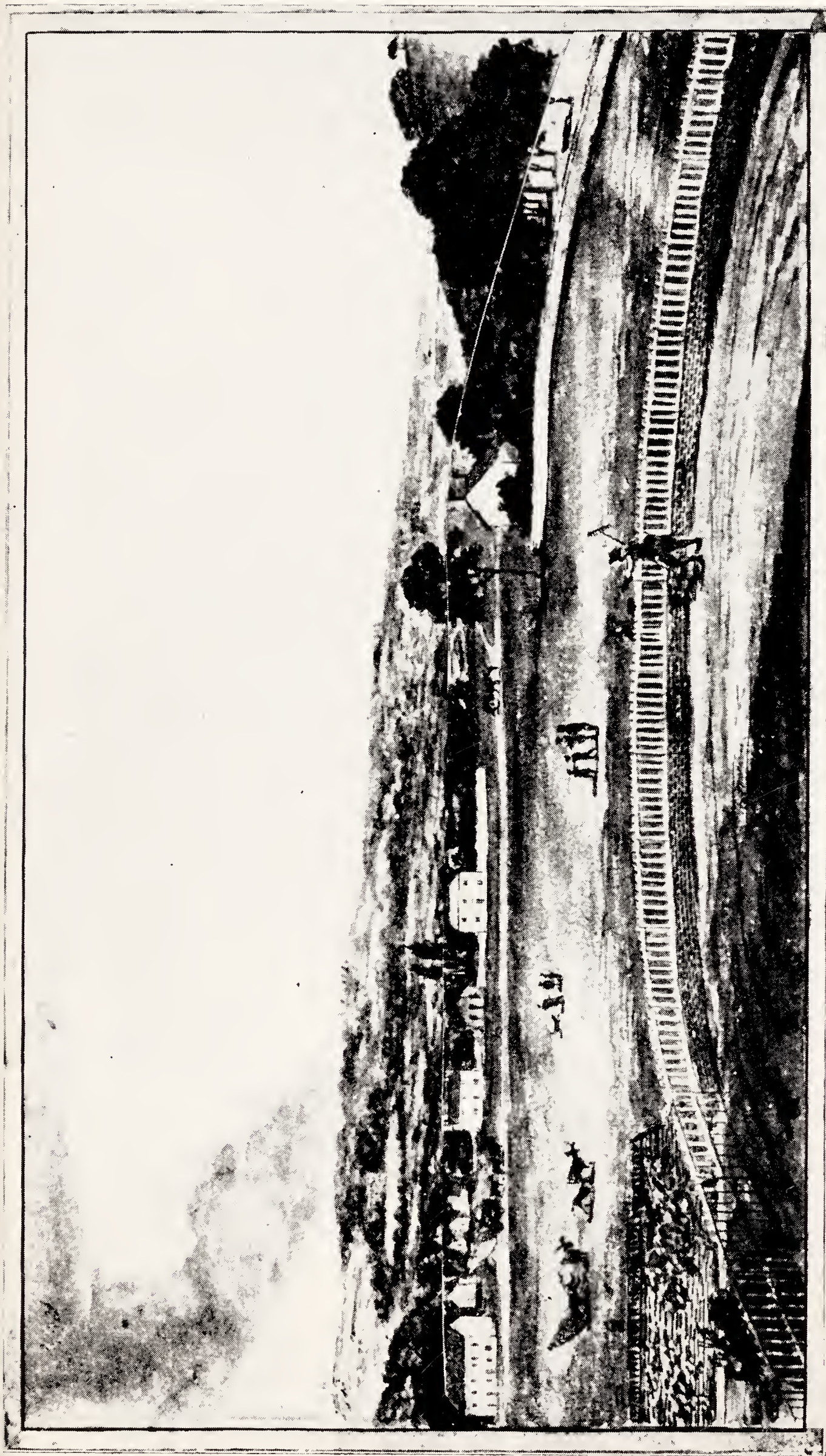


PLATE III.

Oulton Park: view to the north-east across Oulton Common and village from the main front of the Hall before landscaping.





PLATE IV.

Oulton Park: view to the north-east across the park, lakes and boundary-belt from the main front of the Hall after landscaping by Repton.



those who misunderstood Brown by retaining the clumps instead of thinning them out when 'the growth of those few which might be ultimately destined to remain and form a group' were sufficiently matured. Repton called his clumps 'groups' and with 'single trees' used them to 'break . . . . the uniformity of the surface of a lawn by light and shadow'.<sup>1</sup> Trees were planted closer together to increase their picturesque effect by displacing the trunks from the perpendicular. Thorns and bushes around the groups hid the bare trunks and presented a mass of foliage, even in winter, while elsewhere 'the browsing-line', formed by cattle and deer at about 6 feet from the ground, presented a scale of comparative height between different species of trees. Along with the more fanatical Picturesque critics Repton drew attention to the value of irregular grouping, broken skylines and the enrichment of surface and surroundings by gothic as well as classical garden buildings.

Repton was strongly opposed to 'appropriation' for its own sake. He discouraged the extension of a park unless it led directly to a notable improvement in design and added to the picturesque unity of the whole. His problem at many parks was that they were too large. At Wentworth House the vast size of the park made the task of connection and harmony an almost impossible one, as Repton observed in his Red Book; 'Wentworth Park consists of parts, in themselves truly great and magnificent. The woods, the lawns, the water, and the buildings are all separately striking; but, considered as a whole, there is want of connexion and harmony in the composition, because parts, in themselves large, if disjoined, lose their importance'.<sup>2</sup> Long extracts from this Red Book were published by Repton in his 'Observations on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening' and it is, therefore, unnecessary to go into details. Repton achieved harmony by planting the remnants of the hill that the Rockinghams had spent so much money on clearing away. This provided a central feature from the house and the park and united the different parts.

### *Repton's Work in the West Riding*

Prince has mapped 188 places improved by Repton and shown the extent to which he was patronized by the owners of parks in the Home Counties.<sup>3</sup> Repton, in his books of 1795 and 1803, referred to his Red Books of Bessacre Manor (616005), Harewood House (397978), Owston (551112), Rudding (337529) and Wentworth Woodhouse (397978). All these parks are in the West Riding and, as Repton makes no further references to Yorkshire Red Books in his books of 1806, 1808 and 1816, it would appear that he was never called in to work in the East Riding.<sup>4</sup> A Red Book for Oulton Hall (358278), hitherto unknown, has recently been discovered by

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 103-4.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 81.

<sup>3</sup> H. C. Prince, 'Parkland in the English Landscape', *The Amateur Historian* 3, No. 8 (1958), 334-5.

<sup>4</sup> In the North Riding Repton worked at Mulgrave Castle before 1803.



the author and adds a notable park to the work of Repton in the West Riding.<sup>1</sup> More recently the author has traced the 'Red Book of Owston' to the Owston Estate Office and it is now the private property of the Agent, Mr. T. Bradbury. From a study of Repton's Red Books and publications, and from work in the field, it is possible to reconstruct Repton's peculiar impact on the cultural landscape of the West Riding and from it to appreciate other activities of improvers who were building or reconstructing their parks at the same time.

Owston was one of the first parks designed by Repton.<sup>2</sup> Commissioned by Bryan Cook, Esq., Repton submitted his plans for a landscape park to be created at Owston on the low-lying and relatively flat land on the Upper Permian Marl below the minor fault-line scarp of the Upper Magnesian Limestone. The landscape expresses the radical changes which have taken place in the Owston district. At the present time the area is dominated by a mining landscape superimposed upon the rectangular fields, straight roads and other elements associated with Parliamentary and private enclosure. As a result of the changes in social and economic conditions in the last thirty years Owston park has undergone a marked decline. Many of the elements which together made up the landscape park can still be discerned and the landscaping carried out by Repton is of particular interest for three main reasons: first, the compact 'clump' was replaced at Owston by a more open cluster or 'group' of trees; secondly, the absence of any treatment of water, though Repton included a two-acre pond in his recommendations; and, thirdly, for the way in which Repton attempted to overcome the limited 'capabilities' of the site.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dated 1810 and discovered in a Leeds Solicitor's Office by Mr. R. F. Dell, the former Leeds City Archivist, and kindly made available to the author to transcribe and photo-copy the colour sketches before its return to the store-room.

<sup>2</sup> Included in Repton's list of 'Red Books', in Repton, *op. cit.*, 224.

<sup>3</sup> The author is indebted to Mr. T. Bradbury, the Owston Estate Agent, for his kindness in allowing him to read the *Red Book for Owston*. The Red Book was written between Repton's visit to Owston on 28 August, 1792 and its dispatch from 'Harestreet by Romford' on 7 February, 1793. The 'Introduction', written in Repton's hand, states clearly the object of this 'Red Book' of the early years of Repton's work as a landscape gardener and is quoted in full:—

Sir, The map and sketches which accompany these remarks, may mislead in the execution if followed as an actual measured guide; because no instructions can be given on paper which will preclude the necessity of marking the detail by stakes upon the spot; they will however assist me in explaining my ideas respecting the grounds at Owston, better than mere words; and may possibly act as a sort of ocular demonstration of the principles on which I found my opinion.

If the general outline of the plan which I suggest, should fortunately meet your wishes, I shall be happy occasionally to assist in carrying the several parts into execution; by such actual directions on the spot as it is impossible to communicate on paper.

I have the honour to be Sir  
Your most obedient humble Servant  
H. Repton.

The problem at Owston, as Repton saw it, was that ‘no Situation in the grounds can boast any very striking features or extensive prospects’ and there is very ‘little inequality of ground’. Despite the rather flat and monotonous site Repton did not ‘hesitate to pronounce on the possibility of producing cheerful and interesting scenery<sup>1</sup> . . . . . and this may be done without sacrificing more to beauty than convenience may fairly justify . . . . . (for) the verdure is good, the soil dry and there are many good trees, tho’ mostly in rows’. (Extracts from Owston Red Book.) Moreover, in a flat country the ‘landscape gardener’ must work to ‘give light and shade to his landscape by the help of trees and plantations’ rather than ‘improving and assisting the natural swells of the ground’. (Owston Red Book.)<sup>2</sup>

Bessacre Manor,<sup>3</sup> on the flat carr lands to the south of Doncaster, was also landscaped by Repton. It has now been destroyed by housing development and the extension of the Great North Road. At Rudding Hall,<sup>4</sup> to the south of Knaresborough, Repton executed the waterworks. At Harewood and again at Wentworth Woodhouse,<sup>5</sup> between 1795 and 1803, Repton redesigned the water features. In his Harewood ‘Red Book’ he discussed the method of conveying water from high to low levels by means of a ‘continual stream . . . . . dashing among broken fragments or gently gliding over ledges of rock which form the bottom of the channel’. In true imitation of nature the ledges ‘should not be laid horizontally, but with the same slanting inclination that is observed, more or less, in the bed of the neighbouring river’ – presumably the Wharfe. The article is illustrated by a sketch of the bridge and cascade as it now stands. Wentworth received similar treatment with ‘the rippling motion of water’ provided by a stream issuing from an artificially engineered spring.<sup>6</sup>

A notable find has been the unearthing of a completely unknown ‘Red Book for Oulton Hall’. Arthur Young passed by in the late 1760’s but did not regard the open fields, inclosures, and commons of Oulton and Rothwell as being worthy of comment. Forty years later, in 1809, the change from common to parkland took place at

<sup>1</sup> The improvements which Repton contemplated were partly made possible by the abandonment of the ‘Old House’ which stood just west of the Church (contains features of the Early Norman period) and the establishment of the ‘New House’ on ‘the naked crown of the hill towards the west’. The difference in altitude is only a few feet, but in this flat country a small rise in height results in a much more extensive prospect.

<sup>2</sup> At Owston, Repton used groups of trees to emphasise distance, or perspective by taking advantage of their differences in height and form, due to their type, age, and position in relation to one another. By the application of such methods Repton was able to design ‘apparent inequality of ground, which did not exist in reality’.

<sup>3</sup> Repton refers to his work at ‘Bessacarr’ in his *Red Book of Owston* and in Repton, *op. cit.*, 223.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 224.

<sup>5</sup> For further information on Harewood and Wentworth Woodhouse see D. Stroud, *Humphry Repton*, 53-4 & 110-11.

<sup>6</sup> Repton, *op. cit.*, 101.



surprising speed. On 20 February, 1809, a petition for a Bill to inclose Rothwell with Royds and Oulton with Woodlesford, in the parish of Rothwell, was presented in the Commons. It received the Royal Assent on May 12.<sup>1</sup> In November the new owner of Oulton Common, John Blayds, Esq.<sup>2</sup> called in the most distinguished landscape architect in England and in March 1810 became the owner of a 'Red Book'.

Repton, 'in conversation on the spot' in 1809 suggested 'numerous hints' and, before leaving, 'marked out . . . . . several lines . . . . . upon the ground'. The most significant fact about Oulton is that it was a new creation.<sup>3</sup> 'The change to be made in the Character of this place can hardly be classed under the name Improvements, it is rather a total creation of a new place: and depends on circumstances which will render it a work of time to compleat; but with the advantages of Oulton in point of situation and extensive Views, I trust that every year will evince the progress towards such a change as my sketches dare to promise, and that you will not think I have anticipated more than can be ultimately effected'. Moreover, the scheme was carried out and as the first student to enter Oulton Park armed with Repton's beautiful water-colour sketches, the author was somewhat surprised to note how line for line the layout of the present-day matches the initial scheme. Modifications later in the nineteenth century, with regard to the House and the introduction of a Church within the grounds, together with neglect in recent years are the chief signs of change.

Commencing with the 'mere farm house on the border of a Green, or Common' recently elevated, by the addition of 'two good rooms', to a 'humble house',<sup>4</sup> Repton decided to give the house the character of an elegant Villa rather than a permanent Country-Residence. If the latter should be desired in the future then 'the only material alteration (necessary) will consist in opening Views to the South; by the removal of the present stables'. This was in fact carried out in 1851 when the House was completely rebuilt on a much grander scale and the park was extended to almost twice its original size. The Church of St. John was erected in the park in 1827-9 by Thomas Rickman.

<sup>1</sup> *House of Commons Journal* (1809), 63, 99, 136, 169 and 185.

<sup>2</sup> The Act was enrolled on 30 September, 1818. The Act was instituted by John Blayds of Leeds who was owner of Hollin Hall in Oulton township. 453 acres were enclosed (115 acres in Oulton township). The Award is deposited in the County Records, County Hall, Wakefield.

<sup>3</sup> In 1803 Repton listed 13 'creations' where he had been consulted on initial situation and appendages for a new house and park and a further 7 where he had given general plans for the whole with his son helping (in the architectural department). The great bulk of his work, therefore, consisted in the transformation of existing parkland rather than the creation of new parks.

<sup>4</sup> Repton adds this illuminating comment concerning the recent addition of 'two good rooms for the sake of that distant and richly wooded prospect which its elevated situation commands: it was not then in contemplation to annex much more property or to obtain the act of Parliament by which the Common has lately been allotted to the premises'.

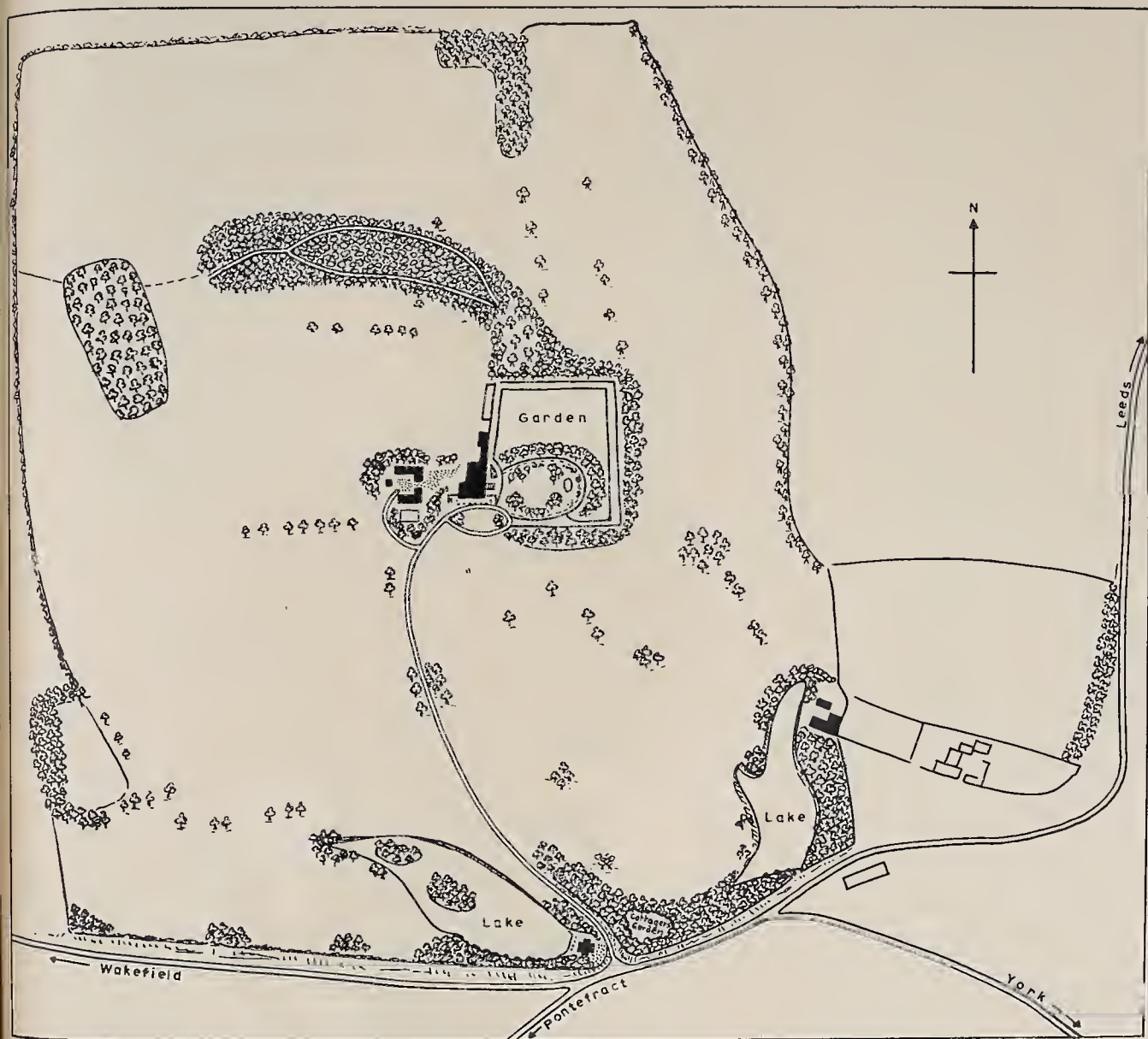


FIG. 1.

Oulton Park; Repton's ground plan, 1810. The map shows the two main lakes, boundary-belt, garden and approach road as they were constructed prior to the reconstruction of the Hall and the erection of the Church in the park later in the 19th century.





The house was sited well upslope and 50 ft. above the lakes. The main front faced eastwards and the prospect was across the lakes and beyond them diagonally across the Aire Valley (pl. III). On this site Repton achieved, to a remarkable degree, the synthesis of house and grounds sought throughout the eighteenth century after the demolition of the boundary walls of the formal garden. The landscape was moulded to suit the character of the elegant villa on the hillside above it (pl. IV). There were two main difficulties to be overcome if the transformation of the common land into a 'lively project' suitable to 'an elegant villa' were to be a success. First, there was the problem of the foreshortening of the ground due to 'the inclined plane falling from the eye'. From the house to the village the ground dropped away steadily and there was no compensatory rising ground beyond the village. Second, 'the row of houses on the Common' had to be hidden.

The essential elements of the new landscape were to be 'water blended with trees' which would serve as 'a frame worthy of the picture, and (also) give to the whole scene that degree of appropriation, which is expected from the windows of a Villa; where distant prospect is not less desirable, than the privacy and security of home scenery'.

The planting at Oulton was governed by the fact that the common presented 'a large tract of open naked land' (pl. III). The only tree growth in existence stood around the cottages situated upslope: the sketches show that it was utilised to the full. Elsewhere not even hedgerow timber, that might be thinned, was present. 'The plantation surrounding a place, called a belt, I have never advised',<sup>1</sup> said Repton in 1803, but at Oulton 'this must in some degree be done in the front; but as such a line of young trees (all of the same growth) would be little better than a mere hedge, if carved uniformly along the side of the high road: it is proposed to give it more variety and freedom of outline by the shapes (that is the areas covered by the plantations, lakes and groups of trees as they would appear on a ground-plan) marked on the ground and on the map' (fig. 1). Furthermore, an elaborate boundary fence towards the road was constructed. This fence survives and consists of a wall of '4 or 5 ft. high' against which was built an extensive, gently convex bank and above it a fence of wooden palings was erected.

The groups of trees were planted on mounds of earth placed so as to 'hide the road, and those numerous houses which remind us of a busy town, rather than a rural scene of retirement', while the gaps opened up views which were not so 'incumbered with buildings'. In due course, therefore, 'the plantations will hide all those (cottages) on the lower ground' (pl. IV).

The cottages on the 'upper' side of the common were more difficult, 'especially that at the bottom of the garden'. The only satisfactory answer was 'removal . . . . for no trees would ever

<sup>1</sup> Repton, *op. cit.*, 68.



entirely conceal so large an object from every part of the grounds'. Repton pointed out that any attempt to ornament this double-cottage would only tend to make it more conspicuous. Moreover, by its removal it would unite the lawn in front with the lawn on the rising ground behind the house. Similarly, the cottage almost immediately in front of the house was banished while retaining some of its accompanying tree growth. Planting served, therefore, a double purpose: it provided the backcloth and punctuation of the new landscape and also blotted out unwanted views.

The second main element of the Oulton landscape consisted of the three ponds. In the treatment of water Repton followed closely the precepts of Brown. He found no other 'circumstance in Landscape so cheerful and interesting, as water (accompanied by wood) and whether it be a pool, a lake, or a river; the glitter of water is always desirable'. His outline followed a serpentine line, his banks followed a smooth convex-concave slope down to the water's edge, and the works of art were invariably hidden by carefully sited trees (pl. IV). He emphasised these points more than Brown and only disagreed with regard to planting the banks. Here he found that 'it is too common a fault in modern gardening, to leave the banks of water bare and naked under the idea of not hiding the water; but a pool on a lawn unaccompanied by trees and bushes, is little better than a land flood in a wet meadow'. At Oulton 'there is so great command of water, that it would be unpardonable not to take some advantage of it'. Repton's planning technique led him to accept the fact that the difference of the levels would not in reality admit of one large sheet of water, or river-like continuity, through the grounds; yet with the help of the plantations the two largest pools were sufficiently connected in appearance. At the same time the two main lakes would be complete in themselves – each of an 'irregular shape', each 'amply cloathed' and each provided with walks along their banks.

The upper water was formed only a few yards from the boundary wall and south of the Lodge. Repton's 'Before' sketch marks a spring with a considerable stream flowing northwards (pl. V). The lodge at the northern end of the lake was sited on the dam to provide a 'covered Seat' and a 'palladian bridge' to take the walker round the lake<sup>1</sup> (pl. VI).

The lower water, as seen from the highroad in coming from York, (now A 642) was also very close to the park boundary, marked by a low wooden pale. Whereas the upper lake remains, albeit semi-derelict, with every line of Repton's sketch clearly discernible, the lower lake has been removed.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This lodge was demolished in the 20th century and the entrance to the park moved north of the Church.

<sup>2</sup> The date of its removal is not known: probably at the time when the centre of gravity was shifted northwards. Repton it will be remembered advocated opening up views to the south.



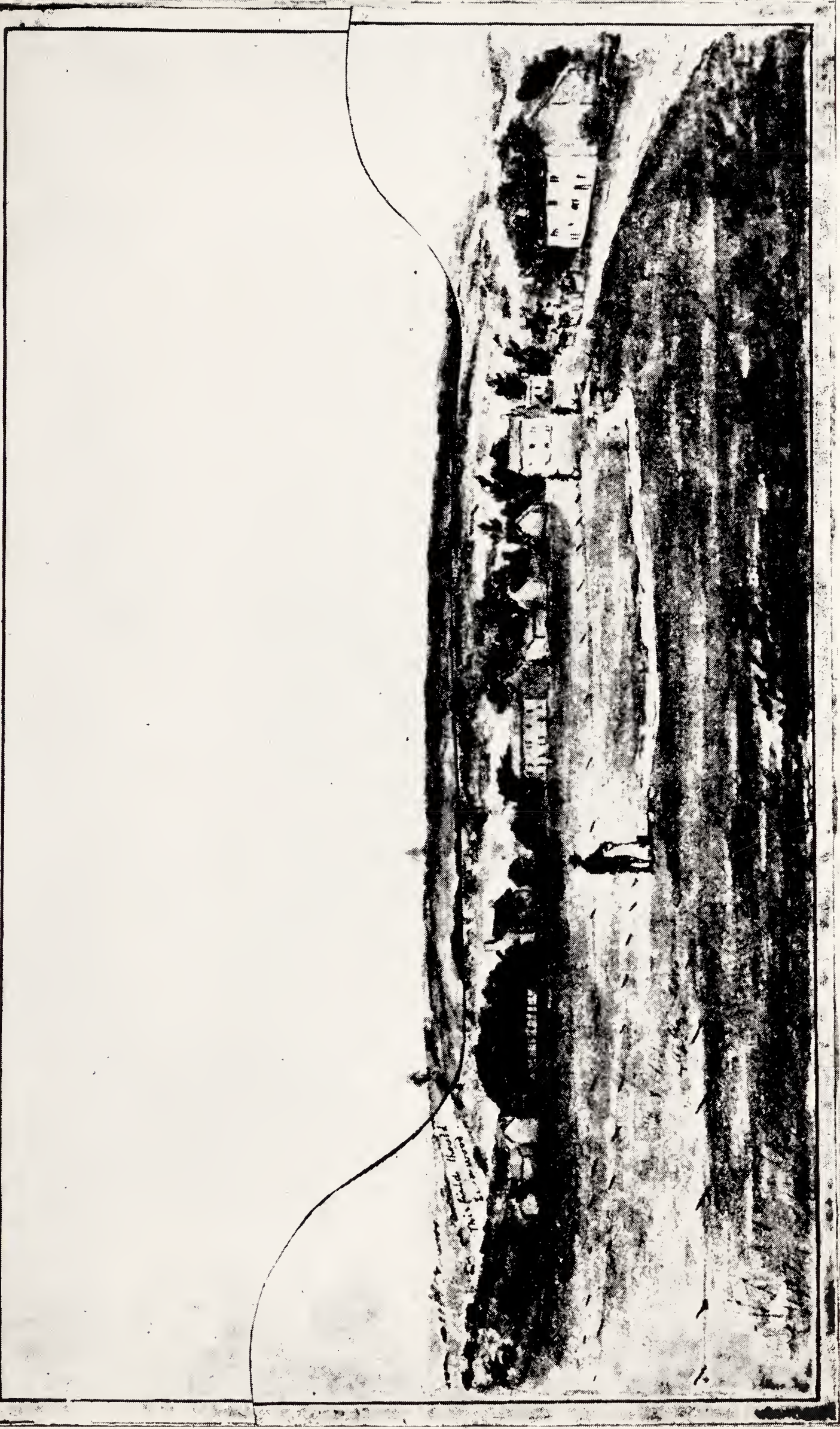


PLATE V.

Oulton Park: site of the upper lake with the turnpike road on the right and Oulton village in the middle-distance. Repton added the following note to the illustration: 'This Slide.... Shews the relative situations of objects on the Common. A Man with a spade is placed to mark the spring and two others to shew the Situation of the Seat at the back of the Lodge. The line of water as Staked out is also shewn'.



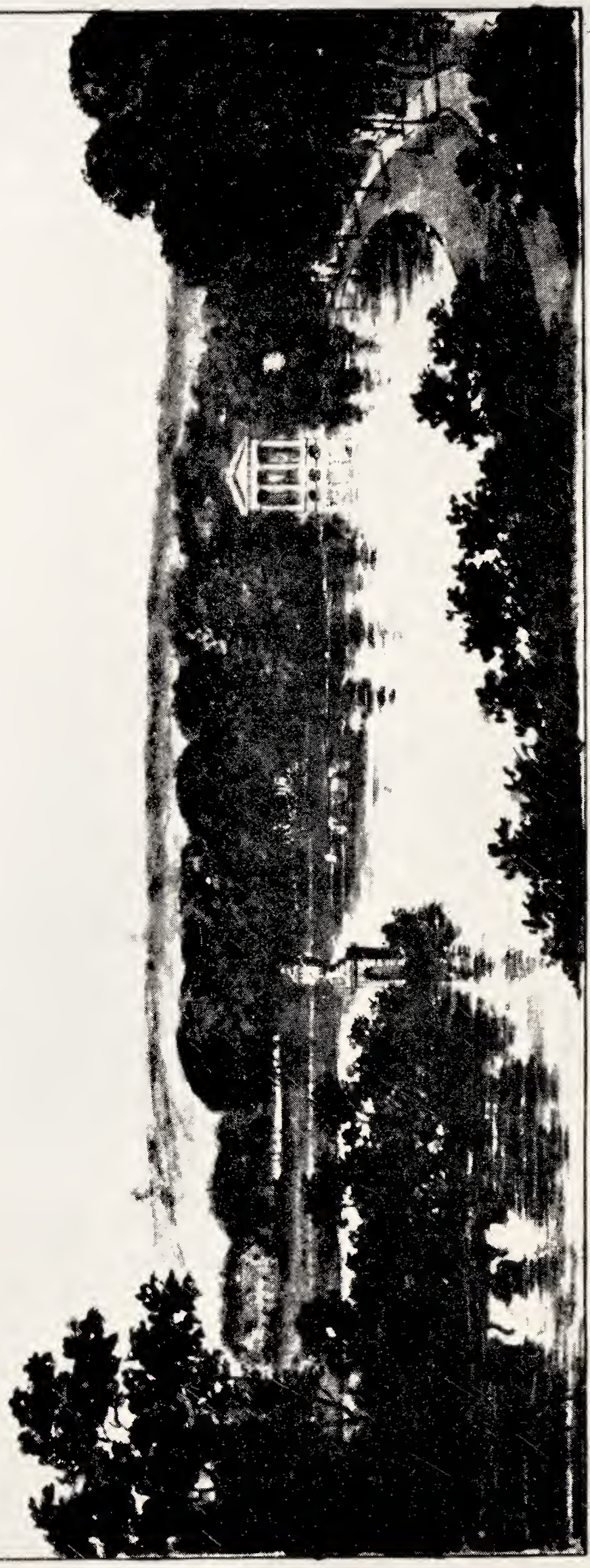


PLATE VI.

Oulton Park: the upper lake as envisaged by Repton in 1810. There is sufficient field-evidence to show that the scheme was carried out in full.



With the elements of wood and water in hand the remaining problem was to choose the most suitable approach to the house and to give distinction to the junction with the high road by building a lodge and gates. These aspects are the ones which have changed most and only vestiges of their former layout remain: sufficient remains, however, to be certain that Repton's scheme was carried out.

Repton chose the prolongation of the Pontefract road for the entrance, as being the 'best adapted to the several roads from Leeds, from York, from Pontefract, and from Wakefield'. A Lodge, 'something more than a mere Cottage like those on the border of the Common', was sited to the left of the low, white-painted gateway. The lodge-keeper's garden stood among the trees to the right of the lodge. The lodge has now been removed, cast-iron gates have taken the place of the wooden gate and the low wooden pales have been supplanted by high stone walls.

The initial approach road replaced the great 'number of roads' cut at will across the Common and moved west from the lodge to ascend gradually along a gracefully curved course to the house. In order to make the road 'the most interesting and beautiful, plantations are proposed to accompany the line of road and shew the house to the best advantage'.

By the application of these techniques of the landscape gardener the common at Oulton became a 'lively prospect'. Similar improvements were carried out by Repton and his imitators throughout Yorkshire. The artificial management of wood and water was designed to appear natural; the banks of the lakes were dressed with walks and planted with trees to give the 'appearance of river-like continuity'; houses were rebuilt and given an appropriate site and character; the bounds were concealed and the views beyond were blocked where undesirable.

Landowners throughout Yorkshire obviously agreed with Repton's conclusion of 1803 that 'the chief beauty of a park consists in uniform verdure; undulating lines contrasting with each other in variety of forms; trees so grouped as to produce light and shade to display the varied surface of the ground, and an undivided range of pasture. The animals fed in such a park appear free from confinement, at liberty to collect their food from the rich herbage of the valley, and to range uncontrolled to the drier soils of the hills'.<sup>1</sup> A combination of the principles established by Brown and Repton continued to dominate the field of landscape gardening throughout the nineteenth century. Repton's ideas as expressed in his Red Books and publications marked the highest point of achievement in English landscape gardening. They still continue to exercise a great influence on the landscape architects and surveyors who are responsible for the delimitation, lay-out and upkeep of the city parks, public parks and National Parks of both Britain and North America.

<sup>1</sup> Repton, *op. cit.*, 137.



After Repton's death in 1818 attention was directed to the garden, and particularly to the flower-beds and borders, rather than to the park as a whole. As a result of the changes associated with the Industrial Revolution conditions were unpropitious for the continuance of a leisurely art that demanded much thought and foresight. In the North of England in particular the centre of gravity shifted from the countryside to the booming urban areas and ports. Though the acreage of parkland continued to expand throughout the nineteenth century the great surge of landscape transformation had lost much of its momentum by the time of Repton's death in 1818.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I wish to express my appreciation to the Earl of Wharncliffe for permission to use the Wharncliffe Muniments in Sheffield City Library.

# THE NORTH RIDING JUSTICES, 1690-1750

## A STUDY IN LOCAL ADMINISTRATION<sup>1</sup>

By J. S. COCKBURN.

### 1 – INTRODUCTION

For administrative purposes the North Riding was divided into twelve wapentakes. One of these, Allertonshire, a narrow area extending from some 25 miles north of York to the Durham border, and the township of Craike in Bulmer wapentake, were technically within the peculiar jurisdiction of the dean and chapter of Durham. By this period, however, these areas had, for most purposes, fallen under the jurisdiction of Sessions.<sup>2</sup> During this period Thirsk maintains its importance as a sessions town, the Easter and Michaelmas Sessions being held there throughout. Otherwise formalisation is absent, Sessions being held inconsistently at Helmsley, Northallerton, Stokesley, Richmond and Malton until about 1725 when those formerly held at Helmsley and Stokesley were transferred permanently to Guisborough and Easingwold.

The annual number of Sessions, established at four by 2 Henry V, c.4, might be increased to deal with an unaccustomed volume of business, such as that attending the spread of the cattle plague during 1749, when eight full Sessions were held. Adjourned Sessions were used as useful supplementary meetings dealing with outstanding local or specialised business which could be handled more readily by a smaller, less formal body. Hence adjournments could be held at the residence of a local justice, in the house of a local inhabitant, or at a convenient inn.<sup>3</sup>

Lying in close proximity to Scotland and across the main routes to the South, the Riding was open to the full impact of the political disturbances and population movements of the early eighteenth century. During periods of unrest in Scotland the Riding was regarded as an area of potential political danger. Some organisation of Catholic subversion is suggested by a petition to the Justices in 1715 from the prisoners in the Thirsk house of correction. They alleged that Henry Rooke, the master, allowed 'Henry Lowson, a

<sup>1</sup> Most of the information contained in this article was abstracted from the books and rolls recording the proceedings of Quarter and adjourned sessions for the N. Riding and preserved in the N. Riding Record Office at Northallerton. These are referred to in the footnotes as S.B. and S.R., respectively. The sessions books were calendared by the Rev. J. C. Atkinson at the end of the 19th cent. and published by the North Riding Record Society. These volumes, which are frequently in error, are here referred to as *N.R.Q.S.R.*

<sup>2</sup> See p. 484.

<sup>3</sup> S.B. July 15, 1736, 29 Jan. 1746, 22 Jan. 1750.



debtor and Roman Catholic . . . . . to go at large . . . . . as far as York and into the county of Durham and Westmorland, who is supposed to be ill affected to the Government and a letter carrier for the Roman Catholics, and was out for five days together when the proclamation was issued out against the Roman Catholics'.<sup>1</sup> Returns of non-jurors and papists' recognisances,<sup>2</sup> together with the nature of many informations taken in Sessions, further testify to marked pro-Jacobite sentiment in the Riding.<sup>3</sup> In such crises the long, desolate coastline assumed a new significance, and to the Justices' normal duties of swearing customs officers and watching ships in quarantine,<sup>4</sup> was added the general duty to guard the coast against possible landings and to erect and maintain warning beacons along its length.<sup>5</sup>

During a period marked by the absence of centralised control<sup>6</sup> individual justices in remote areas had wide scope to exercise a strong personal influence on the local bench. Social position was clearly of considerable importance in local politics. A letter from Sir James Pennyman, a leading gentleman and justice of the Riding, to the Justices in Sessions in 1721, emphasises his confidence in his influence over the bench. He reminded his fellow-Justices that if negligence in subordinate officials was condoned, 'then are our Commissions Gentlemen, of little force, and the King's peace taken little care of'.<sup>7</sup>

The justices attending sessions represented a fairly narrow class interest drawn almost exclusively from the substantial landholders, the gentlemen and esquires of the Riding. Clerical justices appear infrequently during a period when the standing of the clergy was consistently low.<sup>8</sup> Justices generally appear unwilling to attend Sessions held outside their local jurisdictions. Infrequent attendance is particularly marked among the more substantial gentry. Sir Richard Osbaldston attended only one Sessions during the period 1700-1705. Sir James Pennyman usually confined his attendance to the Sessions held at Guisborough. Sir William Foulis regularly attended the Guisborough Sessions, seldom those held elsewhere. In the three years 1699-1701 only four justices – John Gibson, Charles Tancred, Thomas Worsley and John Hill – sat at the January Sessions at Helmsley. The average number of justices attending any

<sup>1</sup> S.R. 26 April 1715.

<sup>2</sup> S.R. April 1716 contains the names of 340 persons styled 'papists' and returned as non-jurors, and the rolls for 1745 the names of 192.

<sup>3</sup> e.g. S.R. 11 Sept. 1715, 4 Oct. 1715. The opinion of many non-Catholics is possibly expressed in the words of a man indicted in S.R. 9 Nov. 1715: 'a health to the pretender for he is a good lad and is right heir to the Crown of England'.

<sup>4</sup> *N.R.Q.S.R.* vii, 227, 231, 233.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* viii, 261. That this was occasionally a necessary measure may be evidenced by the committal of 'three Frenchmen' to York Castle in 1708: *N.R.Q.S.R.* vii, 215.

<sup>6</sup> See p. 512.

<sup>8</sup> See p. 486.

<sup>7</sup> S.R. 18 April 1721.

one Sessions seldom exceeded ten; business was frequently conducted by fewer than five members of the bench; and their geographical concentration suggests the manipulation of local policy by a close oligarchy representing local landed interests. There is, however, no evidence that meetings were lacking in dignity, and in fact considerable practical difficulties faced those attending Sessions. The topography of the Riding rendered attendance from outlying districts difficult at any time. In winter attendance must frequently have been impossible, and in practice more than five Justices seldom attended January meetings. The office of Justice was, moreover, 'but a little unprofitable honour attended with much envy', occasioning 'much loss of time, some expense, and many enemies.'<sup>1</sup> Surprisingly, there is singularly little evidence of corruption among members of the bench. An early petition alleges extortion and personal animosity, but the charges appear to have been unsubstantiated,<sup>2</sup> and the office suffered rather from personal indolence<sup>3</sup> than from widespread profiteering.

The county officials retained, by this period, considerable dignity, but only limited practical importance.<sup>4</sup> The sheriff's legal powers had been greatly attenuated and the business of the sheriff's tourn transferred to quarter sessions.<sup>5</sup> The high sheriff, however, was frequently elected from the bench and retained some connection with the activities of Sessions. The offices of Lord-Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum are of little significance. Infrequently the Custos forwarded directives, presumably on the instigation of the central authority, to the Justices:<sup>6</sup> but for the bulk of his duties he appointed as deputy the Clerk of the Peace, who acted as the principal official of the Court and had custody of the Records. Life tenure of the office and familiarity with legal forms gave the Clerk a unique position in quarter sessions. Henry Frankland was Clerk to the North Riding from 1692 until his death in 1736.<sup>7</sup>

Of much greater importance than the county officials were the chief constables serving as an important administrative link between the Court and the petty constables and churchwardens in the parishes. As well as being responsible for the collection of the county rate, the constables performed, largely gratuitously, a wide variety of supervisory duties – viewing and reporting on highways and bridges, warning overseers, innkeepers, and sessors for the Land Tax, serving warrants and searching for stolen goods.<sup>8</sup> In addition to

<sup>1</sup> E. Bohun, *The Justice of the Peace, his Calling and Qualification*.

<sup>2</sup> *N.R.Q.S.R.* vii, 5.

<sup>3</sup> A Whitby innkeeper was presented in 1685 for saying that 'Sir Hugh Cholmley is a thick, idle, sapheaded, sleepy drone': *S.B.* 28 April 1685.

<sup>4</sup> Provision of a shed at York Castle for the High Sheriff's coach testifies both to his dignity and to his decreasing activity: *S.B.* 11 Jan. 1732.

<sup>5</sup> M. Dalton, *The Office and Authority of Sheriffs* (1700), 402.

<sup>6</sup> e.g. *S.B.* 8 Oct. 1706.

<sup>7</sup> For a detailed examination of the office see T. G. Barnes, 'The Clerk of the Peace in Caroline Somerset', *Leicester University Occ. Papers*, no. 14.

<sup>8</sup> A table of fees entered by the chief constable of Gilling West illustrates the varied and onerous duties of the office: *S.R.* 14 July 1737.



these established duties, the Justices might at any time use the constables to implement the general policy of the Court by directing them to issue precepts to the petty constables to execute orders from Quarter Sessions or Council.<sup>1</sup> In all their functions, however, the constables necessarily enjoyed a considerable measure of autonomy, and it is hardly surprising that local administration was frequently retarded by their negligence or active misconduct.<sup>2</sup> The Justices were clearly unwilling to punish negligent officers by dismissal owing to the difficulties in finding replacements, though occasionally they might initiate the clumsy process of indictment.

Performing equally important administrative duties in the parishes were the petty constables, one or two of whom were appointed for every village within the Riding, and on whom the Justices depended for a wide variety of essential police and supervisory duties, including the execution of warrants and the detention of felons.<sup>3</sup> Neglect of statute or common law duties might result in the imposition of the statutory fine, or a direction to the chief constable to levy distress on a petty constable's possessions to satisfy arrears of rates – a sanction exercised in 1747 on the constables of Craike who had, for the last eight years, refused to pay county rates.<sup>4</sup> The Justices were more willing to initiate proceedings against petty constables, but, as in cases of abuse by chief constables, limited administrative machinery prevented the exercise of effective supervision, and the Justices were compelled to tolerate continued negligence.

Although the effectiveness of local government largely depended on these local officers, preservation of the peace still depended on the services of individual parishioners in assisting to execute warrants, carrying forward the hue and cry, and serving on the watch, while the system of recognisances perpetuated individual responsibility for the appearance of accused persons. Again, highway repairs still largely depended on personal obligations to perform statute labour.<sup>5</sup>

In attempting to co-ordinate this diversity of semi-independent authorities, the Court frequently relied on justices acting out of Sessions, singly, in pairs or threes, to present local officers for non-fulfilment of obligations and to execute orders from Sessions. Justices normally acted in the neighbourhood of their residences, where local knowledge and personal contact were of considerable value.<sup>6</sup> But it is clear that the efficiency of this system was seriously impaired by the presence of justices in some districts in inverse proportion to the size of the administrative area<sup>7</sup> and the resulting

<sup>1</sup> e.g. S.B. 13 Dec. 1748.

<sup>2</sup> N.R.Q.S.R. vii, 53.

<sup>3</sup> For a useful analysis of the duties of both high and petty constables see *Lincoln Rec. Soc.* xxv, introd.

<sup>4</sup> S.B. 4 Aug. 1747. Although Craike was technically within the Durham peculiar jurisdiction, the Court had here assumed jurisdiction over financial matters.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 498.

<sup>6</sup> e.g. S.B. 6 Oct. 1713.

<sup>7</sup> S.B. 4 Aug. 1747: noted that there were only three 'acting Justices' in Bulmer wapentake in Oct. 1746.

autonomy of local officers might lead to the partial breakdown of administrative machinery.

In conclusion, the loose relationship between local and central governments must be emphasised. Rarely is there evidence of direct intervention in Sessions administration. A letter from the Secretary of State in 1734 enjoined the Justices to take up such idle sailors as they could find and to send them to several named dock-yards for Service in the Fleet.<sup>1</sup> The order, however, suggests no immediate supervision, and such a policy of removal would undoubtedly have recommended itself to the Court. In the absence of a vigorous controlling authority there was, in any case, little danger in inactivity, and hence the weaknesses of the central government tended to propagate rather than alleviate the deficiencies of local government machinery.

## 2 – MORALITY, CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

For the eighteenth-century Justices exercise of a local criminal jurisdiction represented only a proportion of their work both in and out of Sessions. Preservation of the peace was conceived as requiring the ordering of the community through a wide variety of economic and domestic controls. Classification is, therefore, difficult, and any attempt to draw a distinction between the administrative and judicial functions of Quarter Sessions is to some extent artificial. Standards of personal morality were envisaged as being inextricably connected with many of those overt acts which threatened the preservation of the peace, and the Justices' jurisdiction covered not only many of the police functions exercised by Sessions today, but also included attempts to impose a certain moral conformity through the supervision of private conduct.

National interest in private conduct was stimulated by the formation in 1698 of 'Societies for the Reformation of Manners', and royal proclamations prompted the Justices to issue a series of general orders directing constables and churchwardens to present at Sessions the names of those ministers who failed to read out in church the recent statute and proclamations against profaneness and immorality.<sup>2</sup> Injunctions to local officers to put into force the existing laws were repeated in similar terms in 1702 following a further royal proclamation. The Justices declared that 'unfaithfulness in their office is very mischievous to the public peace and a great encouragement of vice and immorality'. They cannot, however, have been unaware that the machinery at their disposal was clearly inadequate to combat 'the negligence, partiality, connivance, or under practises' of local officers.<sup>3</sup> Not surprisingly subsequent proceedings indicate little interest in a general reformation of manners.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> S.R. 23 April 1734.

<sup>2</sup> S.B. 17 Jan. 1699.

<sup>3</sup> S.B. 28 July 1702.

<sup>4</sup> For the exceptional activities of John Gibson and Wililam Pennyman in convicting for profane swearing see p. 488.



By vesting responsibility for the dissemination of government directives in ministers acting under the sanction of presentment by local officers the Justices were at once establishing morality as the concern of the Church and at the same time emphasising the control exercised over ecclesiastical jurisdictions by the civil authorities directed from Sessions. For by 1700 the Justices had assumed much of the administrative jurisdiction of the decaying ecclesiastical courts. In 1708 the Court acted as arbitrator in a dispute between the inhabitants and the vicar of Northallerton to order the payment of tithes,<sup>1</sup> and in 1721 indicted an ecclesiastical court official in Sessions.<sup>2</sup>

Assumption of ecclesiastical jurisdictions and the low standing of church representatives cannot, however, be identified with a declining interest in religion in the Riding. On the contrary, the area contained an unusually strong nucleus of Roman Catholic and dissenting opinion. The presence of Quakers in large numbers undoubtedly had a direct influence on standards of morality, since a very real idea of social inferiority attached to the Sect, and to adopt this discipline was a severe test of character.<sup>3</sup> That such considerations affected the Justices in their attitude towards dissenting sects seems possible. Certainly those who refused to conform to the Established Church were punished, if at all, largely for political reasons rather than as a threat to standards of morality. Protestant Dissenters were tolerated throughout the period, since they became, immediately after the Revolution, a source of support rather than of danger to the Government.<sup>4</sup> Toleration, however, did not extend to Roman Catholics, and the early years of the century witness continued attempts to impose conformity through the execution of the old legislation with the addition of some more recent Acts.<sup>5</sup> For almost a decade the Justices were active in ordering the apprehending of papists and seizure of their horses, presenting Catholic schoolmasters teaching without a licence from the bishop of the diocese, and binding over to Assizes those saying mass.<sup>6</sup> After 1708, however, there was a marked relaxation of control. Influential local opinion probably encouraged the Justices to adopt a *laissez faire* attitude to the continued presence of a strong body of Catholic feeling.<sup>7</sup> Even during the political crises of 1715 and 1745, although the statutory requirements for the return of non-jurors and the entering of papists' recognisances into Sessions were enforced, there is little evidence of

<sup>1</sup> S.B. 20 Jan. 1708.

<sup>2</sup> S.R. 16 Jan. 1722.

<sup>3</sup> 81 Quaker meeting-houses are included in a list of 1689: *N.R.Q.S.R.* vii, 102, and throughout the period there are records of further licences being granted: e.g. S.B. 14 July 1713, 9 Jan. 1739.

<sup>4</sup> Before 1689 they were naturally subject to stringent control: *N.R.Q.S.R.* vii, 70.

<sup>5</sup> 1 Wm. & Mary c.15 empowered Justices to seize papists' horses.

<sup>6</sup> S.B. April 13 & Oct. 5, 1708, 16 Jan. 1705, 13 July 1708.

<sup>7</sup> They were not alone in their attitude. Defoe, writing during the reign of Geo. I found the City of Durham 'full of Roman Catholics, who live peaceably and disturb nobody and nobody them; for we saw . . . them going publickly to mass'.

the stringent execution which marked the early years of the period. By 1750 attempts to impose religious conformity were limited to cases in which the peace was threatened or the jurisdiction of the Court ignored.<sup>1</sup>

For the detection of offences over which they had little direct cognisance the Justices were largely dependent on the active interest of local officers – petty constables, churchwardens, and deputy-bailiffs operating within their local precincts. Justices and local officials alike were undoubtedly familiar with the considerable dangers attendant upon attempts to maintain the peace. Throughout the period there remained a tendency, encouraged by the reliance placed on the individual as a unit of law enforcement, for groups or individuals to take the law into their own hands. Cases of setting fire to or badly damaging dwelling-houses frequently occur; a mob pulled down houses at Yarm in 1721,<sup>2</sup> and the stocks were stolen at Pickering. Presentments for riotous assembly and assault are numerous, but local officers were frequently powerless, and in attempting to break up disturbances ran very real risk of personal injury.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, the effectiveness of law enforcement machinery was seriously impaired by lack of cohesion, and sometimes active opposition, between the several units of local government. A disturbance at Whitby in which one Whitby constable eventually assaulted the other with his own staff illustrates the ludicrous situation which might arise.<sup>4</sup> Clearly there was little encouragement to take office except as a possible source of profit,<sup>5</sup> and positive danger in fulfilling its duties. Hence the Justices were continually concerned with the dilatoriness of local officials, and knowledge of the inadequacy of the machinery at their disposal may have deterred them from attempting a general policy of rigorous supervision.

Increased poverty and consequent financial burdens on the parish were threatened by all public amusements which implied a diminution in local industry. Hence the prevention of gaming and idleness were the main objects sought in the regulation of alehouses and restrictions on drinking. At this point the aims of early movements for the reformation of manners coincided with the general policy of the Justices. Restrictions on drinking were, however, of more permanent interest, since they were then, as now, conceived as being directly connected with the preservation of law and order. The main fear was not that licensees would fail to fulfil their function to provide rest and refreshments, but that they would exceed the scope of their licences by permitting excessive tippling, unlawful gaming, and other practices tending to breaches of the peace. More flagrant offences of this nature necessarily engaged the attention of the Justices in Sessions. In 1705 a New Malton alehouse-keeper was

<sup>1</sup> e.g. S.B. 3 Oct. 1749.

<sup>2</sup> S.B. 10 Jan. 1749.

<sup>3</sup> S.R. 15 Jan. 1717 contains an information that the deputy bailiff of Thirsk had stolen the church plate.

<sup>4</sup> S.R. 12 July 1721.

<sup>5</sup> S.R. 10 July 1716.



presented for 'permitting persons to . . . . play diverse unlawful and cheating games' in his house;<sup>1</sup> and there are frequent instances of the suppression of alehouse-keepers for keeping 'disorderly houses'.<sup>2</sup>

Execution of the legislation directed against profane swearing and cursing, vested in Justices acting out of Sessions, necessarily depended to an unusual degree upon individual responsibility to enter informations on oath. It seems probable that with the decreasing importance of the idea of individual responsibility, convictions under this head became increasingly rare. From 1701 to 1709 164 convictions are recorded in Sessions – all instigated by two Justices – John Gibson and William Pennyman. After returns from these two cease in 1709, only 13 certificates are recorded before 1750. Even allowing that the recorded certificates may represent only a proportion of the total convictions, there is little evidence elsewhere to suggest that the diligence of the Justices extended to such a minute control of domestic life.

Technically Justices of the Peace had no further powers to apprehend criminals than those possessed by private persons. They might order arrest if they actually witnessed the offence, or if they suspected, on reasonable grounds, that a felony had been committed. By the eighteenth century, however, they regularly issued warrants for the arrest of persons suspected by others of felony.<sup>3</sup> The warrant, specifying when the offence was committed, its nature, and directions in the King's name to the officer charged with its execution, might be directed to the high sheriff, bailiff, constable, or even to a private person. Constables were frequently negligent in the execution of warrants, and the Justices were constantly occupied in encouraging their diligence. Sir James Pennyman, writing to the Justices in Sessions in 1721, informed them that he had bound over the constables of Stokesley to appear and answer their contempt in not executing a warrant issued by Pennyman. He desired that an example be made of them, pointing out that 'if constables may keep warrants as long as they please and carry them in their pockets from market to market and take no notice of them (though they have frequent opportunity to do their office) then are our Commissions, . . . . of little force, and the King's peace taken little care of'.<sup>4</sup>

When a person charged with felony was brought before him, a Justice was statute bound to take informations and testimony from

<sup>1</sup> S.B. 12 Jan. 1703.

<sup>2</sup> e.g. S.B. 12 July 1720, 6 Oct. 1730. Jurisdiction to licence alehouses was vested in pairs of Justices acting out of Sessions, but the Justices in Sessions seem to have anticipated later statutory provisions by establishing special licensing sessions: S.B. 14 Sept. 1749.

<sup>3</sup> The legality of this was doubtful: M. Hale, *Pleas of the Crown* (1736), ii, 109; Stephen, *History of the Criminal Law*, i, 190.

<sup>4</sup> S.R. 18 April 1721. For evidence of later abuses see a resolution contained in a stray document entitled 'Regulations made by the Justices respecting Vagrants not carried into effect', dating from the Sessions held at Stokesley, 13 July 1790.

witnesses and accused, and then to take recognisances from the prosecutor and witnesses to appear at the next Sessions to prefer a bill of indictment and give evidence respectively. The recognisance procedure was also extended to ensure the appearance at the next Sessions of those charged with less grave offences, those accused of more serious felonies being committed to the gaol or house of correction to await trial.<sup>1</sup> Persons failing to find sufficient sureties might also be committed. Such cases were relatively infrequent, since one of the chief advantages of the system was that it prevented the gaols becoming filled with persons awaiting trial.

For the collection of evidence the Court relied upon informations taken from witnesses on oath and the examination of the accused. But for evidence of many offences which did not include active breaches of the peace the Court also relied on the activities of common informers. These were most active during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.<sup>2</sup> By 1700 the Justices were unfavourably disposed to the office. In 1688 John Grey and Clement Peart had both been presented in Sessions for extortion, and the Court ordered that Peart 'for the future be made incapable of being an informer at these Sessions'.<sup>3</sup> He did not abide by the order, and was presented for extortion once more in 1691. On this occasion his punishment was more severe, the Court ordering his alehouse at Great Broughton to be suppressed.<sup>4</sup> Again in 1692 and 1699 informers were presented for extortion. Frequent presentments for extortion suggest that the office was becoming less lucrative. Infringements of economic regulations had clearly ceased to provide a source of steady financial gain,<sup>5</sup> and during this period the informers' activity is concentrated on infringements of the game-laws. After 1707 their activity in Sessions ceases.

There might be some difficulty in ensuring that evidence would be forthcoming at the Sessions or Assizes, and the Justices found it necessary to encourage the attendance of witnesses. In 1700 they ordered the payment of £3 'for an encouragement, and towards the defraying the charges of several poor persons' who were to give evidence for the Crown at the next Assizes.<sup>6</sup> Even on reaching the Court surveillance was necessary to protect witnesses from the exactions of officials, and in 1738 the bailiff of Gilling West was fined 15s. for 'extorting money from the witnesses when they went to swear to their indictment before the Grand Jury'.<sup>7</sup>

The grand jury's function was to hear the evidence for the Crown. Decision was by majority verdict. If there was probable evidence, it was their duty to return the bill *vera*, since the bill was merely an

<sup>1</sup> For the use of the house of correction as a place of custody see p. 495.

<sup>2</sup> M. W. Beresford, 'The Common Informer, The Penal Statutes and Economic Regulation', *Econ. Hist. Rev. Ser. 2*, vol. x, 221.

<sup>3</sup> S.B. 24 April 1688.

<sup>4</sup> S.B. 6 Oct. 1691.

<sup>5</sup> Three informations entered in 1701: S.R. Oct. 7, constitute the only exception.

<sup>6</sup> S.R. 16 Jan. 1700.

<sup>7</sup> S.R. 13 July 1738.



accusation, the party being put on trial after the grand jury hearing. Conversely, if on hearing the evidence for the King, or upon their own knowledge of the incredibility of the witnesses, the grand jury was dissatisfied, they could return the bill *ignoramus*, and proceedings ceased. Unfortunately charges to the grand jury are not preserved in the records. These would indicate whether *ignoramus* returns reflected the general policy of the Justices towards specific offences, or the initiative of the jury members as a policy-making body. The suggestion is that at least in economic control the attitude of the grand jury coincided with a general loss of interest on the part of the Justices. In 1714 three bills presented to the grand jury alleging offences against the regulations governing sale of goods were all returned *ignoramus*.<sup>1</sup> The grand jury also had an important financial function. Formal presentment by the jury was a necessary preliminary to any action taken by the Justices for the repair of county bridges. This procedure was extended to the repair of the county gaol; and in 1739 it received statutory acknowledgement, the Act 12 Geo. II, c.29 stipulating that no money should be spent from county funds on bridges, gaols, or houses of correction, except upon formal presentment by the grand jury.

On the return of a bill *vera* by the grand jury, the accused could plead guilty, and then proceeded to punishment. Alternatively he 'put himself on the country' and his guilt or innocence was tried by a petty jury of twelve. The verdict of this trial jury had to be unanimous. In 1738 two jurors were heavily fined (although the Court later reduced the amount) for 'departing from their fellow jurymen at Guisborough'.<sup>2</sup> Occasionally there was still doubt as to jury procedure. A note on an indictment for larceny in 1737 – that the accused was 'found guilty by a majority of votes' – suggests an attempt to return a majority verdict. A further note on the copy of this indictment ordering 'the judgement to be respited and he (the accused) set at liberty' suggests that this irregular procedure was not recognised at law.

An analysis of incidence tables of indictments during this period indicates that an average of 30 individuals were indicted annually at Sessions. Occasionally this figure might be increased by large-scale indictments of unlicensed alehouse-keepers as in 1728 when 190 were presented.<sup>3</sup> Infrequently the number of persons indicted might exceed forty, and in 1718 53 persons were indicted. A positive

<sup>1</sup> S.R. 13 July 1714. For a similar attitude to cases of trespass see S.R. 17 April 1705.

<sup>2</sup> S.B. 13 July 1738.

<sup>3</sup> Indictments of alehouse-keepers occur infrequently, many convictions undoubtedly being made by Justices out of Sessions. They have therefore been omitted from this survey. The figures also exclude communal offences such as non-repair of highways or failure to scour watercourses. Occasionally the same person might appear in two or more indictments. No attempt has been made to exclude such cases, so that the figures include a proportionate overall error. For comparative purposes, however, this has no effect on the conclusions drawn.

relationship appears between the incidence of indictments and periods of hardship resulting from poor harvests and prolonged bad weather. The winter of 1708-9 was exceptionally severe and the harvest of 1709 extremely poor as a result of continuous wet weather.<sup>1</sup> The average price of wheat at York rose to 10*d.* per half-peck in 1709. In 1710 35 persons were indicted in Sessions. This relationship is more marked during the period 1729-31. Poor harvests in 1727 and 1728 followed by an unusually hard frost in 1729 resulted in considerable hardship. In 1729 44 persons appeared on indictment, and in the two following years 36 and 35 respectively.

Criminal offences appearing in Sessions can be divided into two main groups – larceny, and offences against property, and assaults and offences against the person. Technically Justices in Sessions had jurisdiction over almost all offences below treason, but in general they dealt with few felonies except simple larceny and petty assaults, forwarding the remaining cases to Assizes. Sheep-stealing and thefts of clothes and food were the most frequent offences. Sheep and crops undoubtedly represented the greatest temptation and the least risk of detection in rural areas, and there are regular presentments for thefts of hay and corn in the sheaf and stook during the harvest season. The annual average number of indictments for petty larceny is ten. This figure is fairly constant throughout the period and shows little fluctuation attributable to economic or policy fluctuations. A comparison with an analysis of offences in Warwickshire for an earlier period, however, may suggest that the number of larcenies in the Riding was above the average for rural counties. For Warwickshire during the period 1680-1690 larcenies represent 17% of the total sample of offences taken.<sup>2</sup> A sample taken for the same offences during this period in the North Riding shows that larcenies constitute 33% of the total.

After larceny, the offence appearing most frequently in the indictments is that of assault. In general there is little to differentiate assaults in the eighteenth century from examples of the offence today. There are, however, frequent examples of assaults of a corporate nature – cases in which a number of local inhabitants assembled *tamquam riotores* to commit a breach of the peace. Assaults frequently indicated an adoption of the doctrine of self-help in an attempt to remedy local grievances. Hence attacks on local officers in the execution of their duty frequently occur. Presentment in such cases was encouraged by the Justices in an attempt to increase the efficiency of the police system, and offenders were severely dealt with.<sup>3</sup>

Further analysis of indictments indicates that the number of persons presented for criminal offences not falling under the heads of assault or felonious taking was small. Indictments for trespass appear occasionally during the early years of the period. Cases of

<sup>1</sup> T. S. Ashton, *Economic Fluctuations in England*, 16-18.

<sup>2</sup> *Warwicks. County Records*, vii, viii.

<sup>3</sup> e.g. S.B. 10 July 1716, 10 July 1739.



extortion and embezzlement are more numerous, but usually reflect the efforts of the Court to enforce integrity in local officers or to suppress the abuses of the common informers. Similarly, presentments for rescue of prisoners and the indictment of officers for allowing prisoners to escape engaged the attention of the Justices in their efforts to maintain the efficiency of the police system.

The usual punishments ordered at Sessions were whipping or the imposition of a fine, with imprisonment as an alternative to payment. Large-scale imposition of fines was, however, clearly impractical in rural areas of general poverty. Limited prison accommodation rendered strict adherence to the alternative term of imprisonment for non-payment of fines equally impossible. Therefore, although imprisonment was enforced in some cases of non-payment, the poverty of those convicted compelled the mitigation of fines and the use of immediate physical punishments. The dilemma is illustrated by an order of 1733: since Thomas Robinson, a convicted felon, had 'no goods or chattels, lands or tenements . . . . it is agreed by this Court that he be instantly whipped upon his naked body till the blood flows out'.<sup>1</sup>

Whipping appears as the normal punishment for larceny throughout the period. The Court might also order whipping as a corrective or punishment for persons committed to the house of correction. Vagrants were generally whipped before being returned to their place of settlement; and in exceptional cases the punishment might be extended to other offences which the Justices considered to be of an unusually serious nature. Barnabas Wilson was ordered to be whipped in the house of correction once monthly for three months for an attempted rape;<sup>2</sup> and in 1744 the Court dealt particularly severely with Philip Bell whom they ordered, on his conviction for gaining money by means of a forged letter of request purporting loss by fire 'to be whipt at Thirsk today and at Easingwold on Friday next and Terrington the same day'.<sup>3</sup> Unlike whippings ordered to be administered in the house of correction, whipping on conviction for larceny was normally in public and without distinction of sex. Occasionally the Court might order the sentence to be respited until a pregnant woman was delivered; but there is no indication of a general mitigation in the case of female felons until, in 1739, the Court ordered a woman convicted of larceny to be whipped 'privately'.<sup>4</sup> Public whippings for female felons continued until the end of the period, although the variant, where adopted, seems to indicate a realisation of the detrimental effect on order inherent in frequent public spectacles of this nature.<sup>5</sup>

The Act *14 Car. II, c.12* had empowered the Justices to order the transportation of 'rogues' to the American plantations. Little use seems to have been made of this provision during the seventeenth century, although in 1674 the Justices ordered the transportation of

<sup>1</sup> S.B. 3 April 1733.

<sup>2</sup> S.B. 7 Oct. 1746.

<sup>3</sup> S.R. 3 April 1744.

<sup>4</sup> S.R. 2 Oct. 1739.

<sup>5</sup> The whipping of female vagrants was forbidden by statute in 1791.

a Brompton man convicted as 'an incorrigible rogue', and in 1712 instructed that Jane Holloway found 'wandering abroad' at New Malton, and guilty of 'other idle and disorderly behaviour', should be sent to Liverpool and shipped to Virginia.<sup>1</sup> Transportation was adapted more systematically to the purposes of punishment by the Act 4 Geo. I. c.11, authorising the criminal courts in clergyable offences or those nominally, but not in practice, punished by death, to contract for the transportation of offenders to the American colonies. The Justices quickly had recourse to the 1718 Act, ordering in July, 1719, that George Tessiman, convicted of larceny, be transported for seven years.<sup>2</sup> This initial attempt was, however, unsuccessful, for in 1721 Tessiman petitioned the Court for his discharge from York Castle, complaining that as a result of being imprisoned since 1719 he was partially paralysed and almost incapable of movement. In consequence of his illness the Court ordered his discharge.<sup>3</sup>

From 1723 onwards, however, transportation was fairly frequently ordered from Sessions. Regular transportations from the Riding seem to contrast with the practice in Warwickshire, where it has been suggested that transportation from Sessions was almost unknown during the eighteenth century.<sup>4</sup> A letter from John Howard in London to Thomas Ward in 1725 quoting a price of £4 per head for shipping transports 'which is what I have from all other counties' suggests that transportation had been widely adopted.<sup>5</sup> The Justices did not accept Howard's tender, preferring the rate of £3 a head quoted by Thomas Coore of Liverpool, to whom 25 felons from Sessions and Assizes were sent for shipment in September 1725. Subsequently contracts were made with merchants in Hull, Whitehaven and London. Formalised procedure quickly evolved and by 1736 the practice was for the contractor to enter into a bond, nominally with the Clerk of the Peace, for the transportation of named felons. On arrival in the colonies, he was to hand them over to the Governor and take a receipt. Defects in the system, however, offered adequate opportunities for escape. In the calendar of prisoners in the Thirsk house of correction in 1746 the name appears of one Robert Nickson 'a vagrant suspected for returning from transportation before the expiration of his time'.<sup>6</sup> Felons who could raise sufficient means to compound for their release during transit to or on arrival at the port of embarkation probably avoided actual shipment. In 1748 the Court issued a warrant for the arrest of John Smith, who had been sentenced to transportation in January 1747, on an information that he had been seen at Kirk Levington.

For the custody of miscreants there were three institutions in the Riding – the County Gaol and the houses of correction at Thirsk

<sup>1</sup> N.R.Q.S.R. vi, 220; S.R. 15 Jan. 1712.

<sup>2</sup> S.B. 28 July 1719.

<sup>3</sup> S.B. 3 Oct. 1721.

<sup>4</sup> P. Styles, 'The Development of County Administration in the late XVIIIth and early XIXth centuries', *Dugdale Soc. Occasional Papers*, no. 4.

<sup>5</sup> S.R. 5 Oct. 1725.

<sup>6</sup> S.R. 7 Oct. 1746. This was punishable by death: 16 Geo. II, c.15.



and Richmond. The Gaol, serving the whole of Yorkshire, was situated in York Castle. Responsibility for its upkeep lay with the Crown, necessary repairs being paid for by the sheriff, who recovered the money expended by an allowance in his account to the Exchequer. In 1700 the large sum of £1,102 was ordered to be estreated throughout the county 'towards the rebuilding of the common gaol at York'. Apparently this amount was inadequate since £551 was ordered to be estreated in the following April, followed by a further £964 to complete the work in 1702.<sup>1</sup>

The custody of the gaol was in the hands of the high sheriff who was responsible for the appointment of the gaoler. Technically the Justices had little control over the gaoler, but they could demand his appearance at Sessions and fine him for non-attendance. Conversely, the gaoler could petition the Justices for reimbursement in cases of unusual expenditure. Richard Woodhouse petitioned in 1734 'setting forth that in seeking and retaking seventeen of the twenty-one felons who sometime ago broke out of the said gaol through the inefficiency thereof' he had expended £150. The Court referred the matter to a committee of five Justices acting in conjunction with Justices from the other two Ridings.<sup>2</sup> For further recompense the gaoler depended on fees taken from the prisoners under his charge. Hence it might be possible to secure a wide variety of amenities and privileges. At the same time, exactions by the gaoler might result in considerable oppression.<sup>3</sup> In case of imprisonment for debt, however, the Justices had statutory powers to regulate the fees for commitment, release and for chamber rent.<sup>4</sup> For the support of poor prisoners the parish had a small responsibility. Theoretically the parish in which the prisoner was taken paid for the expenses of his committal by a rate assessed by the constables and churchwardens and allowed by a Justice of the Peace. In practice this duty was included in an amount, varying from £20 to £50, voted annually in Sessions for the relief of prisoners in the Gaol and ordered to be rated on the Riding as a whole. Throughout the period, however, amounts voted for the relief of poor prisoners were barely adequate, so that any increase in the number of prisoners resulted in considerable hardship and petitions to Sessions for relief. The Justices might then order the rate assessed on the Riding to be doubled, or direct that the prisoners' allowance of bread be increased.<sup>5</sup>

Occasionally persons sent into custody in the gaol might remain inadvertently for a considerable period. George Tessiman, committed in July, 1719, pending transportation to the colonies, remained in the gaol until 3 October 1721, when he petitioned for his release.<sup>6</sup> Such cases, and much of the hardship within the prison itself, must be attributed to its largely autonomous nature. Since it served three

<sup>1</sup> S.B. 8 Oct. 1700, 29 April 1701, 14 April 1702.

<sup>2</sup> S.B. 8 Oct. 1734.

<sup>3</sup> *N.R.Q.S.R.* v, 116.

<sup>4</sup> S.R. 18 April 1732 contains a table of fees for the prisoners in York Castle.

<sup>5</sup> S.B. 10 April 1711, 11 Jan. 1715, S.R. 30 April 1728.

<sup>6</sup> S.R. 3 Oct. 1721.

independent administrative areas, direct control by a single body of Justices as was possible in other counties, was never established. The North Riding Justices seldom acted in conjunction with the Justices of the other two Ridings except to ensure that extraordinary charges did not fall on the Riding. Lack of interest in an institution over which the Justices could exercise at the best only a divided jurisdiction, and the existence within the Riding of two further places of custody over which they had full control ensured that the county gaol never attained that importance in Sessions' business which was enjoyed by the houses of correction.

Although there is evidence of a house of correction at Pickering during an earlier period,<sup>1</sup> a Sessions order of 1693 established that there were to be two houses of correction for the Riding, situated at Thirsk and Richmond.<sup>2</sup> Ideally these houses were intended to fulfil two major functions. As a place where whippings might be administered and hard labour enforced they were intended to act as a deterrent to prospective miscreants. On the other hand, they were meant to be a source of relief for those poor 'that desire to work'.<sup>3</sup> To what extent the houses of correction fulfilled these original purposes during the eighteenth century is difficult to assess. But it is clear that their use was extended by the Justices to include functions hardly contemplated by early statutes. Generally speaking, they were regarded as the gaols for the Riding. The institution was habitually referred to as 'the Gaol' and the inmates as 'prisoners'. The nature of custody in the houses of correction is indicated by an account entered in 1730 for the purchase of leg chains, neck chains, and thumb screws.<sup>4</sup> Negative evidence suggests moreover that there was no attempt to provide an organised system of work to employ the inmates or relieve maintenance costs. Hence, where practicable, the Court ordered payments to be made by relatives to provide for the upkeep of those committed. Similarly, payments by parishes or townships were ordered for the upkeep of those convicted as lunatic and detained in the houses of correction.<sup>5</sup> This extension of the functions of the house to include the detention of the mentally infirm undoubtedly represents one of the worst aspects of the institution. The depressing effect on the other inmates must have contributed greatly to their discomfort. In the absence of any policy of rehabilitation, physical restraint was probably exercised in the majority of cases, and death in the house of correction was frequently the fate of mental cases.

The houses of correction were used for a wide variety of punitive and reformatory purposes. Those unable or unwilling to find sureties for their good behaviour might be detained until sureties were produced or the accused brought to trial. Detention in the house

<sup>1</sup> *N.R.Q.S.R.* v, 107.

<sup>2</sup> *S.B.* 3 Oct. 1693.

<sup>3</sup> *N.R.Q.S.R.* vi, 25.

<sup>4</sup> *S.R.* 12 Jan. 1731. The thumb screws were a means of custody, not a method of torture.

<sup>5</sup> The contribution was fixed at 3s. weekly: *S.B.* 26 July 1744.



might be ordered pending the execution of a sentence passed in Sessions. In addition, by the 1740's the threat of committal was being used as a useful deterrent for loose and idle persons.<sup>1</sup> Terms of imprisonment were frequently served in the house of correction, normally with the addition of corporal punishment. The extent to which the houses of correction had replaced the common gaol by 1730 is evidenced by the calendars of prisoners entered into Sessions by the Governors at Thirsk and Richmond.<sup>2</sup> As well as large numbers of persons held pending trial or as vagrants awaiting removal to their settlements, cases appear in which imprisonment in the house of correction had been substituted for a period of statutory imprisonment in the common gaol. For example, Bernard Dalker was imprisoned in the Thirsk house in 1731 for beating his master, the punishment for which was established as imprisonment for one year or less by the Act *5 Eliz. c.4, Sec. 21*.<sup>3</sup>

The indiscriminate sending of the worst cases of loose and idle living and the mentally deficient to the houses of correction undoubtedly rendered abortive any attempt to organise useful employment. Prevalent conditions can be judged from a petition entered by the prisoners in the Richmond house in 1715. They complained that Henry Rooke, the governor, intercepted all the prisoners' letters, that he 'threatens to hinder any persons to come to the prisoners that are close confined, and swears that they shall be starved to death for want of food'; and that he lodged soldiers in the prisoners' rooms 'who were very unruly and beat the prisoners who were encouraged thereunto by the Gaoler'. To these complaints they added numerous examples of Rooke's exactions and of his allowing prisoners to escape.<sup>4</sup> Even more widespread extortions are described in a petition to the Justices from the debtors in the Richmond house in 1725. They further described how when 'a poor in-offensive prisoner' asked for 'a pennyworth of straw to make his bed . . . . the gaoler flew into a passion . . . . and loaded the poor man with irons and used him very shamefully, what with the barbarous usage he used to Gilbert Lee who in the very agonies of death declared the gaoler had killed him'. On being reminded of the powers of the Justices to regulate the conduct of gaolers, he was further quoted as saying that 'both we and the Justices of Peace may kiss his breeches . . . .'.<sup>5</sup> It might have been expected that if these charges had been substantiated, the Justices would have punished severely such an abrogation of their authority. In the event, however, little seems to have been done. The masters of the respective houses were ordered to prepare a table of fees, but there is no evidence that they did so. Jonathan Hislop remained Governor at Richmond at least until 1741, when he was fined for allowing a

<sup>1</sup> S.B. 15 July 1746 includes the case of a man threatened with the house of correction if he did not enlist in the Army.

<sup>2</sup> These are contained in S.R. 12 Jan. 1731 – 7 April 1741.

<sup>3</sup> S.R. 27 April 1731.

<sup>4</sup> S.R. 26 April 1715.

<sup>5</sup> S.R. 6 April 1725.

prisoner to escape.<sup>1</sup> That the Justices continued to tolerate abuses reflects their general lack of interest in conditions of custody and punishment.

### 3 – HIGHWAYS AND BRIDGES

Administrative difficulties inherent in the topography of the Riding were in no sphere more pronounced than in the maintenance of an adequate system of communications. In addition to an internal network of minor roads, several of the major north-south highways passed through the Riding. Some 40 miles of the Great North Road lay within its boundaries. Another important highway to Durham and the north passed through York, Easingwold and Thirsk, entering Durham county at Yarm. Problems of distance were accentuated by frequently severe weather conditions on roads crossing the desolate, sparsely-populated moorland areas to the east and west. River boundaries posed unusual difficulties in the upkeep of bridges for which counties or ridings were jointly responsible.

Problems of maintenance were further complicated by the effect of an increasing burden of wheeled traffic during this period. As early as 1656 coach services were operating between London, York and Newcastle.<sup>2</sup> By 1706 coaches were running twice weekly between York and Newcastle, although the journey from York to London took four days under favourable conditions.<sup>3</sup> More serious depreciation of the highways was caused by the passage of pack-horses upon which transport of goods chiefly depended. Travellers from Glasgow to London in 1739 found no hard road until they reached Grantham. Until then they travelled upon a narrow causeway with an unmade soft road on each side of it on which 'they met from time to time strings of pack-horses from thirty to forty in a gang, the mode by which goods seemed to be transported from one part of the country to another.'<sup>4</sup> The development and increasing demand for consumer goods in the Metropolis represented the largest single influence on the volume and nature of road traffic at this period. By mid-century Defoe estimated that 40,000 Highland cattle passed southwards annually to the Norfolk pastures to be fattened prior to sale on the London market.<sup>5</sup> The majority of these herds passed through the Riding on their way south, losing some of their number to the important cattle-market held at Northallerton. Although drovers frequently preserved the health of their beasts by avoiding the hard surfaces of main routes, encroachment on the highway at some points was unavoidable.

With the increasing scope of road transport, maintenance of the highways became a matter of national economic importance. It

<sup>1</sup> S.B. 7 April 1741. He had been appointed in July 1720: S.B. July 11.

<sup>2</sup> J. Parkes, *Travel in England in the Seventeenth Century*, 83.

<sup>3</sup> M. Robinson, *The British Post Office* (Princeton, 1948), *passim*.

<sup>4</sup> Quoted by Webb in *The King's Highway*, 66.

<sup>5</sup> D. Defoe, *A Tour Through the whole Island of Great Britain* (1762), i, 60.



was, however, the Justices in Sessions who ideally acted as a stimulating, supervising and co-ordinating authority, exercising a twofold function as a judicial and legislative body, enforcing duties and remedying defects in the system of highway maintenance. Hence the Court was called upon to enforce the duties of individual parishioners to serve periods of statute labour or to supply teams, and later to pay rates to the parish. The Riding was also responsible for the maintenance of certain bridges, and, during the latter part of the period, the Justices were brought into contact with the new bodies established by Parliament to assume jurisdiction over certain highways in place of the older authorities.

The basis of the old system of parochial highway maintenance was the gratuitous and compulsory labour of the parishioners, organised directly by the highway surveyors appointed by Justices out of Sessions. The six days for the performance of statute labour were appointed by the constables and churchwardens. During these days all parishioners were statute bound to work on and provide the necessary transport for the repair of the roads. The burden of labour imposed by statute was very inequitably distributed,<sup>1</sup> and the number of poor suffering hardship as a result of the loss of six days' labour must have been exceptionally high in rural areas. In Middlesex the Court was prepared to give special consideration to poor parishioners.<sup>2</sup> In the North Riding the Justices seem to have been unconcerned with such relief, and there is in fact no evidence that statute labour was being enforced. There is every reason to doubt the diligence of the 'spiritless, ignorant, lazy sauntering people called surveyors of the highways',<sup>3</sup> and it may well be doubted whether the system functioned effectively at any period.<sup>4</sup>

Individual responsibility also included a duty not to commit nuisances. This was primarily a passive duty, but parochial care of the roads might be undone by the negligence of adjacent landholders, and hence active care was in some cases required. Owners of land adjoining the highway were liable for obstructing the road directly – a Thornton man was presented in 1706 for blocking the highway with a locked gate<sup>5</sup> – and for cutting back hedges and overhanging trees. Offences of the latter nature do not appear at Sessions, but there are frequent presentments of persons failing to perform the statutory duty to keep clean and free from obstruction the water courses in their ground. Other nuisances threatening the health of road users were occasionally prosecuted at Sessions. In 1696 eight Northallerton men were presented for depositing heaps of mud and dirt in the street, and in 1703 a Whitby couple were presented for 'pouring out a large quantity of fish pickle in Grape Lane, the

<sup>1</sup> E. Mather, *Of Mending and Repairing the Highways* (1696).

<sup>2</sup> E. G. Dowdell, *A Hundred Years of Quarter Sessions*, 93.

<sup>3</sup> R. Burn, *History of the Poor Laws*, (1764), 239.

<sup>4</sup> J. Shapleigh, *Highways* (1749), 56-7.

<sup>5</sup> S.B. 8 Oct. 1706.

pernicious and unwholesome smell of which corrupted and still corrupts the air'.<sup>1</sup>

By the beginning of the eighteenth century, however, the efforts of the Justices were directed chiefly to enforcing the corporate duty of the parish to maintain the highways. Much of the detailed supervision was undertaken by Justices out of Sessions. The Act 3 *Wm. & Mary*, c.12 directed Justices in their respective divisions to hold special sessions every four months for the conduct of highways business. This provision seems to have made little difference to organisation in the North Riding, for the Easter Sessions at Thirsk was established as the bridge and highways sessions for the Riding; and although further business might be carried over to the Michaelmas Sessions at Thirsk, it was ordered in 1728 that money for bridge repair was to be granted at these two Sessions only.<sup>2</sup> Concentration of business in the Thirsk Sessions, together with the difficulties of ensuring the attendance of the Justices at local meetings, suggests that in fact little of the more important highways business was conducted out of Sessions. Where the matter was of a local or specialised nature, however, the practice evolved of deputing the conduct of the business to local Justices acting singly or as a committee. Sir Roger Beckwith was ordered 'to view and make a bargain with the proprietors of the lands adjoining to Masham Bridge for a highway leading from the said bridge to Beedale'.<sup>3</sup>

The Justices' primary duty in relation to parochial highway obligations was to enforce them judicially. Parishes neglecting to maintain their highways in good repair were presented at Sessions, and further measures lay in the hands of the Court. The basis of this system of presentment and indictment of the parish for non-repair lay in the law relating to the suppression of nuisances. Presentments could be initiated by individuals, by Justices or by the grand jury, either on its own view or on the report of one of its members. The system of presentment and indictment was, however, essentially weak when applied to the parish. Against parishes consistently refusing to repair the only remedy was the levy of a fine. But even if this were imposed, it could be levied only by distress upon individual parishioners – a cumbersome and inequitable process. Although cases of continued obstinacy are infrequent, in extreme circumstances the case might find its way into Assizes and the Court be obliged to pay for the defence of the indictment. Much of the money raised by a fine might, therefore, be lost 'in law charges, Court fees, and poundage'.<sup>4</sup> Consequently, a system of conditional fines was introduced. By this method, on the indictment of a parish for negligence, a fine was ordered, the levying of which

<sup>1</sup> S.B. 21 April 1696, 13 July 1703.

<sup>2</sup> S.B. 30 April 1728.

<sup>3</sup> S.B. 11 April 1727; and see S.B. 3 April 1733.

<sup>4</sup> T. B. Bayley, *Observations on the General Highway and Turnpike Acts* (1773), 26.



was conditional upon the fulfilment of the duty to repair.<sup>1</sup> Thus the Court was able to bring strong persuasion to bear on recalcitrant parishes, since the fines imposed conditionally were sufficiently large to constitute a real incentive to repair. That considerable success was enjoyed under this system is evidenced by the number of cases in which at the end of the conditional period local Justices certified that the highways had been satisfactorily repaired, whereupon the fine was discharged and the parish normally fined a nominal amount. Frequently, however, the initial period of grace was extended by respiting the indictment to the next Sessions. In this way parishioners were able to escape their obligations indefinitely. For example, the inhabitants of Huttons Ambo indicted at Stokesley on 10 July 1711, eventually confessed to the indictment in January, 1714. Long delays in executing repairs undoubtedly resulted in a proportionate depreciation in the state of the highways, and it seems probable that where the parish had been allowed to neglect its duties for a considerable period, payment of a small fine might be less onerous than the performance of extensive repairs.

Amounts levied by conditional fines were, however, clearly inadequate to maintain the roads in a satisfactory state of repair. The Act *3 Wm. & Mary, c.12* empowered the Justices, in cases where they considered that the highways could not otherwise be sufficiently repaired, to levy an assessment on the parish not exceeding 6*d.* in the £ of the yearly value of any property. Such legislation stresses the inadequacy of existing powers. It was clearly welcomed by the North Riding Justices, and the power was used consistently from 1693 onwards to provide the staple source of income for road maintenance. Significantly, many of those parishes and townships on which rates were ordered to be laid were responsible for highways in remote areas of meagre population. The responsibility of Clifton, in Hang East wapentake, pertained to roads passing over moorland to the west; that of Hinderwell to those covering the desolate coastal area in the north-east of Langbargh wapentake. Fylingdale and Goathland were responsible for the repair of roads traversing the Whitby moors in the east. This strongly suggests that existing parochial obligations fell inequitably in largely-unsettled areas, and that common work had been allowed to fall into disuse.

In many parts of the country the early eighteenth century witnessed the replacement of the old machinery for the enforcement of highway maintenance by an entirely new organisation exercising statutory control over road repair – the turnpike trust. Although Quarter Sessions had no direct part in establishing this new machinery, the various turnpike acts empowered the Justices to appoint persons to survey the roads and examine the application of tolls, the Court having authority to determine disputes as to the application of funds or the abuse of powers conferred by the relevant Act. The initial efforts of the North Riding Justices, however, appear to have been directed to supporting opposition to early turnpikes.<sup>2</sup> No further

<sup>1</sup> S.B. 10 July 1688.

<sup>2</sup> S.B. 12 July 1726.

mention of the erection of turnpike trusts is made in the records until 1745. By this date turnpikes had been established on the Great North Road, and the introduction of coach services along the improved highway had rendered some of the existing bridges inadequate. The Court, in referring the repair of Healam Bridge to the Justices acting for Hallikeld and Hang East wapentakes, gave them 'power to contract with workmen for rebuilding the same as they shall think convenient for coaches and other carriages upon the turnpike road.'<sup>1</sup>

It is difficult to draw any general conclusion as to the state of the roads in the Riding. The work of the Justices was largely of a routine nature, differing from that of Justices elsewhere only in so far as in remote areas attention was not focussed on the state of the highways by the demands of commercial interests serving heavily populated urban and suburban areas. The retention of older methods of transport in much of the Riding probably resulted in the maintenance of a status quo rather than the improvement of highways to meet new demands.

In the sphere of highway maintenance the work of the Justices was directed to supervising the performance of obligations vested in others. Greater initiative was, however, shown in the upkeep of bridges for which the Riding was directly responsible. The Act 22 Hen. VIII, c.5 had vested in the counties liability for all bridges whose maintenance did not fall by tenure or prescription on other bodies or individuals. Generally the county assumed at least a part-responsibility for bridge repairs not included in its statutory obligations, and from the beginning of the period the Justices encouraged performance of parochial obligations by the payment of gratuities. In 1702, for instance, they ordered a gratuity of £5 towards 'the building a stone bridge at the place called Fleet Bridge, and the inhabitants of Hanley in the parish of Thornton to be at the rest of the charge to make it a sufficient horse bridge'.<sup>2</sup> It was probably with the object of checking this practice that Parliament inserted in the County Rate Act, 1739, a clause expressly prohibiting the application of money to the repair of bridges 'until presentments be made by the grand jury, at the Assizes or Sessions, of their insufficiency, inconveniency, or want of reparation'. The practice seems to have ceased in the Riding after an order from the Justices in 1743 outlining 'the opinion of this Court that the Justices in Sessions have not a power to order any sum or sums of money to be paid out of the Treasury towards the repairs of such bridges that are not county bridges, or any other gratuity whatsoever'.<sup>3</sup>

Regarding the repair of county bridges, in theory the Justices first sat in judgement upon the county and then took the necessary measures for repair on the county's behalf. The obvious temptation was to dispense with the cumbersome machinery of formal present-

<sup>1</sup> S.B. 23 April 1745.

<sup>2</sup> S.B. 14 April 1702.

<sup>3</sup> S.B. 12 April 1743.



ment and indictment and order repairs as soon as the necessity was known. In the North Riding the advantages of this accelerated procedure had been recognised by the end of the seventeenth century.<sup>1</sup> Its regular use would have rendered bridge maintenance a purely administrative function, at the same time saving much trouble and expense. Generally, however, the Justices observed the strict interpretation of the law requiring a presentment prior to a rate. But it does not follow that the Court lost the initiative occasionally exercised in orders for immediate repairs, for it could act to provide the grand jury with the information upon which to initiate a presentment. The Justices had statutory authority to appoint surveyors, but it was observed in 1754 that 'this business of surveying the bridges is usually annexed by the Justices to the office of the High Constables'.<sup>2</sup> In the North Riding the Justices displayed unusual initiative in experimenting with forms of control. Surveyors were appointed regularly until 1728, when it was discovered, on the death of John Bartlett, that much of the work done on bridges had not been paid for, that much of that done had been performed negligently, and that Bartlett's accounts showed a deficit of £233. After enforcing the debt on Bartlett's son and reimbursing unpaid workmen, the Court appointed two surveyors for the Riding at an annual salary of £15.<sup>3</sup> Supervision must have remained unsatisfactory, for in October of the same year the Justices ordered that the chief constables for every wapentake 'represent to this Court a state of all the county bridges within their respective wapentakes at every Sessions, and the said C.Cs. to be allowed 20s. per wapentake for their trouble herein yearly, and the present Surveyors of Bridges to be discharged from their employment . . . .'.<sup>4</sup> The Justices maintained a close watch on the activities of the constables in relation to bridge supervision, and seem to have concluded that this method of control was again unsatisfactory. In 1743 they were of the opinion that 'if a General Surveyor of the county bridges was appointed for the whole Riding, instead of the C.Cs. for the several wapentakes, it would save the Riding money.' They recommended the Bench at the next Sessions at Thirsk to appoint 'a general Surveyor for bridges'.<sup>5</sup> The records, however, contain no mention of such an appointment before 1750.

Further initiative is evident in the practice of deputing the care of bridges to committees of Justices, who were empowered to contract for the assessment and conduct of repairs. The wide powers enjoyed by committees were of particular importance in relation to the supervision of border bridges under joint control. Generally, the appointment of committees for the special purpose of settling repairs to such bridges with the Justices of adjoining counties and ridings, ensured the smooth operation of joint maintenance. In 1731, for example, the Justices acted in conjunction with those of

<sup>1</sup> S.B. 11 Jan. 1698.

<sup>2</sup> Burn, *Justice of the Peace*, 190.

<sup>3</sup> S.B. 11 July 1727, Jan. 9 & 16 1728.

<sup>4</sup> S.B. 8 Oct. 1728.

<sup>5</sup> S.B. 14 July 1743.

the East Riding to rebuild the bridge over the Derwent at Yeddingham.<sup>1</sup> Relations with the West Riding were not, however, always so satisfactory. Attempts to impose new obligations to repair on the North Riding were strenuously opposed. In 1746 the Justices learned from the Clerk of the Peace that he had received 'a copy of an order made at the West Riding Sessions that the north part of the north bridge over the River Yore near Ripon being out of repair, they are of opinion that the same ought to be repaired by the inhabitants of the North Riding, and that unless this Court doth order the same to be repaired they will order the same to be indicted at the next Assizes for being out of repair'. The North Riding Justices were strongly of the opinion that liability fell on the West Riding and ordered a local lawyer to prepare a defence to the indictment in case it should reach Assizes.<sup>2</sup> No further mention is made of the matter, and it seems unlikely that liability fell on the North Riding.

The expense of bridge maintenance can be assessed from the fact that, from 1700 to 1742, rates imposed from Sessions amounted to more than £11,000. Undoubtedly this sum was never collected in its entirety, since the duty to collect fell on the constables whose diligence, as has been indicated, was at all times doubtful. The rates ordered, however, suggest that towards the end of the period more ambitious repairs were being undertaken. From 1736 to 1742 the average annual amount rated is almost £600. This may be partly explained by orders issuing from Sessions indicating that the older ideas as to the limited function of bridges were being replaced by general improvement schemes. Highway improvement originating in the activities of the turnpike trusts also necessitated extensive improvements to existing bridges and their approaches. With the introduction of faster traffic it was essential that gradients should be gradual and that bridges should present little interference with the passage of wheeled traffic. Hence the Justices found it necessary to order the raising of the road for 300 ft. at either end of 'the carriage bridge at Newsham'.<sup>3</sup> Such developments, however, belong to the later years of our period; and it seems probable that the efforts of the Justices had maintained bridges in the Riding in a fairly satisfactory state of repair. Much of this success must undoubtedly be attributed to the activities of local committees exercising powers delegated by Sessions. As in other branches of Sessions administration, direct supervision by the Bench was impractical. It is difficult to understand why this form of specialisation was not extended to highway maintenance. The reasons probably lie in the fact that, in respect of bridges, the Justices were not faced with the organisation of wholly inadequate machinery. They were empowered, and were normally able, to raise as much money as was required, and to employ skilled workmen to perform the specialised work necessary.

<sup>1</sup> S.B. 27 April 1731.

<sup>2</sup> S.B. 17 July 1746.

<sup>3</sup> S.B. 3 Oct. 1749.



## 4 – THE POOR LAW

The complete economic impracticability of the system of poor relief outlined in the Elizabethan legislation had resulted in the emergence of an administrative void permitting wide scope to the Justices and to individual reformers. Furthermore, after the Restoration the central government paid little attention to this sphere of administration, and although some general statutes pertaining to the organisation of the poor were passed, they are generally of little practical importance. Justices in Sessions, acting in a controlling and co-ordinating capacity, are therefore of unusual importance.

Although the Elizabethan legislation, attempting to replace repression by rehabilitation, indicates an important change of attitude towards the poor, the eventual failure of the system can be attributed almost wholly to the failure of the Tudor legislators to free themselves from the traditional approach to poor relief as a sphere of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Until the 1834 Act poor law administration depended upon the activities of the ecclesiastical parish. Churchwardens and overseers, appointed by the parish and working under the supervision of the Justices, were charged with the execution of the law, and funds for the use of the poor were rated on the inhabitants of the parish. Insistence on parochial administration meant that the country as a whole had no uniform poor law. Intense pre-occupation with the fiscal side of the problem meant that the parish, before accepting responsibility for paupers, made every attempt to lay the burden on other shoulders. Attempts to evade or postpone parochial obligations laid an unusual onus on Sessions acting as an appeal court in cases of disputed liability. Not surprisingly, the Justices made little attempt to enforce the parochial employment of the able-bodied or to provide an adequate substitute on a larger scale. Decay of the parochial provisions for work appears to be part of a national trend resulting from a realisation of the impractical nature of the Elizabethan system.<sup>1</sup> In some parts of the country attempts were made by Justices and parish authorities to organise an alternative system of employment in the houses of correction or by means of the later workhouses. One of the objects envisaged in the creation of houses of correction had been the employment of the able-bodied poor. But there is little evidence of organised work in the North Riding houses. Where work was ordered by the Justices it was invariably referred to as 'hard labour', and clearly represents no alleviation of the houses' punitive character.

Although there was no workhouse in the Riding, there is evidence that in some districts houses in which the poor were set on work were administered locally. Eden, writing at the end of the eighteenth century, mentions a 'house' at Stokesley rented by the parish for the maintenance of the poor. This house seems to have had a wider usage, other parishes sending their poor there when it was not full. A system of work was also provided, and the master of the house

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dowdell, *op. cit.*, 45.

received the profit, less a small percentage to the paupers, of the work done.<sup>1</sup> Eden records no further such houses in the Riding. The Stokesley 'house' may represent a local experiment to which the Justices paid little attention, although its apparent success would seem to have been sufficient recommendation for an extension of the system.

Some of the Stokesley poor were also maintained in cottages, the rent of which was paid by the overseers.<sup>2</sup> Erection of cottages for the poor was not popular during this period. During the late seventeenth century frequent orders from Sessions recommended parish authorities to provide habitations for poor persons,<sup>3</sup> but the Justices' interest had clearly ceased by 1700. Increasing preoccupation with alleviating the financial burden on the parish and the absence of stimulation from Sessions tended to the disuse of the system and after about 1725 it seems to have ceased entirely.

During the seventeenth century insistence on parochial obligations to relieve poor persons had been largely relaxed through payment of gratuities on appeal to Sessions. It seems probable that the practice had been extended to payments by local Justices, and that by the end of the seventeenth century it represented a large-scale evasion of parochial responsibility. Increasing charges on the Riding stimulated the Justices to discourage the practice. In 1692 they issued a strongly-worded order that 'no gratuity upon any account whatsoever (is) to be given or granted but upon Wednesday in the Sessions week and in open Court'.<sup>4</sup> Regularisation seems to have had the desired effect since subsequent payments are rare, and by 1700 the payment of gratuities to poor persons had almost ceased. Frequent petitions from parish overseers recommending relief to Sessions failed to revive the practice.

The unwillingness of the parish to supply relief resulted in continued attempts to transfer liability to other parishes or individuals. The minimum of responsibility was felt for illegitimate children and their essentially chargeable nature increased the desire of parish authorities to settle the obligation for their upkeep elsewhere. Hence, although by the Act 18 Eliz. c.3 affiliation and maintenance orders were to be made by pairs of Justices acting out of Sessions, application in the first instance was frequently made to Sessions. Throughout the period the records contain the recognisances of putative fathers to appear in Court and orders of reference back to local Justices. Although maintenance proceedings were divided between Justices acting in and out of Sessions, the number of such recognisances appearing in Sessions indicates that affiliation proceedings occupied a large amount of the Justices' time. From 1700 to 1749 330 recognisances for the appearance of putative fathers appear, and their incidence suggests a fairly steady rate of illegitimacy.

<sup>1</sup> F. M. Eden, *The State of the Poor* (1928 edn.), 367.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> e.g. *N.R.Q.S.R.* vii, 2, 4, 7, 9.

<sup>4</sup> S.B. 4 Oct. 1692.



Although abuse may have been exaggerated, procedure in Sessions did little to alleviate the problem of illegitimacy. The oath of an unmarried woman with child was sufficient evidence for the issue of a warrant demanding the appearance of the putative father. Providing that the accused was willing to enter into a bond to indemnify the parish, punitive proceedings were normally dispensed with.<sup>1</sup> Concentration on the fiscal aspect of illegitimacy resulted in a considerable degree of formalisation in Court procedure, and insistence on minimum evidence for the establishing of paternity probably resulted in some abuse. There is no evidence that perjury was widespread, but cases in which paternity was sworn on a man other than the actual father undoubtedly arose.<sup>2</sup> Indemnities payable to the parish by fathers of illegitimate children were in many cases theoretical only. Enforcement of weekly contributions payable under maintenance orders, unless the father was a man of property or position, was a matter of some difficulty. The father himself could become impoverished and chargeable to the parish, in which case the upkeep of the child fell entirely on the poor rate. In other cases the father might leave the parish and unless he was returned under the law of settlement, payments towards the maintenance of the child ceased. Here, however, some relief of the charge on the parish was possible, and Sessions acted to order distress on the possessions of the absconding father. Levy of distress for the upkeep of children chargeable to the parish was extended to cases of legitimate children deserted by their parents. But existence of assets upon which distraint could be ordered was clearly exceptional. Otherwise, the upkeep of the child was the sole responsibility of the parish. In such cases its fate was doubtful. A cryptic record on the reverse side of a note about the burial charges of a bastard child in 1739 indicates that it 'was born, Feb. 1st, was baptized Feb. 3rd, and buried Monday, the 5th of February'.<sup>3</sup> The speedy death of a child relieved the parish of considerable difficulty, since the provision of maintenance was only a temporary expedient, and there remained the duty to equip the child for adult life. To this end the system of apprenticeship was adopted. This policy clearly recommended itself to parish authorities as relieving the parish of the burden of support, since the child gained a settlement in the parish where it was apprenticed. Absence of adequate supervision over the status of masters to whom children were sent, however, frequently frustrated the intention of apprenticeship. Frequently apprentices were discharged on the imprisonment of their masters for debt, or because the master had 'run away'.<sup>4</sup> In such cases the only course open to the Court was to dissolve the bond. If the discharged apprentice was to be prevented from joining the ranks of the poor, some alternative provision for training or main-

<sup>1</sup> 7 Jas. 1, c.4 provided for committal for one year to the house of correction for the fathers of bastards.

<sup>2</sup> e.g. S.R. Oct. 2, 1716.

<sup>3</sup> S.R. 1 May 1739.

<sup>4</sup> e.g. S.B. 23 April 1745 contains the discharge of an apprentice whose master, a master mariner, had fled to Holland.

tenance was essential. But in no case, not even on the frustration of the bond by the death insolvent of the master, did the Justices order alternative upkeep or employment, and apprentices were released to increase the numbers of itinerant and chargeable poor.

The parish officers through whom Justices both in and out of Sessions exercised supervision over parochial poor relief were the overseers of the poor, instituted by the Act 43 Eliz. c.12. The intention of the statute appears to have been to create officials responsible for the administration of poor relief within the parish but controlled and supervised by the Justices. There was certainly need for supervision of overseers, since the office was unpaid and the duties tedious. Theoretically the Justices were intended to exercise control by indicting recalcitrant overseers. They were, however, unwilling to extend the clumsy process of indictment, and negative evidence suggests that the procedure was not used during this period.<sup>1</sup> There is, moreover, a marked absence of orders exhorting the diligence of overseers on pain of presentment at Sessions. A general direction to the constables in 1693, reiterating the main duties of local officers in the administration of poor relief, orders them to give notice to the overseers to relieve the impotent and aged poor and to provide an adequate stock.<sup>2</sup> The order is, however, not repeated and the general impression is that stimulation from Sessions was entirely lacking.

The Court had power to redress hardship caused by inequitable distribution of the financial burden of poor-relief by levying a rate in aid. This power was consistently used during the second half of the seventeenth century, but for some reason which is not apparent no further rates in aid were ordered after 1694. It is unlikely that petitions for relief ceased, and since the question was one of the redistribution of parochial contributions and not of subsidies from Sessions, the disuse of the power cannot readily be explained.

The Act of Settlement of 1662 attained a disproportionate importance in poor law administration, since it legalised the transfer of newcomers to the parish, irrespective of actual chargeability, in effect 'turning the question from how to provide for (the poor) into who shall provide for them, and so raising such a spirit of shifting, instead of honest industry in the Kingdom, that it has cost many a parish as much to remove one poor person, as it would have done to maintain ten.'<sup>3</sup>

Although orders for removal were normally made by pairs of local Justices, appeal lay to Sessions, and hence it became the responsibility of the Court to settle the continued attempts of parishes to transfer their responsibilities to neighbouring authorities. The number of cases appearing before the Justices during this period is

<sup>1</sup> For two early cases of indictment of overseers for negligence see S.B. 3 May 1698, 29 April 1690.

<sup>2</sup> S.B. 17 Jan. 1693.

<sup>3</sup> T. Cooper, *Observations upon the Vagrant Laws* (1742), 19.



large, and suggests that in practice appeal from the decisions of Justices out of Sessions had become a routine procedure. Between 1700 and 1749 581 appeals against removal orders are recorded. This compares unfavourably with a total of 945 appeals to Sessions in Cambridgeshire during the period 1660-1831.<sup>1</sup> In so far as any conclusions may be drawn, it seems probable that the attitude of the Justices to settlement appeals encouraged a greater recourse to this procedure in the North Riding. The records suggest that the Court was prepared to hear appeals based upon a wide interpretation of the statutory requirements for settlement. Hence in 1742 the Justices heard a dispute between Upleatham and Stokesley based upon a point of law arising from the Act 9 Geo. I, c.7 as to whether possession of freehold estate by one spouse gave the other any settlement in the parish where the property lay.<sup>2</sup> Again the Court might take cognisance of cases of settlement supposed to have been gained by service or apprenticeship, as in a 1745 appeal from an order for the removal of a family from Aisgarth to Parr in the Palatinate of Lancaster. After lengthy preliminary hearings, the case went to Assizes, where the obligation was eventually fixed on Aisgarth parish.<sup>3</sup> Removals were normally ordered to parishes within the Riding and hence the cost of actual removal was not great. But the cost of contesting removals was considerable, and largely resulted from the nature of the legal procedure attending appeals. On receipt of an order from two Justices the pauper was immediately removed to the parish of alleged settlement, which only after receiving him could appeal to Sessions. If on appeal the order was quashed by the Court, the second parish obtained an order from local Justices for return to the parish which had sent the pauper, which parish might abide by the decision or make a further attempt to transfer responsibility to another parish. Unfortunately, the records offer no direct evidence for an assessment of the cost of settlement appeals. Eden records that a contested removal at Skipton in the West Riding in 1794 cost £30, and that the attorney's bill for a removal contested by Southowram in the parish of Halifax amounted to £74.<sup>4</sup> Even allowing for inflation and increased costs, it would seem that the charges falling on the parish frequently negated the initial object of removal as an alleviation of the financial burden of relief.

It is difficult to assess the social repercussions of a large-scale policy of removal. Little attempt was made by the Justices to limit parochial abuse of the settlement laws. By the later years of the period it seems that parish officers were attempting to evade the results of appeal to Sessions by delaying removals ordered by local Justices until after the date of the Sessions at which appeal against the order could be made, presumably hoping to profit by the statutory forty days' residence qualification which would be completed before the date of the next Sessions.<sup>5</sup> Evasion of this type suggests

<sup>1</sup> E. M. Hampson, *Treatment of Poverty in Cambridgeshire, 1597-1834*, 139.

<sup>2</sup> S.B. 5 Oct. 1742.

<sup>3</sup> S.B. 18 July 1745.

<sup>4</sup> Eden, *op. cit.*, 365-6.

<sup>5</sup> S.B. 30 July 1741.



that orders were being obtained for the removal of persons to parishes in which the parish officers knew they had no legal settlement. It is not suggested that this practice was widespread but the routine nature of Sessions supervision was of little value in eliminating abuse of this nature. The overall impression is that an unusually large amount of the Justices' time was occupied by a wholly abortive attempt to relieve pauperism. In fact, the problem was probably aggravated by an increase in illegitimate births and the numbers of vagrants resulting from a concentration on the removal of single women and children. Of a total of 65 vagrants recorded during 1748, 46 were women and children travelling alone; and from 1740 to 1746 more than 60% of the vagrants recorded fall into this category. There seems little doubt that although the machinery of poor relief was manifestly inadequate, a short-sighted policy towards the problem of poverty in the parishes further accentuated the more pressing national problem of vagrancy.

The importance of the problem of vagrancy during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries cannot be doubted. In 1688 the number of vagrants in England was estimated at 60,000 families.<sup>1</sup> In 1693 the North Riding Justices had issued a general order to the constables for the apprehension and punishment of vagrants.<sup>2</sup> Following the Act *11 & 12 Wm. III* the Court issued a further strongly-worded order to the constables.<sup>3</sup>

The law relating to the repression of vagrancy was contained in the Act *39 Eliz. c.4*, as amended and recodified by a series of eighteenth-century statutes, and applied to a wide category of persons, including wandering scholars, shipwrecked seamen, and a variety of itinerant vendors and entertainers, who were deemed 'rogues, vagabonds and sturdy beggars'. Towards this class the Justices consistently pursued a policy of repression largely unmitigated by recourse to statutory provisions. Little use was made of the power to order the transportation of vagrants. Only one case is recorded before 1750. Again, the records indicate that before 1750 few vagrants were sent 'to be employed in His Majesty's service by sea or land' pursuant to the Act *17 Geo. II, c.5*.<sup>4</sup> Whipping was ordered by the Justices without distinction of age or sex, and no distinction appears to have been made in the case of physically retarded persons.<sup>5</sup> Very infrequently is there evidence of personal alleviation by the Justices. A note on a *mittimus* from Sessions in 1729 committing a vagrant to the house of correction observes that 'this man is an object of pity, he has the palsie, falling sickness, and has lost the use of an arm, so he says, in the Government service.'<sup>6</sup> There is, however, no evidence of active attempts to relieve his distress, and it seems unlikely that he would benefit from conditions

<sup>1</sup> G. King, *Natural and Political Observations and Conclusions upon the State and Condition of England* (1696), 49.

<sup>2</sup> S.B. 17 Jan. 1693.

<sup>3</sup> S.B. 30 July 1700.

<sup>4</sup> A single doubtful case occurs in 1746, S.B. July 15.

<sup>5</sup> e.g. S.B. 13 Jan. 1705.

<sup>6</sup> S.R. 25 April 1729.



in the house of correction. Vagrants were normally committed to the house of correction pending conveyance to their place of settlement or appearance at Sessions. Again the law was enforced with considerable severity. Young children, with or without their parents, were detained in the house; in 1752 a blind man and a small boy 'that leads him' are recorded among the vagrants detained.<sup>1</sup> Persons committed as vagrants might remain in the house for a considerable period before whipping or conveyance was ordered. Internments of more than three months are not uncommon.

The Courts' insistence on a policy of repression may be partly explained in terms of an apparent increase in the numbers of vagrants during the early years of the century. In observing this, the Justices attributed the increase to lack of diligence on the part of constables.<sup>2</sup> It seems unlikely, however, that an appreciable increase in the number of vagrants is directly attributable to the shortcomings of local officers. Since comparative figures for the early years of the period are not available, it is difficult to adduce reasons for the increase. It may be partly explained in terms of a general population movement from Scotland during this period coupled with increasing hardship occasioned by the administration of the settlement laws.<sup>3</sup>

Compulsory population movement was not, however, limited to removal under the settlement laws. Return of convicted vagrants to their places of settlement was an essential feature of the laws for the suppression of vagrancy. The duty of passing rested upon the constables of those parishes through which the vagrant passed en route to his settlement. The office of constable was singularly unfitted to perform this onerous task. As early as 1706 a warrant was sent out for the arrest of the constable of Kirby Hill on the Great North Road 'for neglecting his duty in conveyance of vagrants', and in 1713 the Justices were attributing the increasing numbers of vagrants to the negligence of constables.<sup>4</sup> Unwillingness to devote to this duty the time which it demanded is understandable. The office of constable was annual and unpaid, and normally exercised by a man who had to earn his own living. A contemporary writer was prepared to attribute much of the inefficiency in the passing system to this factor – 'when the laws against vagrants should be put into execution the Constable is about his own business and if possible will not be found'.<sup>5</sup> The duty to make provision for the constables' expenses in passing vagrants was transferred by the Act 11 Wm. III, c.18 from the constables themselves, acting with the churchwardens and parishioners, to Quarter Sessions. This new power was immediately utilised, and from October 1700 the Justices ordered sums to be estreated for the repayment of constables 'for conveying of vagrants through this Riding, pursuant to the late Act'. The new rating powers were quickly exploited by local officers as a source of financial gain, for in October 1704 the Justices

<sup>1</sup> S.R. 18 April 1732.

<sup>2</sup> S.B. 28 July 1713.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 508.

<sup>4</sup> See above.

<sup>5</sup> J. Gee, *The Trade and Navigation of Great Britain Considered*.

ordered that allowances were not to be given 'until the constable produce a receipt from the constable he delivered them to, containing the number delivered.'<sup>1</sup> By 1706 the cost of the system was causing the Justices some alarm, and Justices' clerks seem to have been conniving with the constables to produce fraudulent returns.<sup>2</sup> The Justices were unable to exercise adequate supervision, and fraud by the constables continued. In 1714 the Court attempted to reduce the cost of passing by contracting for the conveyance of all vagrants in consideration of a fixed quarterly payment. The system was introduced for the carriage of vagrants through the Riding by way of the Great North Road, John Raper of Langthorp contracting to convey all vagrants coming to Kirby Hill on the border with the West Riding to Neesome on the Durham border in consideration of a payment of £20 a quarter.<sup>3</sup> The system seems to have worked satisfactorily in relieving costs, since it was renewed, and Raper continued to convey all vagrants passing northwards until at least 1728.<sup>4</sup> Conveyance of vagrants from elsewhere in the Riding, however, remained in the hands of constables, and the Justices made continued attempts to limit their charges. In 1732 the conveyance of all vagrants convicted at Sessions was entrusted to the master of the house of correction; but the experiment was not consistently repeated, and does not seem to have operated to reduce costs. Limitation of charges claimable by the constables probably led to a falling-off in their efforts to apprehend vagrants. The Justices attempted to revive their interest in 1736 by ordering that an allowance of 1s. for every convicted vagrant should be made to every constable 'for his encouragement to take up vagrants . . . '<sup>5</sup>

Passage from constable to constable offered adequate opportunity for escape, and their negligence frequently resulted in the return of despatched vagrants. The fallibility of the passing system was widely recognised. The Rev. W. L. Williamson's 'Plan Respecting Vagrants'<sup>6</sup> pays particular attention to the problem. Unfortunately, his remedies are characteristic of the repressive policy adopted in Sessions. As a possible remedy he suggests that constables should be equipped with substantial collars, engraved with the names of towns and fitted with good locks and keys, to be put on the vagrants' necks while in custody. In addition he proposes more severe fines for negligent constables and the continuance of the system of rewards for apprehension. There is no indication that any of his proposals were adopted, and the existing system continued without modification until the end of the period.

Assessment of the significance of the problem of vagrancy in the North Riding is difficult. Records of the number of vagrants passed do not exist for much of the period, but the amounts voted in Sessions to the conveyance of vagrants suggest that by 1740 the

<sup>1</sup> S.B. 3 Oct. 1704.

<sup>3</sup> S.B. 5 Oct. 1714.

<sup>5</sup> S.B. 4 May 1736.

<sup>6</sup> A stray document contained in the N.R. vagrant papers.

<sup>2</sup> S.B. 30 July 1706.

<sup>4</sup> S.B. 30 April 1728.



problem was decreasing in importance. The period of peak expenditure extends from 1701 to 1716, with an absolute maximum during the seven years 1708-14 when the annual average expenditure was £338. If the cost per head is assessed on the charges claimed by John Wood in 1740,<sup>1</sup> the amount voted indicates that some 600 vagrants were being passed annually from the Riding. During the period 1736-1749, however, the annual average amount voted dropped to £94, representing the passage of fewer than 200 vagrants a year. More precise information can be gathered from files of vagrant passes, unfortunately incomplete, for the years 1740-48. Out of the 209 vagrants whose settlement is recorded, 59, or approximately one-quarter, were returned to settlements in Scotland, and a further 51 to places in Cumberland, Northumberland and Durham. A high proportion of vagrants during these years were women and children. Out of 274 vagrants passed, 101 are recorded as being women travelling without menfolk, and 42 as children, alone or with their mothers. Of the remaining number, 44 are women and children travelling in families. Only 58 cases of men travelling alone are recorded. It is difficult to discern here the formation of itinerant and criminally-inclined 'gangs', and the criminal nature of the vagrant population may well have been exaggerated. Moreover, of single men most likely to constitute a threat to the peace, a large proportion were lame or discharged soldiers and sailors, and discharged apprentices and servants. That disabled soldiers were most likely to join the ranks of the poor had been officially recognised and during the seventeenth century gratuities had been consistently granted to them in Sessions. For the condition of discharged servants and apprentices the Justices must be held directly responsible, for there is no evidence that any provision was made for their relief on cancellation of bonds in the Court. Of even greater significance is the incidence of single women and children. Undoubtedly their presence in such large numbers is directly attributable to the use made of the settlement laws to transfer those most likely to become chargeable to the parish. This impression is reinforced by the fact that the settlements of single women appear to represent a pattern of aimless wandering which contrasts sharply with the definite movement southwards of men in search of employment. Of those females not designated 'single women', the majority are those for whom some provision should clearly have been made by the parish – widows, and the wives and widows of soldiers and sailors.

The treatment of vagrancy constitutes a severe indictment of Sessions' administration. In no other field was the need for a constructive policy so apparent. Passing to a largely theoretical place of settlement in which no relief could reasonably be expected, merely resulted in an extended application of the settlement laws. The average parochial official was unfitted to meet the demands placed upon him by the Elizabethan legislation, and the parish as an administrative unit too small and feeble to take effective action.

<sup>1</sup> S.R. July 17, 1740.



But the overriding impression is that the Justices did little to remedy inherent weaknesses. Efforts to stimulate diligence in parish officials are rare. More important, the Justices failed entirely to evolve remedial measures to replace the severity of the existing poor laws. Preoccupation with the fiscal aspect of the question largely explains the unwillingness of the Court to depart from a policy of routine repression. But in the long run the policy adopted by the Justices failed to alleviate the condition of the poor or to prevent them becoming a serious social and economic burden.

### 5 – ECONOMIC ADMINISTRATION

Negative evidence suggests that economic controls did not consistently occupy the active interest of the Justices. They were charged with execution of the laws governing employment and service under the Statute of Artificers, and with a mass of minute regulations representing the paternalistic policy of the Tudors. The complexity of the subject must have deterred amateur officials, more so since the subordinate machinery of Sessions was manifestly unsuitable for the execution of minute controls. Again, the demise of central control destroyed much of the co-ordinating and directing authority upon which Tudor policy depended.

In apprenticeship the Justices still retained a largely involuntary interest through petitions to Sessions for the cancellation of apprenticeship indentures. Even here, the number of cases appearing in the records suggests that the importance of apprenticeship was decreasing. Before 1680 indentures were cancelled frequently;<sup>1</sup> after this date the number of cases declines rapidly. The apprenticeship system was unlikely to attain that importance in a rural society which it held in urban areas where dense population supported a wide variety of trading interests, but this decrease is largely inexplicable.

Negative evidence suggests that little supervision was exercised over the treatment of apprentices. A Pickering blacksmith was presented at Sessions in 1682 for assaulting his apprentices;<sup>2</sup> but the case is isolated and positive evidence of such treatment rare. The failure of masters to provide tuition is a more usual ground for the cancellation of indentures. Many appeals requested release because the master had absconded or become bankrupt. Cases of this nature are unusually concentrated in the period 1725-35, a time when many masters were absconding to escape proceedings for debt. Proceedings in Sessions, concerned chiefly with the failure of the system, do not provide a satisfactory basis for any general judgement on apprenticeship. Many cases of ill-treatment probably never came before the Court. Representation was extremely difficult unless the apprentice had friends through whom complaint could be made, or the treatment was extreme enough to arouse local indignation.

<sup>1</sup> e.g. *N.R.Q.S.R.* vii, 28, 29, 30, 35, 46.

<sup>2</sup> *N.R.Q.S.R.* vii, 53.



Further control of employment was envisaged in the Tudor regulations for the fixing of wages.<sup>1</sup> The Justices' interest in wage regulation was confined to periods of abnormal economic conditions.<sup>2</sup> In place of the statutory scale intended to be drawn up at the Easter Sessions, it seems that a routine order was issued annually renewing the wage rates for the previous year.<sup>3</sup>

In addition to the duty of supervising labour, the Justices were charged with the execution of a wide range of regulations governing the production and distribution of goods. Supervision of weights and measures, representing one of the oldest forms of economic control, was largely impossible, since the practice of selling by various customary measures such as loads or firkins necessitated the elaborate definition of standards to be used for various goods. With the decline of the court leet, many mediaeval officials had ceased to be appointed. The gauger or aletaster, responsible for the supervision of the quality and price of beer and of weights and measures, seems to have disappeared in the North Riding during the first decade of the eighteenth century. Some at least of the gauger's duties were added to the already onerous duties of the constable.<sup>4</sup>

Tudor legislation, perpetuating mediaeval attempts to limit the place and manner of sale, had vested this branch of economic control in the Justices. General prohibition of forestalling, engrossing, and regrating was calculated to prevent the purchase of goods merely to sell again, and to concentrate sale and purchase in the public markets. One case only is recorded during this period. In 1742 Robert Sweeting was fined and imprisoned for two months on three separate charges of engrossing, forestalling and regrating fish in Stokesley market. Sweeting had made the fatal mistake of attempting to sell the fish to Charles Bathurst, a Justice of the Peace.<sup>5</sup>

By the 1552 Act middlemen – kidders, carriers of corn, fish, butter or cheese, and drovers of cattle – could be annually licensed by the Justices if their services were considered necessary. Only one instance of the licensing of a badger appears in the records.<sup>6</sup> There is, however, some evidence that badgers were unusually active at this period, for a petition to Sessions in 1741 drew the attention of the Justices to the hardship caused by the high price of grain as a result of the increased activities of badgers. It mentions measures, unfortunately unspecified, taken by the West Riding Justices, and prays the North Riding Justices to put the laws against badgers into execution.<sup>7</sup> Whether in fact this petition represents an accurate assessment of the economic situation is doubtful, since poor harvests in 1739 and 1740 had resulted in a rapid rise in the price of corn and a period of general scarcity.<sup>8</sup> The shortage seems to have been

<sup>1</sup> Burn, *History of the Poor Laws*, 243.

<sup>2</sup> R. K. Kelsall, 'Statute Wages during a Yorkshire Epidemic', 1679-81, *Yorks. Arch. Jnl.* xxxiv, 310.

<sup>3</sup> S.B. 5 April 1692.

<sup>5</sup> S.B. 27 April 1742.

<sup>7</sup> S.R. 30 July 1741.

<sup>4</sup> S.B. 11 July 1738.

<sup>6</sup> S.B. 7 Oct. 1740.

<sup>8</sup> Ashton, *op. cit.*, 19.

acute, since in July, 1740, the Justices had taken the unusual step of ordering 'that the Custom House officers at Whitby open their port for the importation of foreign rye', because 'rye has been above 5/- per bushell for three weeks last past'.<sup>1</sup>

Attempts were also made to limit the exercise of crafts to those who had served seven years' apprenticeship in the relevant trade, in order to prevent production by the untrained. During the Tudor period direct control had been largely entrusted to the trade guilds, exercising their right of search. The decreasing importance of the guild system, however, threw the duty on to the Justices. There was little incentive to execute this branch of the law, since it lacked the significance of the measures against forestalling in attempting to limit hardship and the increase of poverty, and the records indicate a steady decline in interest from the beginning of the century. Early activity may be explained by the provision of the Act 5 *Eliz. c.4* which allocated to the prosecutor half of the forfeiture of 40s. for every month that an unqualified person practised the trade in question. Hope of pecuniary gain probably stimulated the attention of the common informers who were active at the turn of the century. By 1701<sup>2</sup> the full statutory penalty was not being exacted, and the informer received a proportionally smaller sum. No fine is recorded in the single information entered in 1707, and in 1714 a nominal fine of 6*d.* was ordered on a New Malton yeoman for practising the trade of a rope maker without legal apprenticeship.<sup>3</sup> Small fines undoubtedly discouraged the activity of informers, and their decline seems to have coincided with the disappearance of economic offences from the records.

In conclusion, mention must be made of the economic aspects of the limited excise jurisdiction of the Justices. Whitby appears to have been an important port during this period, and the oaths of customs officers appointed for the town were taken in Sessions. The extent to which the activities of these officers were regulated from Sessions is uncertain, though negative evidence suggests that in fact they acted independently. In 1740, however, the Justices ordered the Whitby customs officials to permit the importation of foreign rye in view of the high prices pertaining in the Riding, and the intention of two badly-phrased orders of 1728 and 1729 appears to be to regulate the payment of duty on imported corn.<sup>4</sup> The duties of the customs officers were not, however, extended to the maintenance of a watch on ships in quarantine in the port; and when restrictions were being enforced during the period 1711-13, apparently as the result of an outbreak of plague in the Baltic, orders from Sessions imposed the responsibility on the constables.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> S.B. 15 July 1740.

<sup>3</sup> S.R. 13 July 1714.

<sup>4</sup> S.B. 30 April 1728, 15 July 1729.

<sup>5</sup> e.g. S.B. 2 Oct. 1711, 14 July 1713.

<sup>2</sup> S.R. 7 Oct. 1701.



## SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS AND THE DEFENCES OF YORK

By MICHAEL G. JARRETT

It has long been recognised that the defences of the legionary fortress of York contain evidence for five different building periods. The first, of earth revetted with turf, is readily assignable to c. 71 under the governor Petilius Cerealis; excavations in York have yielded a certain amount of material which may be as much as 20 years earlier than this,<sup>1</sup> but this need not relate to the legionary fortress as we know it. It may indicate the activities of troops sent into Brigantian territory in support of Queen Cartimandua, as they were on two occasions before 71; or it may be a sign that we should look for native Brigantian occupation beneath the lowest levels of the legionary fortress. It seems unlikely that a legionary garrison was planted at York before the final expulsion of Cartimandua in 69 or 70. The second defence was an enlarged and strengthened version of the first, still built in earth and turf; it is normally assigned to c. 85, under Iulius Agricola or his immediate successor. Period III, which involved the building of a stone wall in front of the earth rampart, is dated to the reign of Trajan by an inscription of the Ninth Legion of 107–8.<sup>2</sup> Period IV, a rebuilding of this stone wall, is generally assigned to the great rebuilding of the northern defences of Britain associated with the reign of Septimius Severus, necessitated by the destruction of 196–7; similarly Period V has been ascribed to Constantius Chlorus, rebuilding after a destruction in 296. Mr. L. P. Wenham has recently suggested that there is a later period still, in the middle of the fourth century, when there were additions to the earth rampart, even though a rebuilding of the stone wall was not necessary.<sup>3</sup>

In his review of the important inventory of Roman York by the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments,<sup>4</sup> Professor S. S. Frere has raised doubts about the dating of these structural phases;<sup>5</sup> similar doubts have been suggested by Dr. Dietwulf Baatz and Dr. H. Schönberger.<sup>6</sup> These doubts concern periods IV and V, and may reasonably be extended to include Mr. Wenham's Period VI. In particular, Professor Frere points out that there is no evidence

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Mr. L. P. Wenham for calling my attention to this.

<sup>2</sup> VII 241.

<sup>3</sup> *Y.A.J.* xl (1959-62) 521, 525-9.

<sup>4</sup> Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, *The City of York I: Eboracum, Roman York* (1962).

<sup>5</sup> *Arch. J.* cxviii (1961) 256-7.

<sup>6</sup> *Gnomon* xxxvi (1964) 87-90; *Germania* xlii (1964) 320-4.

that the destructions of 196–7 and 296 extended to York; the thick layers of burnt material found at some northern military sites are conspicuously absent from York. In these circumstances, Professor Frere suggests that Period IV may be best assigned to Caracalla (211–7) and that Period V may have been the result of the presence at York of Constantius Chlorus and the inauguration of the command of the *dux Britanniarum*. A brief review gave no scope for the detailed exposition of these attractive suggestions, and it is the purpose of this paper to look at the evidence in rather more detail.

In the winter of 196–7, D. Clodius Albinus, governor of Britain, crossed to Gaul in a bid to obtain the imperial throne; with him he took a large part of the army of Britain. His defeat in February 197 at Lugdunum (Lyons) gave control of Britain to his rival, L. Septimius Severus, whose new appointment to the governorship of Britain was L. Virius Lupus. An isolated fragment of Cassius Dio<sup>1</sup> suggests that Albinus may have made a treaty with the northern barbarians by which they agreed not to attack the province during the absence of the army. If such a treaty was made, it was not kept, for Lupus had to bribe the Maeatae to return home, while he himself set about rebuilding the forts which had been destroyed. His governorship should probably be dated c. 197–200, and epigraphic evidence attests rebuilding south of (but not on) Hadrian's Wall at this period.<sup>2</sup> This rebuilding need not be directly connected with the activities of the Maeatae, whose home was probably north of the Forth-Clyde line.<sup>3</sup>

The fact that activity at this period appears to have been concentrated in the Pennines<sup>4</sup> might suggest that York also would receive attention, though there are several explanations for York having a history different from that of the Pennine forts. We cannot say for certain that those forts were occupied immediately before 197, so that their rebuilding may imply a change in frontier policy from that which prevailed during the latter years of Commodus. Alternatively, it seems possible that the troubles of 197 involved a rising of those septs of the Brigantes who lived in the Pennines, with consequent destruction of neighbouring forts. Such a destruction need not have spread as far as York. Frere has pointed out the absence of evidence for destruction in the legionary fortress and also in the undefended civil settlement on the opposite bank of the Ouse.<sup>5</sup>

Frere also calls attention to the importance of recent discoveries at Carpow, Perthshire<sup>6</sup> for any consideration of the fortress at York. The site at Carpow covers some thirty acres, and is therefore

<sup>1</sup> Cassius Dio lxxvi, 75.

<sup>2</sup> VII 210, 273; E.E. ix 1384.

<sup>3</sup> See K. A. Steer in I. A. Richmond (ed.), *Roman and Native in North Britain* (1958), 92–5.

<sup>4</sup> Ilkley and Bowes show activity at this date – VII 210 and 275.

<sup>5</sup> First hinted at by Dr. Graham Webster, *Y.A.J.* xxxix (1956–8) 389–90.

<sup>6</sup> *J.R.S.* lii (1962) 163; liii (1963) 127. For a discussion see R. E. Birley, 'The Roman legionary fortress at Carpow, Perthshire', in *Scot. Hist. Rev.* xlii (1963) 126–34; *P.S.A.S.* xcvi (1962–3) 184–207.



large enough to have held more than half a legion, but not the whole of one. Coin evidence shows that the fortress was built not earlier than 202–5, and in the light of what we know from other sources we can be confident that this new fortress was established during the northern campaigns of Severus and Caracalla in 208–11. A newly-found inscription suggests that its building was not completed until 212 or later. Tiles with the stamp LEG VI VIC B P F indicate clearly that a detachment of the legion from York was in garrison; an inscription with a panel showing the emblems of *legio II Augusta* (Pegasus and Capricorn) reveals the presence also of a detachment of that legion.<sup>1</sup> Before this latter evidence was known, Professor Frere suggested that the rebuilding of York may not have commenced until the withdrawal from Scotland which probably took place during the reign of Caracalla (211–7). His argument is weakened, but not nullified, by the discovery that *VI Victrix* did not supply the whole of the Carpow garrison. It remains attractive, for a substantial part of the garrison must have been away from York on campaign during the latter years of Severus.

However, there is other evidence to consider, and we may well feel that on balance the reign of Severus is more likely than that of Caracalla for the beginning of Period IV, even though we may no longer associate the rebuilding with a destruction in 196–7. Frere points out that by the late second or early third century the fortress at York was ripe for rebuilding. In particular, the south-eastern defences had slipped on an unstable subsoil, a process which must have taken a number of years. Rebuilding after a period of neglect appears also to have happened at Caerleon under Severus. There we have an inscription<sup>2</sup> which tells of the rebuilding of some structure (probably the headquarters) '[vetustate c]orruptum' – decayed by the passage of time. Such a phrase might be used, as Dr. Simpson points out,<sup>3</sup> to cover destruction by enemy action, which could not be admitted publicly; but equally it might be used in all literalness to indicate repair of a fortress which had long been neglected. This is surely the case at Caerleon, where there is no evidence for total destruction at the end of the second century, and where, as I show elsewhere,<sup>4</sup> there can have been little military occupation for some eighty years before the rebuild. The fact that no auxiliary fort in Wales south of Castell Collen, Rads., was occupied in the third century makes it virtually certain that the Silures had given no serious trouble in 196–7.

At both York and Caerleon interpretation is complicated by the indecision which is perhaps the one clear hall-mark of Severan policy in Britain. At a date probably early in the reign a new fortress for *II Augusta* appears to have been planned at Corbridge, North-

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Dr. J. Wilkes for information about this discovery. See *J.R.S.* lv (1965) 223–4 and R. P. Wright in *P.S.A.S.*, forthcoming.

<sup>2</sup> VII 106 with M. G. Simpson in *Arch. Camb.* cxi (1962) 108.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> 'Legio II Augusta in Britain', in *Arch. Camb.* cxiii (1964) 47–63.

umberland.<sup>1</sup> Construction does not seem to have progressed beyond the building of part of the *principia* and perhaps the modification of two pre-existing granaries, and the scheme may well have been abandoned within a year of its inception. There is no need to suppose that this phase is later than the governorship of Virius Lupus; another plan under the same governor may be indicated by a further inscription from Corbridge, recording work by a vexillation of *VI Victrix*.<sup>2</sup> The later Severan (or possibly Caracallan) plan for Corbridge is marked by the establishment of compounds for works-detachments of two separate legions, providing a depot for the army on Hadrian's Wall and in its hinterland. The dating of this plan is uncertain: at present it does not seem likely that it should be placed in the governorship of Virius Lupus, for there is no evidence that the Wall was occupied as early in the reign as this. The indications at present are that no final decision on the northern frontier was taken while Lupus was in Britain, and that the re-occupation of Hadrian's Wall belongs to the governorship of L. Alfenus Senecio (c. 205-8). The rebuilding of Caerleon is not precisely dated, but must surely be later than the plan for a fortress at Corbridge.

Some years ago Professor Eric Birley suggested that for a part of the reign of Severus Britain was divided into two provinces based on London and Carlisle.<sup>3</sup> The more southerly province of Upper Britain had a consular governor, and all three legions (at Caerleon, Chester and York) fell under his command. Lower Britain, with its capital at Carlisle was governed by an equestrian procurator who had at his disposition most of the auxiliary troops; these were concentrated on the northern frontier. These arrangements are only attested during the governorship of Alfenus Senecio, though they may have originated earlier, on the abandonment of the plan for a legionary fortress at Corbridge. The northern frontier was apparently Hadrian's Wall, with outposts in east and west. There may have been legionary vexillations at Corbridge at this period, though it is quite clear that the equestrian governor at Carlisle would not command even one full legion. It is probably to this phase that we should date the rebuilding of Caerleon. We presume, without any direct evidence, that *VI Victrix* was still at York. A detachment may have been at Corbridge, where at various times vexillations from all three legions were stationed.<sup>4</sup>

In 208 Severus himself arrived in Britain with his two sons, Caracalla and Geta, in order to prosecute more vigorously the campaigns against the northern tribes (and also, we may guess, to make a final decision about the northern frontier). They remained until the death of Severus at York in February 211, when his sons

<sup>1</sup> E. Birley in *A.A.* 4 xxxvii (1959) 12-20.

<sup>2</sup> *E.E.* ix 1384.

<sup>3</sup> 'The Roman milestone at Middleton-in-Lonsdale', *C.W.* 2 liii (1953) 52-62.

<sup>4</sup> I. A. Richmond, *A.A.* 4 xxi (1943) 134-5.



returned to Rome.<sup>1</sup> The record of an imperial palace at York, if it is to be believed,<sup>2</sup> suggests that this was probably the headquarters for the campaigns in Scotland, though both Corbridge<sup>3</sup> and South Shields<sup>4</sup> were important as supply-bases. In these circumstances it would scarcely be surprising if the neglected fortress at York had its defences refurbished on the arrival of the emperors or, even more probably, in preparation for their visit. There is no real indication that there was a plan to re-occupy Scotland before 208,<sup>5</sup> and if Caerleon was being rebuilt by 209, as seems likely, it would be logical to expect similar activity at York.

Moreover, the ultimate Severan scheme involved placing a part of *legio VI Victrix* at Carpow; another detachment may have been in one of the compounds at Corbridge, leaving a relatively small force which may or may not have been at York. But this does not necessarily mean that York was unoccupied under this plan. We have seen that at an earlier stage in the reign the abandonment of Caerleon seems to have been contemplated; in the third century it was clearly of little military importance. The Silures (or at least the southern portion of the tribe) appear by this period to have accepted Roman rule, and it was not found necessary to hold any auxiliary fort within sixty miles of Caerleon.<sup>6</sup> It is axiomatic that legionary troops were not normally used as the first line of defence, but as reserves to be called in on the occasion of major campaigns. It seems therefore logical to suggest that the transfer of a part of *VI Victrix* to Carpow may also have involved the transfer of some or all of *II Augusta* to York. Slight support for this view may be found in the fact that although rebuilding at Caerleon began before 211, and probably before Geta was elevated to the rank of Augustus in 209,<sup>7</sup> it was not completed until the period 212–222 or later, since some buildings were roofed with tiles bearing the stamp LEG II AVG ANTO(niniana). The title Antoniniana was borne by the legion only during the reigns of Caracalla (212–7) and Elagabalus (218–222), but of course tiles made during this period with the appropriate stamp may not have been used until later.

<sup>1</sup> There are chronological problems, which can only be indicated here. Coins of Caracalla suggest that he may have been in Britain in 207. Coins of both Caracalla and Geta attest a campaign in 211: there is no mention of it in our documentary sources, which tend to be hostile to Caracalla and therefore of doubtful reliability.

<sup>2</sup> The source is dubious, the Augustan History life of Severus (xxii, 7).

<sup>3</sup> E.E. ix 1144.

<sup>4</sup> I. A. Richmond, 'The Roman fort at South Shields', *A.A.* 4 xi (1934) 83–102; also, by the same author, a more recent guide with the same title (South Shields, n.d.).

<sup>5</sup> There was campaigning before 208 (Cassius Dio lxxvii, 10; Herodian) and apparently some success (VII 513); but it is not necessary to assume that the conquest and occupation of Scotland was planned before the arrival of Severus.

<sup>6</sup> Castell Collen is the nearest; 64 English miles from Caerleon by the Roman route through Brecon Gaer (V.E. Nash-Williams, *The Roman Frontier in Wales*, Cardiff 1954, 110).

<sup>7</sup> See p. 518, note 2.

The evidence that under Severus there was a whole series of different plans for the military organisation of Britain, coupled with the presence of the emperor at York in his last years, may well incline us to the view that Period IV belongs to his reign rather than to that of his son, even though we cannot necessarily place it at the beginning of the reign. There are however other pieces of evidence which may point to Caracalla rather than his father as the instigator of this rebuilding.

The first is that much uncertainty still surrounds the various ephemeral plans of the reign of Severus, while we do know that Caracalla finally abandoned Scotland, and settled the northern frontier on Hadrian's Wall, screened by an occupied and patrolled area extending into southern Scotland. His legionary dispositions were virtually a return to the scheme which had subsisted with modification since the withdrawal of *legio II Adiutrix* in 85-6; three legions, stationed at Caerleon, Chester and York, with small detachments from two of them providing workshop facilities at Corbridge. The main forces of the legions were kept well back from the frontiers, emphasising their character as reserves who would not take part in routine frontier patrols and skirmishes. A rebuilding of York would not seem out of place when Caracalla's dispositions were made, if such a rebuilding had not already taken place.

In favour of such a date for the rebuilding is the recent discovery<sup>1</sup> in York of a roofing-tile bearing the stamp [LEG VI V]IC B P F. This must be dated after the assumption of the title *Britannicus* by Severus and his sons in 210, a similar title being given to the legion which had borne the brunt of the campaigning in Scotland. As a battle-honour it does not appear to have continued in use for long; the Bishophill Junior tile is the first example from York, and must indicate activity not long after 210. However it comes from the *colonia*, and may have no relevance to the defences of the legionary fortress.

The same argument applies to the final piece of evidence, an inscription found in Clifford Street in 1883.<sup>2</sup> This is outside the fortress, though on the same side of the river. The stone might have been carried at a later date from the fortress to the group of important buildings in the area of Clifford Street,<sup>3</sup> but may have been erected there, though the buildings in question appear to be civilian structures where we should not expect to find an inscription of this character.

Fragmentary though it is, it is clearly part of the first line of an impressive imperial building inscription. As it survives, it reads: [IMP] CAES M [AVR . . . . . The *praenomen* M(arcus) does not take us far, for it was borne by a number of emperors. Stylistic considerations enable us to exclude Nerva and Trajan. The next emperor

<sup>1</sup> *J.R.S.* lii (1962) 164, 29.no.

<sup>2</sup> *E.E.* vii 933, illustrated in R.C.H.M., *Eburacum, Roman York*, pl. 37.

<sup>3</sup> R.C.H.M., *Eburacum, Roman York*, 59.



called Marcus was Marcus Aurelius (161–180; but the years 161–9 may perhaps be eliminated from the reckoning as he had a co-emperor at this period, and the inscription would probably have begun IMPP CAESS).<sup>1</sup> His son Commodus used the name from 180–190, and it is the regular *praenomen* of Caracalla and a number of his successors. The inscription cannot be closely dated by its style, but should probably be assigned to the late second or early third centuries. The two emperors most likely to be recorded are therefore Commodus and Caracalla; between the two the balance of probabilities favours Caracalla, for the memory of Commodus was condemned and his name erased from public monuments after his assassination. His subsequent rehabilitation has not resulted in the survival of any considerable number of inscriptions in his name.

However, even if we concede that Caracalla is most probably the emperor who was named, we are far from proving that this inscription has anything to do with the defences of the legionary fortress. Failing the chance discovery of an inscription relating to Period IV, we must remain uncertain about the date of this rebuilding. Only such an inscription is likely to resolve the problem which has been outlined above, for there is no prospect in the immediate future of being able to provide the close dating necessary by archaeological means. The only other hope would be a stratified coin of Caracalla's sole reign sealed by the Period IV defences: a coin of Severus might of course be found even if the rebuilding took place under Caracalla.

On the date of Period V there is little to add to what Professor Frere has written: 'in the absence of destruction we should perhaps assume that the neglect of a century, the presence of an Emperor, and the inauguration of a new command were sufficient motives for grandiose reconstruction'. We may note that the command of the *dux Britanniarum* is not likely to have been instituted under Constantius,<sup>2</sup> but there is no other ground for quarrelling with Frere's summary. The rebuilding would fit logically enough into the reign of Constantius Chlorus (296–306, as far as Britain is concerned). He visited Britain in 296, and may have stayed for some time, and was in Britain again in 306, when he died at York. His son Constantine, who was also at York, was immediately proclaimed emperor. *c.* 296 and 306 are both therefore reasonable dates for the inauguration of Period V, and we have at present no reason for choosing between them.

However, a recent excavation by Mr. L. P. Wenham<sup>3</sup> suggests that both may be wrong. In Davygate he found no evidence of the Period IV rampart, and assumed that there was no modification to

<sup>1</sup> Though we may note an exception from Ribchester, Lancs. (VII 225) where the titles are repeated for each emperor.

<sup>2</sup> J. C. Mann in *Antiquity* xxxv (1961) 319; cf. A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* 284–602 (1964) I, 44.

<sup>3</sup> *Y.A.J.* xl (1959–62) 507–87. I owe the principal suggestion of this paragraph to Dr. Brian Dobson.

it when the stone wall was rebuilt. His Period V lay immediately above Period III, and above it was the Period VI rampart, containing a coin of Delmatius (335–7). Since there is no clear indication that the 'Period V' rampart either sealed or contained material later than the second century, one cannot help suspecting that this belongs in reality to the Period IV stone wall, and that Mr. Wenham's 'Period VI' is really Period V, and goes with the re-styled river-front with its projecting towers.<sup>1</sup> If so, this phase, normally assigned to Constantius Chlorus, may have to be dated to the middle years of the fourth century on the basis of the securely stratified coin of Delmatius in the rampart material. Possible dates are given by the visit to Britain of the emperor Constans in 343, and by the re-organisation associated with Count Theodosius in the years immediately after 367, though there is no need to associate the reconstruction with either of these events.

*Acknowledgements.*

Dr. John Wilkes, Dr. Brian Dobson and Mr. L. P. Wenham have been kind enough to read a draft of this paper, and to suggest several emendations, which have been gratefully incorporated.

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of the new south-west defences see L. P. Wenham in M. G. Jarrett and B. Dobson (eds.), *Britain and Rome* (forthcoming, Kendal 1966).



## BLOSSOM STREET EXCAVATIONS YORK, 1953-1955<sup>1</sup>

By LESLIE P. WENHAM

### INTRODUCTION

The area comprising the derelict gardens at the rear of the various premises on the south-west side of Blossom Street and bounded by Queen Street on the north, the Railway Museum and adjacent property on the west and the English Martyrs Junior School on the south (fig. 1) was scheduled under the Development Scheme for the City of York as the site of a new omnibus station. Roman finds from this area had already given some idea of its archaeological importance<sup>2</sup> and an excavation seemed desirable before work on the station began. Trial trenches dug during the fortnight beginning 2nd April 1953 led to the discovery of part of the main *Eboracum-Calcaria* (York-Tadcaster) road in trench 14 (figs. 2 and 3), together with considerable quantities of Roman pottery. These discoveries were of sufficient importance to decide the Inspectorate Branch of the Ministry of Works to sponsor excavations in the summers of 1953 (29th June-10th August) and 1954 (28th June-16th August).

Thanks are accorded to the following for kindly permitting trenches to be dug in their property – the Chairman and Directors of Messrs. J. J. Hunt's Brewery, the owners, and the late Mr. A. E. B. Furby, the licensee, of the Windmill Hotel; the Chairman and Directors of Messrs. Forsselius Ltd., and, in particular, of Mr. A. Gray for placing at our disposal the commodious hut behind these premises; the Chairman and Committee of the Railwaymen's Club and Institute; Mr. E. Fearn, proprietor of the Grill Restaurant<sup>3</sup> and Mr. H. Wilkinson of 32 Blossom Street.<sup>3</sup>

### NOTE

A number of the trenches shown as excavated on figs. 1 and 2 are not mentioned in the account which follows. They were dug for various reasons; here are a few examples. Trench 1, the most northerly of all, was dug to examine the stratification in this area. At a depth of 7 ft. standing water was encountered on the subsoil – here of glacial clay – and the soil above this was distinctly peaty in

<sup>1</sup> Briefly reported in J.R.S. xliv (1954), p. 90 and xlv (1955), pp. 131, 146-7 and 148. Y.A.Y.A.S. Report for 1953-4, pp. 11-12. *Eboracum* (R.C.H.M. 1962), pp. 62-3.

The plans (figs. 1-4) and sections have been drawn by Mr. Harold Richardson of York; the figured Samian (figs. 7-9) and two of the items on fig. 5 (nos. 12 and 13) have been drawn by Miss C. M. Johns of the Bonn Museum, W. Germany; the *mortaria* stamps on fig. 11 by Mrs. K. Hartley; the remainder by Mr. R. E. Boustred, late of St. John's College, York.

<sup>2</sup> *Eboracum* (R.C.H.M. 1962), pp. 92b-95a (k).

<sup>3</sup> These properties were demolished in 1964.

# BLOSSOM STREET – YORK

## 1953–54 EXCAVATIONS.

525

SCALE OF FEET



TRENCH NUMBERS THUS ⑪



FIG. 1.  
The trenches dug.

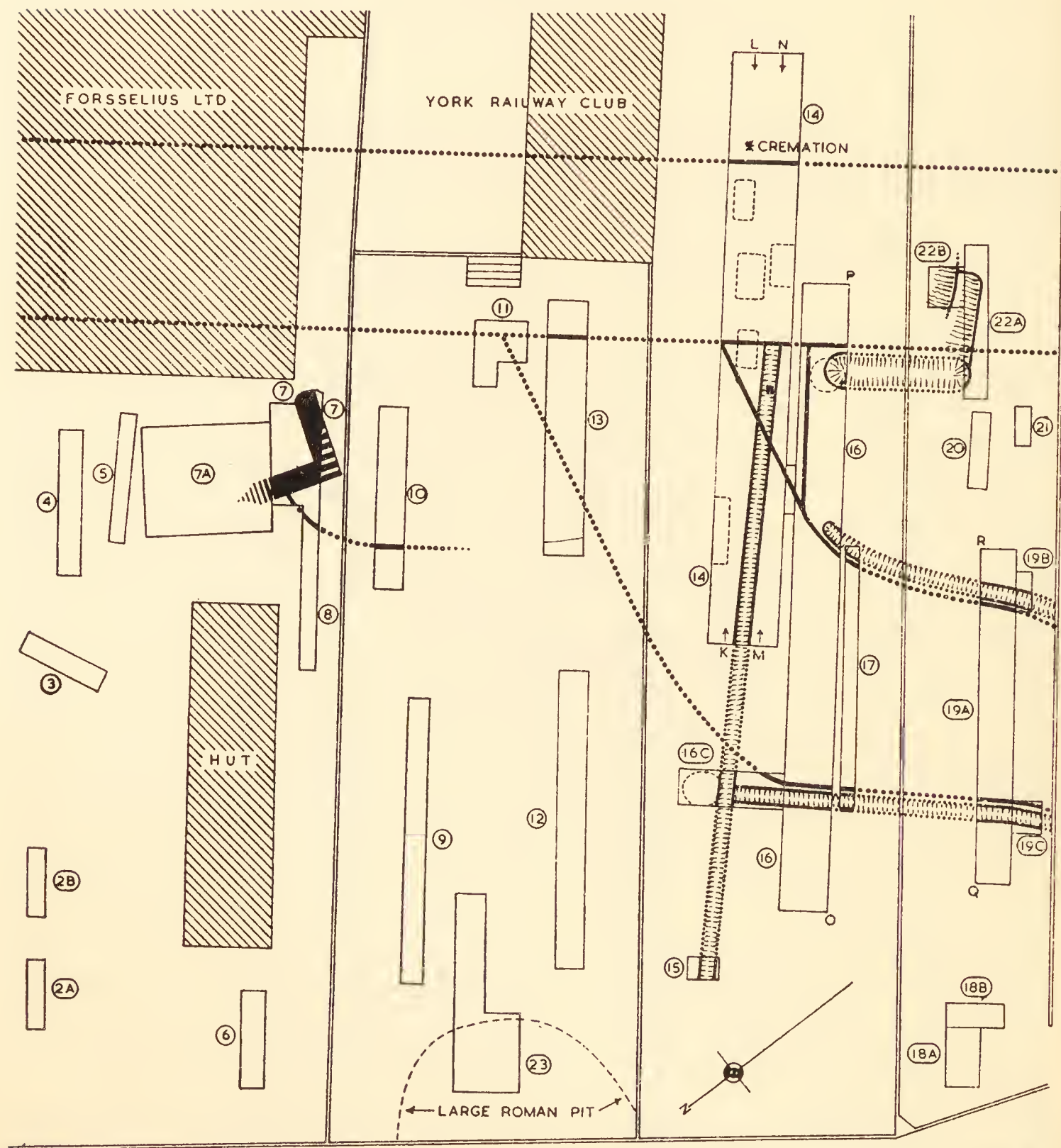


# BLOSSOM STREET – YORK

## 1953–54 EXCAVATIONS.

SCALE OF FEET 

TRENCH NUMBERS THUS ②



H. RICHARDSON YORK. 1954

FIG. 2.  
The discoveries.

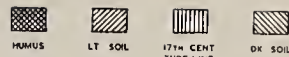
character: no Roman finds were encountered. Trenches 2-6 were dug to see if there was any evidence of burials such as the stone sarcophagus which is known to have been found somewhere in this area in 1915.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Eburacum* (R.C.H.M. 1962), p. 94a, k(v).



# BLOSSOM STREET - YORK

1953-4 EXCAVATIONS

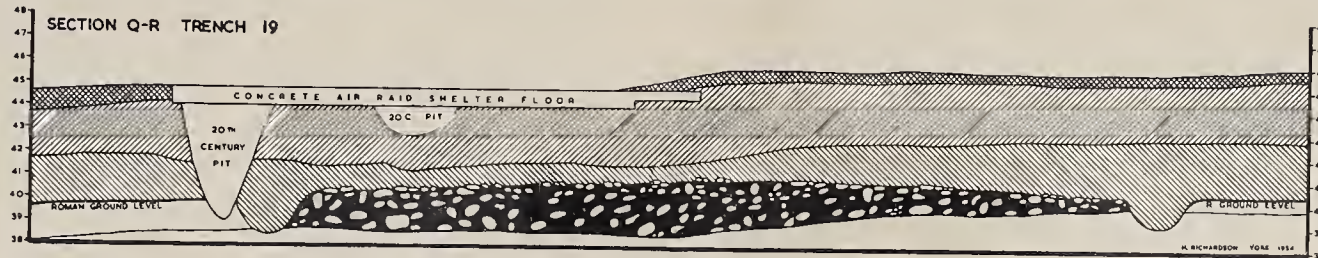


SCALE OF FEET 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

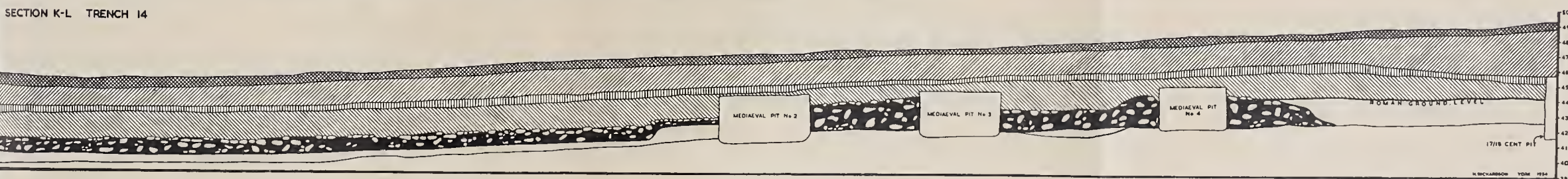
## SECTION O-P TRENCH 16



## SECTION Q-R TRENCH 19



## SECTION K-L TRENCH 14



## SECTION M-N TRENCH 14

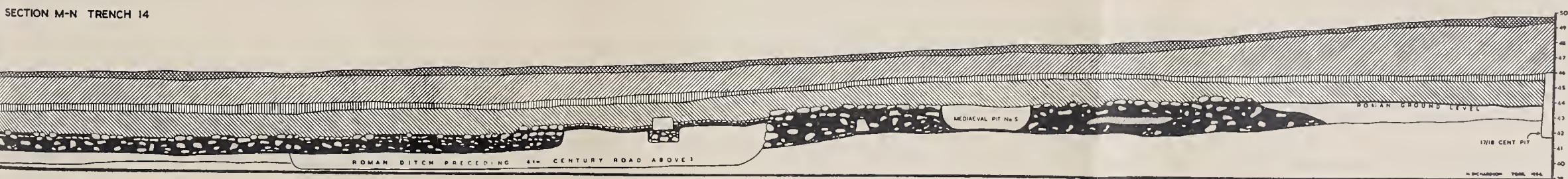


FIG. 3.

Sections across roads A and B in trenches 14, 16 and 19.





None was found. Trenches 18A and B were dug because of a strong local tradition that the remains of a Roman hypocaust had been found in this vicinity twenty years ago. A modern flue built of brick and encrusted inside with soot was encountered a few inches below the surface and may have represented the 'authority' for this tradition. No Roman remains—except half a dozen miscellaneous sherds of pottery—were found beneath this modern structure.

#### SUMMARY OF ROMAN FINDS

In all, twenty-three trenches of varying sizes were put down (figs. 1 and 2). All were dug as deep as the subsoil (brown glacial clay) which was encountered at depths of between 6 and 7 ft. below the modern surface. Listed here are the principal discoveries made in the excavation. Each one is treated in detail in the sections which follow.

1. The *Eboracum-Calcaria* (York-Tadcaster) Roman road. (Road A).<sup>1</sup>
2. The *Eboracum-Isurium* (York-Aldborough) Roman road. (Road B).<sup>1</sup> This hitherto unsuspected road joined the one above to form a road junction in the area of the excavation.
3. A ditch, the purpose of which was unknown, pre-dating Road B and possibly contemporary with Road A, was found running roughly at right angles to the latter.
4. A cobbled area, roughly triangular in shape, was found between the junction of Roads A and B.
5. Drainage ditches on both sides of Road B.
6. A short ditch on the west side of Road A adjoining the cobbled area (4 above).
7. A small building showing five structural phases.
8. A cobbled (?) courtyard between the above building and Roads A and B.
9. Parts of two (?Roman) pits cutting through Road A.
10. Two other large Roman pits alongside the roads encountered.

#### THE EXCAVATION

1. *The Eboracum-Calcaria Roman road.* (Road A)  
(Portions of it seen in trenches 11, 13, 14, 16 and 22 (fig. 2); completely sectioned in trench 14, (fig. 3). Plates I, III and IV).

No kerbstones were found alongside this road and there was nothing to suggest that these had at any time existed there and been subsequently removed. In the original plan there were apparently no drainage ditches alongside it (the short length of ditch dealt with below in section 6 was clearly a later addition). The manner in which the road had been constructed was clear. A trench, 31 ft.

<sup>1</sup> So designated in the text and on the figures.

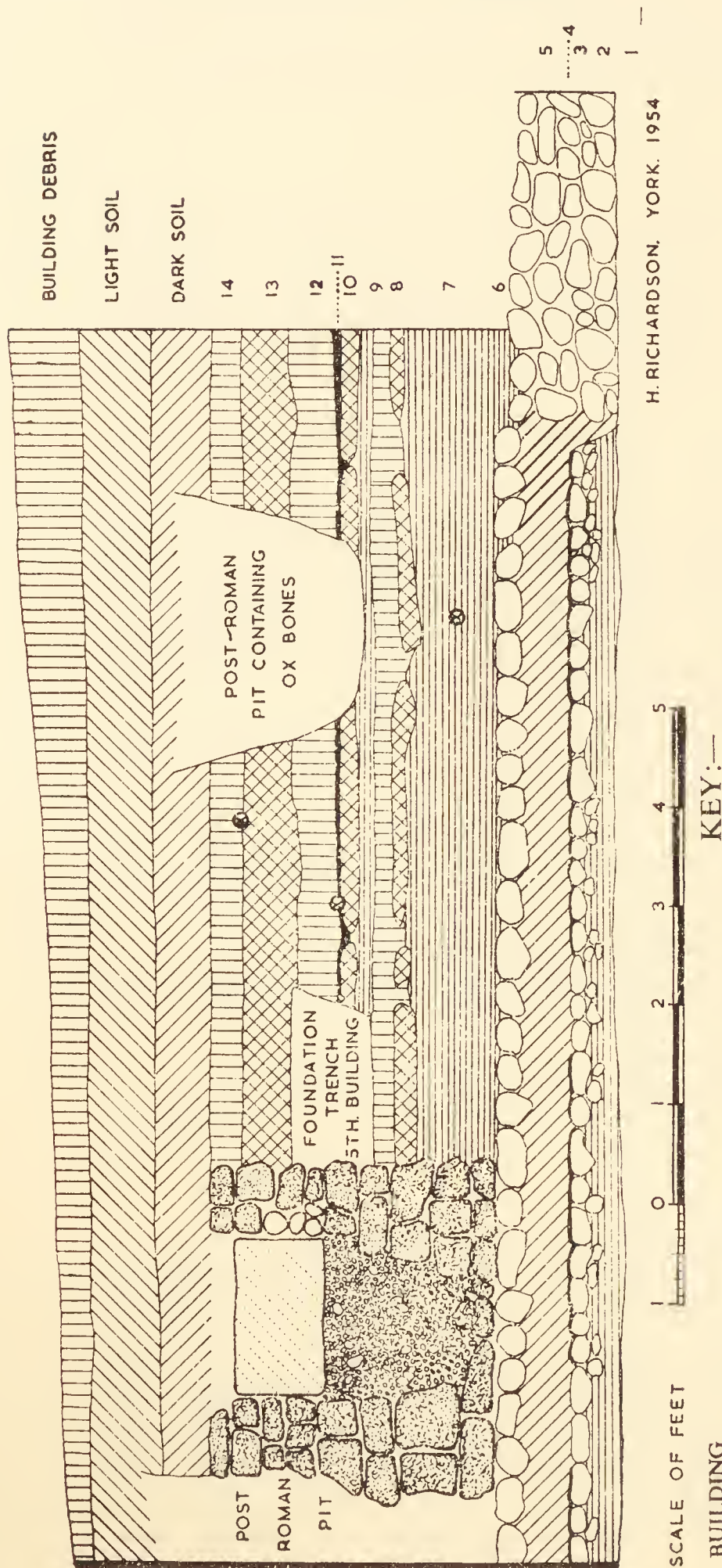


## BLOSSOM STREET – YORK

1953 – 1954 EXCAVATIONS

## SECTION E-F TRENCH 7

## THE BUILDING

FIG. 4.  
The building.



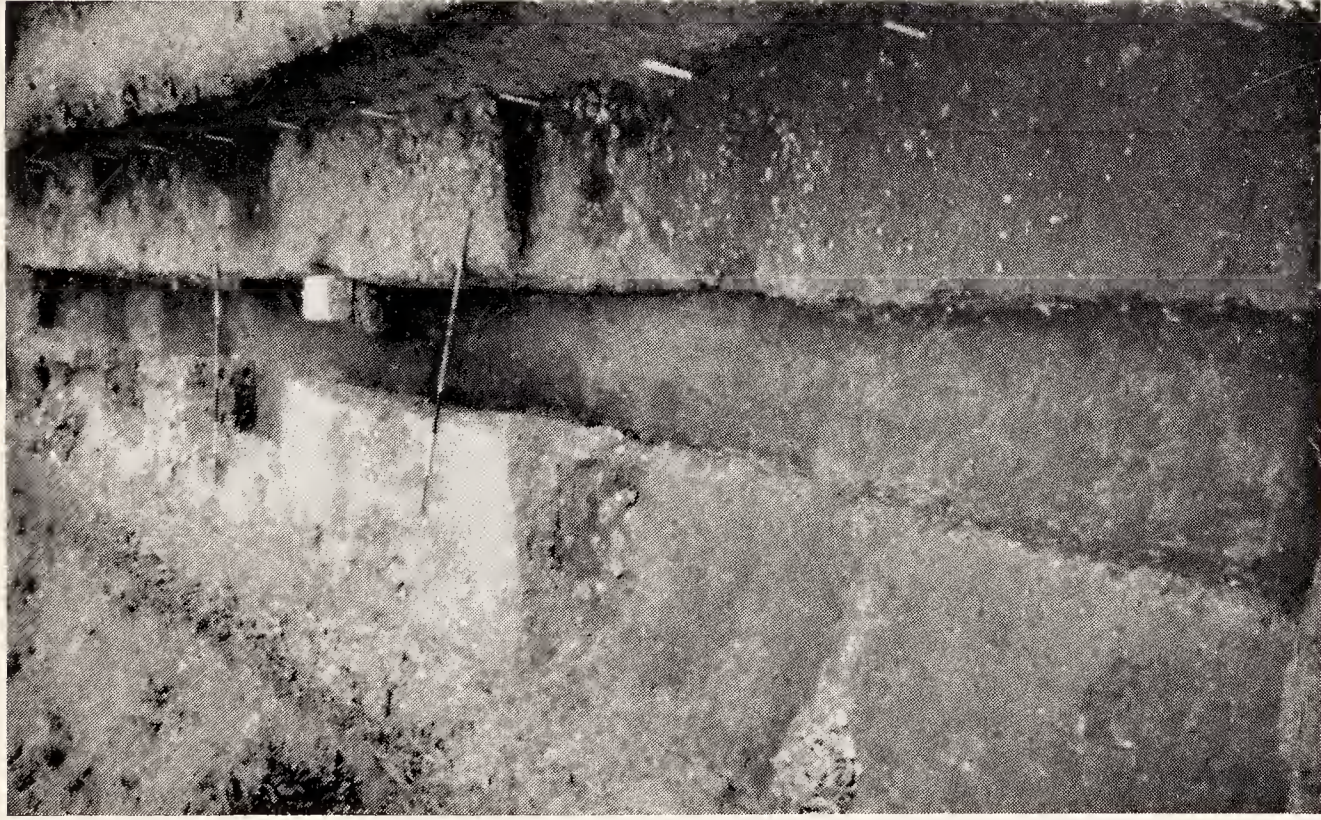


PLATE I.

Trench 14. The poles denote the cobbled area between Road A (top) and Road B (bottom).



PLATE II.

Trench 14. The 'marker stone'.





PLATE III.  
Ditch alongside Road A.



PLATE IV.  
'Marker stone' and the area between the two roads.



wide (the width of the road) had been dug some 3 ft. deep below the ground surface as it was in Roman times (some 4-5 ft. below the modern one), and into this the road metalling had been packed. The intention seems to have been to dig this trench deep enough to contact the clayey subsoil; normally this had been done though here and there a few inches of topsoil had been left between the bottom of the road filling and the top of the subsoil. Packed into this trench to depths of about 2 ft. was brown glacial clay identical with the natural subsoil thereabouts and it is assumed that it had been obtained from pits dug nearby. (Two of these were almost certainly found in the course of the excavation, see section 10 below). The cobbles mixed with this clay were numerous; a few were over 1 ft. in diameter, though the majority were 2-5 ins. At various places in this bottoming red patches of compressed brick and tiles were also encountered.

On top of this clay/cobble bottoming it was evident that originally there had been at least two and possibly three layers of carefully laid cobbles 4-6 ins. in diameter. In a number of places two superimposed layers of these cobbles were found *in situ* and here the surfaces of the surviving topmost ones were examined for signs of wear. None was seen, which might be taken to mean that there must have been yet another layer – a third – above those found. The road had clearly been cambered, the centre being some 6 ins. higher than the sides. Hints of repairing were also noted; one area, about a yard square, above the clay/cobble bottoming, consisted of rough undressed fragments of limestone instead of the usual cobbles.

One datable find was found in the road bottoming, only 3 ins. above the top of the subsoil. This was a sherd of figured samian in the style of VADERIO (*floruit* c. A.D. 65-82)<sup>1</sup> which would mean that the road is likely to be Flavian in date. On *a priori* grounds it is reasonable to assume that it would be constructed at the time of, or very soon after, the building of the fortress in A.D. 71.

Five coins were found lying on top of the road; one was of 1st or 2nd century date, two belonged to the 3rd century and two to the 4th (see Appendix 2, Coins nos. 7, 23, 28, 29 and 37).

The surface and bottoming of this road had been seriously interfered with in post-Roman times. Four large pits (shown on figs. 2 and 3) were encountered which cut right through it and penetrated the subsoil. Three of these (the so-called 'Mediaeval Pits', nos. 1-5 of fig. 3) all contained animal skulls covered in lime<sup>2</sup>: in Pit no. 1 there were 15, in Pit no. 2, 25, in Pit no. 3, 12, in Pit no. 4, 15 and in Pit no. 5, 20. Ten representative specimens were sent to the British Museum (Natural History Department) for examination and they were identified as belonging to oxen, all of the short-horned type. In addition, two of the pits contained datable objects. In Pit no. 2 there were 10 sherds of Saxo-Norman pottery dating c. A.D. 1200-1300

<sup>1</sup> See further Appendix 3 (i), p. 546.

<sup>2</sup> Some of these may be seen on Plate I.



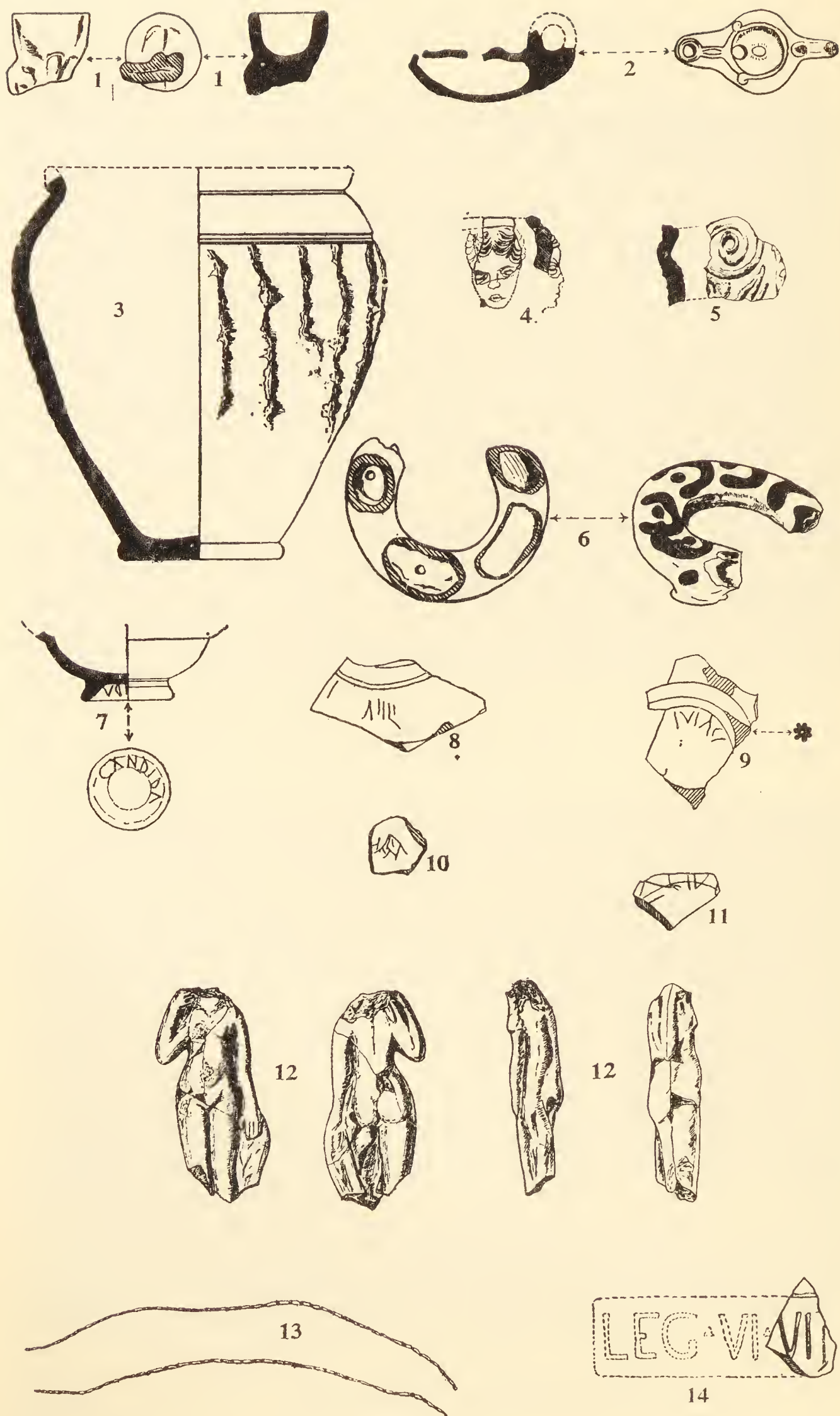


FIG. 5.

Miscellaneous finds. Scale  $\frac{1}{4}$ . No. 1 candlestick: no. 2 lamp: no. 3 rusticated jar; no. 4 face vase: no. 5 sherd of Romano-Saxon pottery: no. 6 part of ? multiple vase: nos. 7-11 graffiti; no. 12 clay figurine: no. 13 gold ribbon: no. 14 tile stamp.

while in Pit no. 3 there was a horse shoe. Dr. Gordon Ward, who examined it, reports on it thus:—

I have little doubt that it is of the 14th century but it is very difficult to be sure of even so wide a period as that because local fashions and skill varied considerably. However, your shoe very closely resembles those which were lost in the River Dove in 1322, some of which were recovered in 1831.

In that part of trench 14 which extended to the north-eastern (Blossom Street) side of Road A a number of significant finds were made.

(a) At a point 2 ft. beyond the edge of the road (marked with an asterisk on fig. 2) part of a jar of rusticated ware (dating to the turn of the second century) was found containing calcined bones; it was 6 ins. above the subsoil. The base and a large part of the side was complete, some of the rest lay broken nearby though the rim was missing. Calcined bones lay round about the broken pottery as well as inside the base. It was clearly a cinerary urn and, although damaged and disturbed, was probably very near its original place of burial.<sup>1</sup>

(b) In the 2 ft. of 'dark soil' (fig. 3) overlying the subsoil (i.e. in the Roman topsoil) the following finds were made:—

35 Fragments of undressed limestone.

80 cobbles.

2 coins – one of Tiberius or Augustus and another of Carausius (see Appendix 2, coins nos. 1 and 27).

Animal bones sufficient to fill three tea-chests. Representative specimens were submitted to the British Museum (Natural History Department) who reported that 65% were oxen, 25% sheep or goats, 5% pig and 5% horse.

Oyster shells – enough to fill three buckets.

25 iron studs forming the pattern of the sole of a sandal.

410 sherds of pottery-samian (figured and plain), colour-coated (Castor), coarse grey, *mortaria*, *amphorae* and a lamp.

Nothing definitely post-Severan could be identified. Representative examples of the Samian are illustrated on figs. 7-9.

6 bone hairpins (fig. 6).

3 bone dice (fig. 6).

1 stone ?ballista ball or pestle, 9 ins. in diameter.

These are interpreted as rubbish dumped at the roadside. Among these finds at various levels were patches of burnt matter. The implication was that they represented either burnt rubbish which had been carted to the site or that they were the residue of fires kindled on the spot to consume combustible material deposited there.

<sup>1</sup> During the two years' excavations, hints of other cremation burials near this road were encountered. Calcined bones (but with no associated pottery unquestionably cinerary in character) were found in trenches 11, 13 and 16.



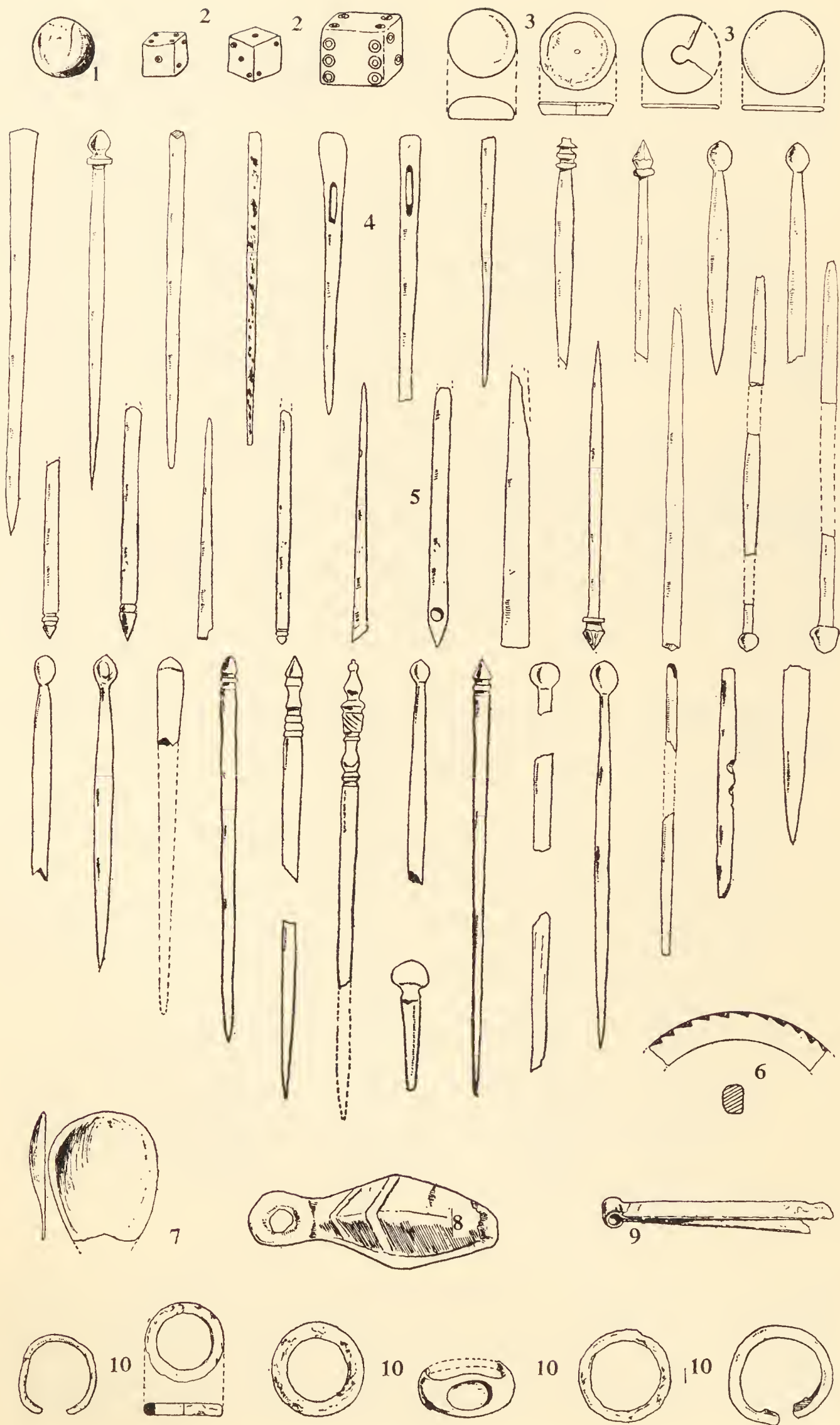


FIG. 6.

Miscellaneous finds. Scale  $\frac{1}{2}$ . No. 1 marble: nos. 2 dice: nos. 3 counters: nos. 4 and 5 needles: no. 6 jet bracelet: no. 7 bronze spoon: no. 8 lead plummet: no. 9 bronze tweezers: no. 10 bronze rings. Unnumbered, bone hairpins.





PLATE V.  
Road B (trench 19). Road ditch in the foreground.

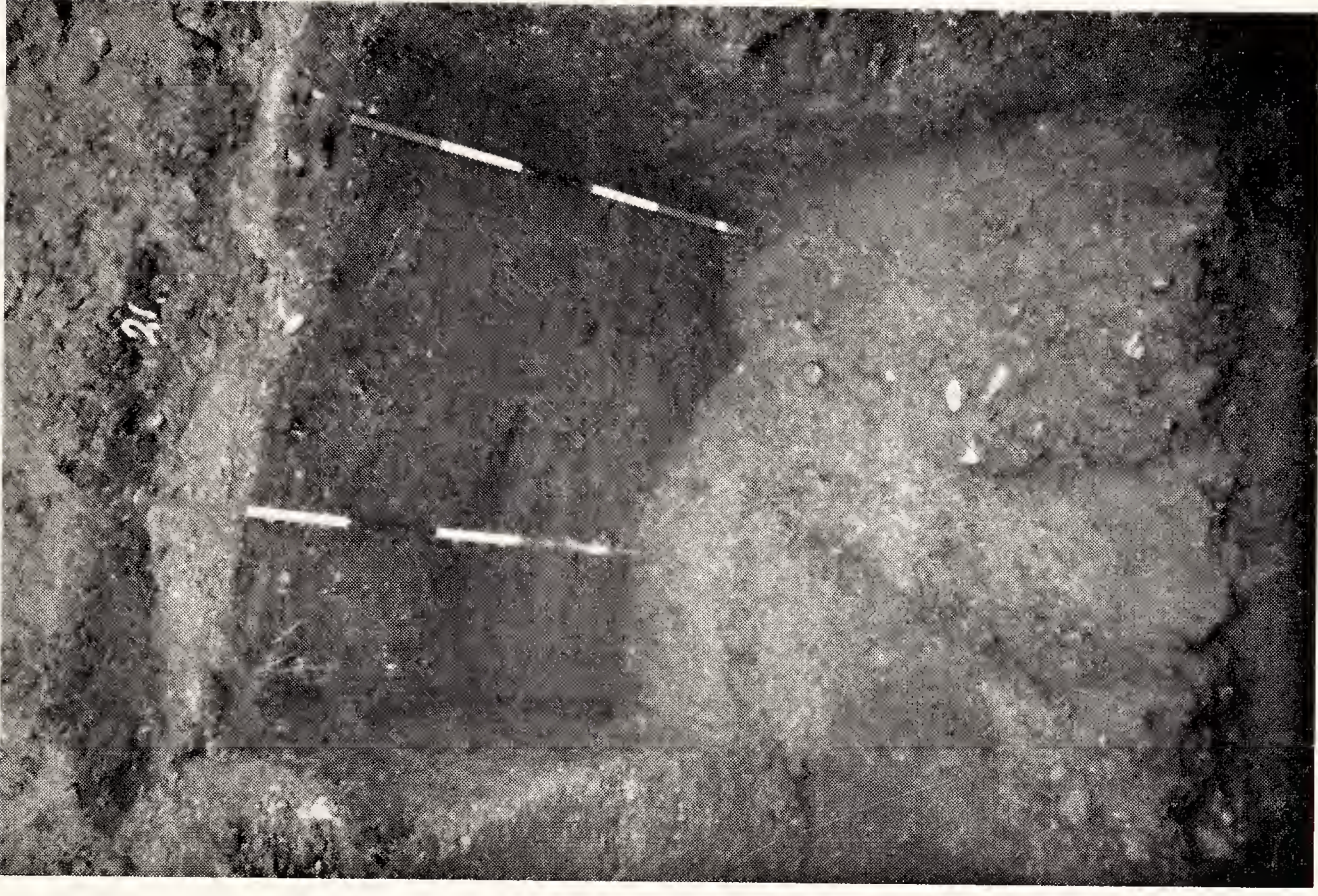


PLATE VI.  
Ditch alongside Road B (trench 19B).



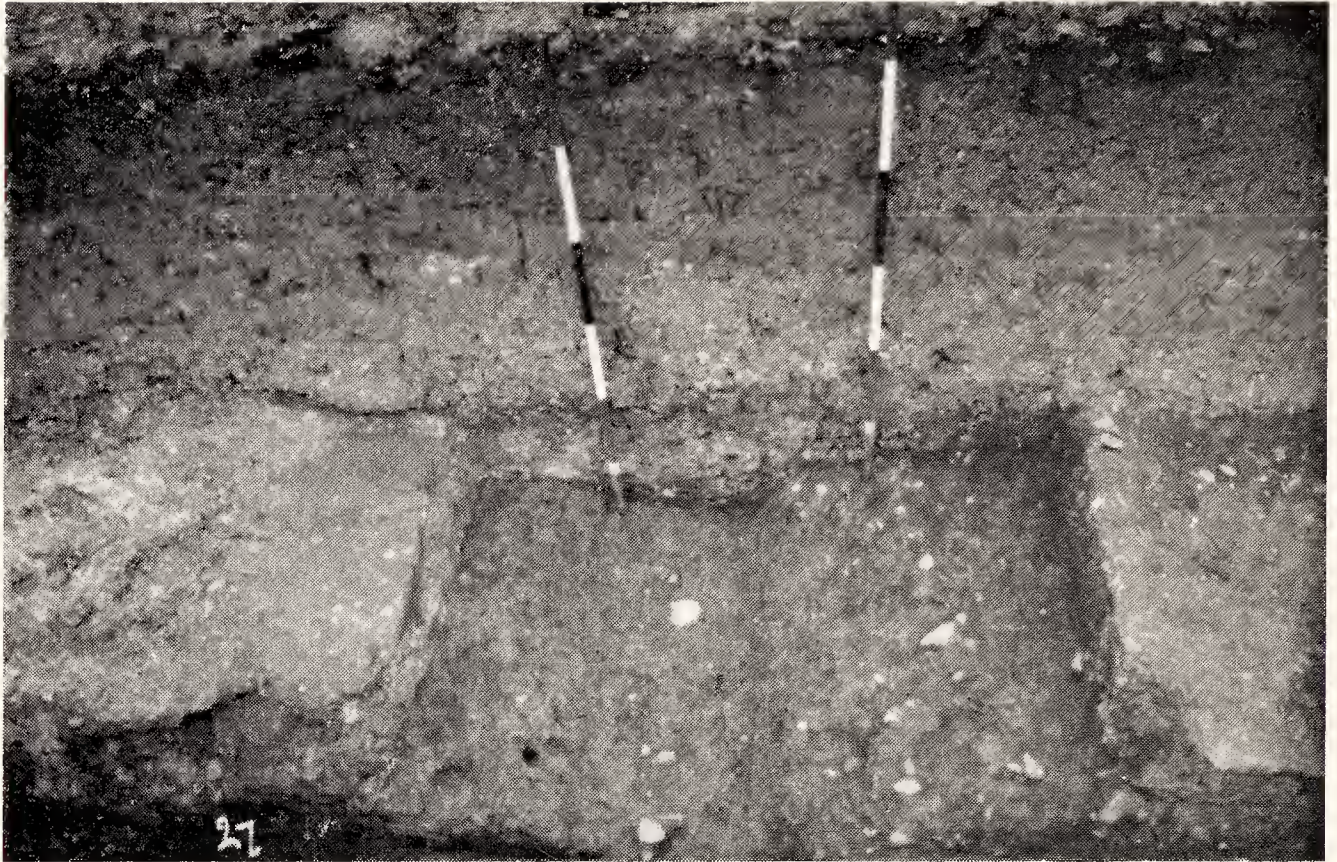


PLATE VII.  
Ditch alongside Road B (trench 16, west end).



PLATE VIII.  
Wall foundations and cobbled floor to building (1st structure). Trench 7A.



## 2. *The Eboracum-Isurium Roman road.* (Road B).

(Portions of it seen in trenches 11 and 14; completely sectioned in trenches 13, 16, 17 and 19; Plate V).

This road approached Road A at an acute angle, finally making a turn of nearly 45° in its last 24 yds. before the actual junction. It was 33 ft. wide and was constructed in much the same manner as Road A, i.e. a trench had been dug down to the subsoil and filled with a clay/cobble bottoming<sup>1</sup> (about 18 ins. thick as compared with the 24/30 ins. of the older road) surmounted by at least two, and probably three, carefully laid layers of cobbles bedded in clay. Like Road A it had been cut into by post-Roman rubbish pits<sup>2</sup> and only in small areas did it exist in anything like its entirety. On the south-west side of the road the bottoming was some 6-8 ins. thicker than on the other side. This showed good engineering sense as the greater depth there compensated for the slight natural downward slope of the land at this point so that (except for the camber which was roughly the same as in Road A) the surface was roughly level. There were three pointers as to the date of this road:—

(a) Finds in the road metalling consisted of 53 sherds of pottery and one coin. Among the former the latest type encountered was Castor ware (4 sherds) while the coin was a *sestertius* of Commodus dating A.D. 180-192 (Appendix 2, coin no. 13): this supplies a *terminus post quem* for this road.

(b) The road sealed a ditch which contained a considerable quantity of pottery to which a pre-Severan date is ascribed. This ditch and its contents are considered in some detail in section no. 3 below.

(c) Lying among the surface cobbles were these datable finds – a lead sealing which was Severan or post-Severan (p. 548) and a coin of Delmatius A.D. 335-337 (Appendix 2, coin no. 36). Also found on top of the road and forming one of the surface stones was the fragment of a stone statuette (Plate XI and p. 547).

It seems clear, therefore, that this road was Severan or post-Severan in date.

## 3. *Pre-Road B ditch.*

(Sectioned in trenches 14, 15 and 16c).

Beneath – and clearly pre-dating Road B – was a ditch, running from the north-western edge of Road A and roughly at right angles to it. It was traced for a distance of 35 yds. and it almost certainly extended further than this. Where it penetrated the clayey subsoil the ditch was 3 ft. wide and nearly 3 ft. deep: it tapered to a flat bottom approximately 1 ft. wide. No silt nor finds were found anywhere in it except beneath Road B where it contained a considerable

<sup>1</sup> As will be seen from fig. 3 (all three sections) there were places where the topsoil had not been completely removed between the bottoming and the subsoil.

<sup>2</sup> These contained ox skulls and lime like the mediaeval pits found in Road A.



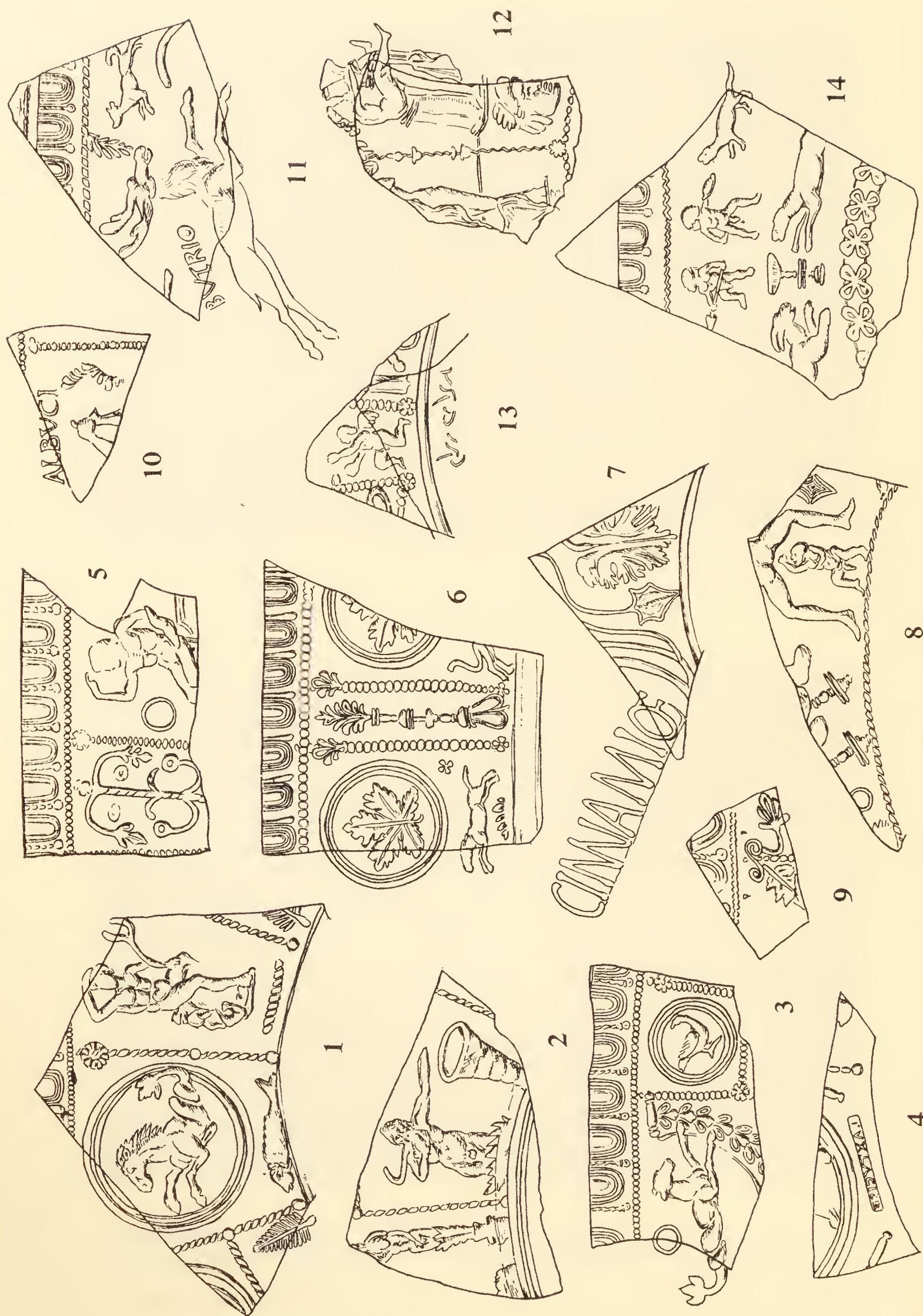


FIG. 7.  
Figured samian: Central Gaulish. Scale  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

amount of datable pottery. This included figured samian, including the greater parts of two bowls (Dr. 37), one attributable to either CENSORINUS or LAXTUCISSA and the other to PATERNUS, all of whom were manufacturing *c.* A.D. 160. The coarse pottery also fits a 2nd century date. This ditch and its contents are most important in dating Road B (for which a Severan/early 3rd century date is suggested) which seals it. The ditch was either contemporary with Road A or later than it, as it clearly began at the edge of that road. Its purpose is not clear: perhaps it originally constituted part of a boundary around the building described below in section 7.

#### 4. *Cobbled area between Roads A and B.*

(Seen in trenches 14 and 16: Plates I and IV).

In the angle formed by the junction of Roads A and B was an area roughly triangular in shape, measuring  $31 \times 20 \times 14$  ft., consisting of a single layer of cobbles bedded on 2-3 ins. of brown clay. Roughly in the centre was a block of worked gritstone (Plates I, II and IV) embedded in the cobbling and standing 8 ins. above it. The top measured approximately  $16 \times 13$  ins. and it was 11 ins. high. It showed three degrees of weathering; the top was much more worn than the sides, while those parts of the sides exposed above the cobbling showed much more than those embedded in it. The implication is that it had long been in the position in which it was found and had long been exposed to the elements. When, some little time after its discovery, a section was cut across this part of the trench down to the subsoil (fig. 3, section M-N) it was apparent that this stone had been carefully set in the position in which it was found. A hole, 14 ins. deep and 2 ft. wide had been dug to receive it and, in the bottom of this, 9 ins. of cobbles had been placed to give it a firm foundation (Plate II). The stone was clearly contemporary with the cobbling which surrounded it. It was perhaps an *umbo* or marker placed roughly at the centre of the area of the road junction.<sup>1</sup> Fifteen sherds of pottery – none illustrated – all of which looked pre-Severan in date were found beneath this cobbling.

#### 5. *Ditches alongside Road B.*

(Seen in trenches 16, 17 and 19; Plates V, VI and VII).

Drainage ditches were found alongside both sides of Road B. At subsoil level they were, at their deepest, 3 ft. wide and 20 ins. deep: they tapered to 14 ins. at the bottom. The sides and bottom were slightly concave. On the S.E. (modern Blossom Street) side, the ditch followed the curve of the road to within 4 ft. of the cobbled area described above in section 4. As it approached this area it became more and more shallow until it merged imperceptibly with the top of the subsoil. There were hints that originally it might have been lined with very small cobbles (1-2 ins. in diameter) and/or with small sandstone slats. On the other (N.W.) side of the road there

<sup>1</sup> The writers of *Eburacum* (R.C.H.M. 1962), pp. 3 and 63 interpreted it as '... a stone base, probably for an altar'.



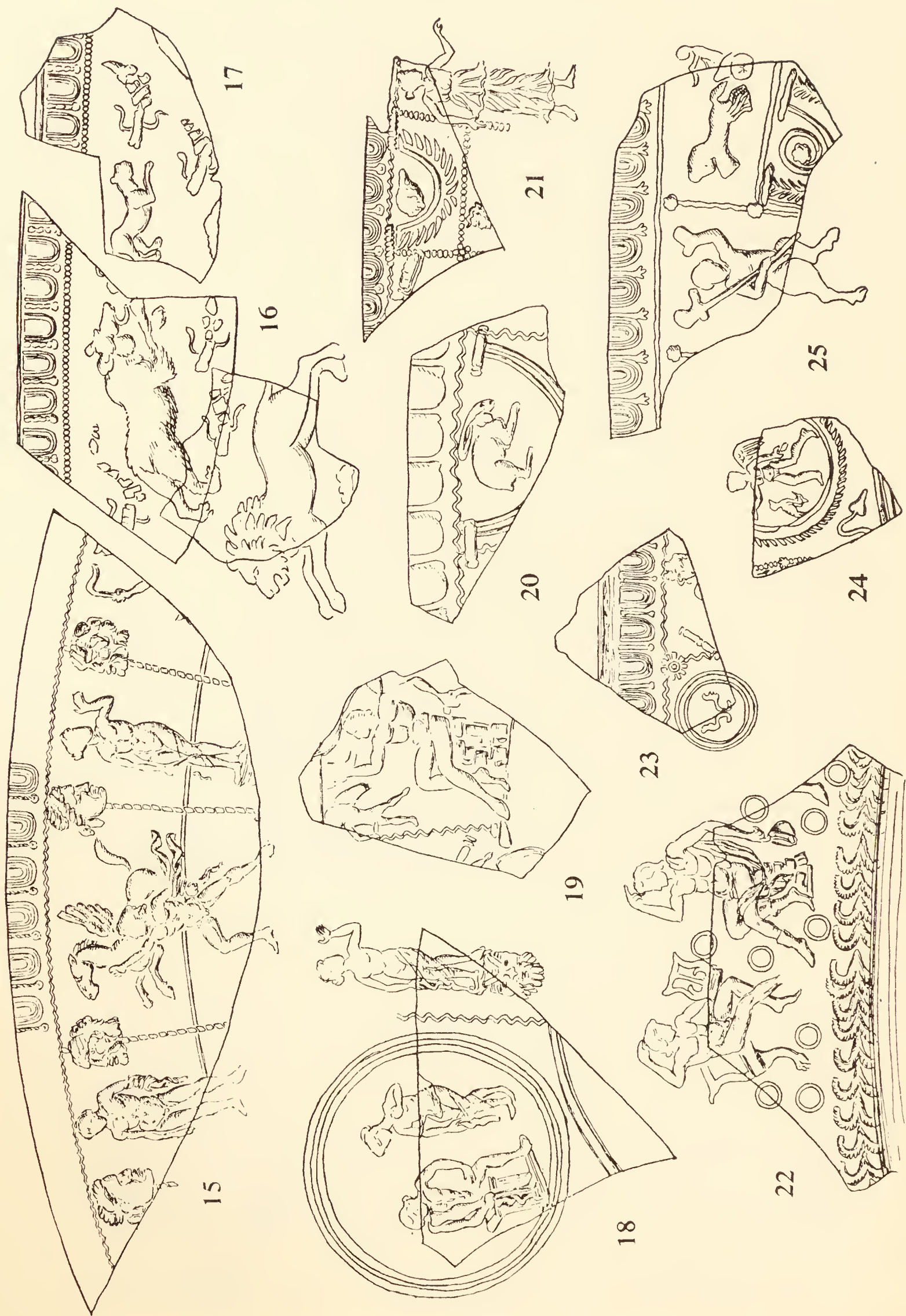


FIG. 8.

Figured samian: nos. 15-23 Central Gaulish: nos. 24 and 25 South Gaulish: Scale  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

was no indication of such a lining. Here the ditch did not follow the curve of the road but, just before the point where the road made its 45° turn to join Road A it continued straight on linking up –roughly at right angles – with the earlier ditch which pre-dated the road (described above in section 3).

At the actual junction of the two ditches (trench 16C) the picture was confused by the presence of an 18th century circular rubbish pit.<sup>1</sup> It is clear that the earlier ditch must have been visible to the roadmakers when Road B was put down and they brought their new road ditch to join it. This road ditch ended at this point: it did not re-appear beyond the 18th century pit in trench 16C.

#### 6. *Ditch alongside Road A.*

(Sectioned in trenches 16 and 22A; Plate III).

At subsoil level this ditch was 25 ft. long and 6 ft. wide, being semi-circular at both ends. The sides were straight and nearly vertical, while the bottom was slightly concave. It was cut 2 ft. 6 ins. deep into the subsoil. No silt was visible in the bottom and no Roman finds were encountered in it. The northern end of the ditch was 3 ft. distant from the edge of the triangular cobbled area of the road junction: this end of the ditch had been damaged by a circular post-Roman pit containing 12th-13th century pottery, the centre of which was almost exactly over the lip of the ditch.

This ditch was twice as wide and twice as deep as those alongside Road B and was altogether more impressive, more carefully dug and quite different in character. It was clearly contemporary with the triangular cobbled area and with Road B. Its short length was puzzling: this point will be taken up again later.

#### 7. *Building.* (Fig. 4).

(Seen in trenches 7, 7A and 8; Plates VIII and XI).

In the 1953 excavations part of the *opus signinum* floor of a Roman building was revealed at a depth of 2½ ft. below the modern surface, in the angle of two badly robbed stone walls (trench 7): in the following year this was sectioned down to the subsoil and five structures were found one on top of the other. In 1954, before this sectioning took place, another large trench (7A) had been dug alongside the 1953 trench in the expectation of uncovering more of the original floor and building. This trench showed, however, that the Roman features had been completely destroyed by post-Roman interference except for the two earliest phases. In this report the two excavations are considered together: the five structures encountered are considered separately, starting with the earliest one (fig. 4).

#### 1st structure. (Plate VIII).

The floor of this, 5 ft. 6 ins. – 6 ft. below the modern surface, consisted of a single layer of small cobbles, 3-6 ins. in diameter,

<sup>1</sup> Amongst a quantity of burnt material it contained fragments of a clay pipe (not illustrated).



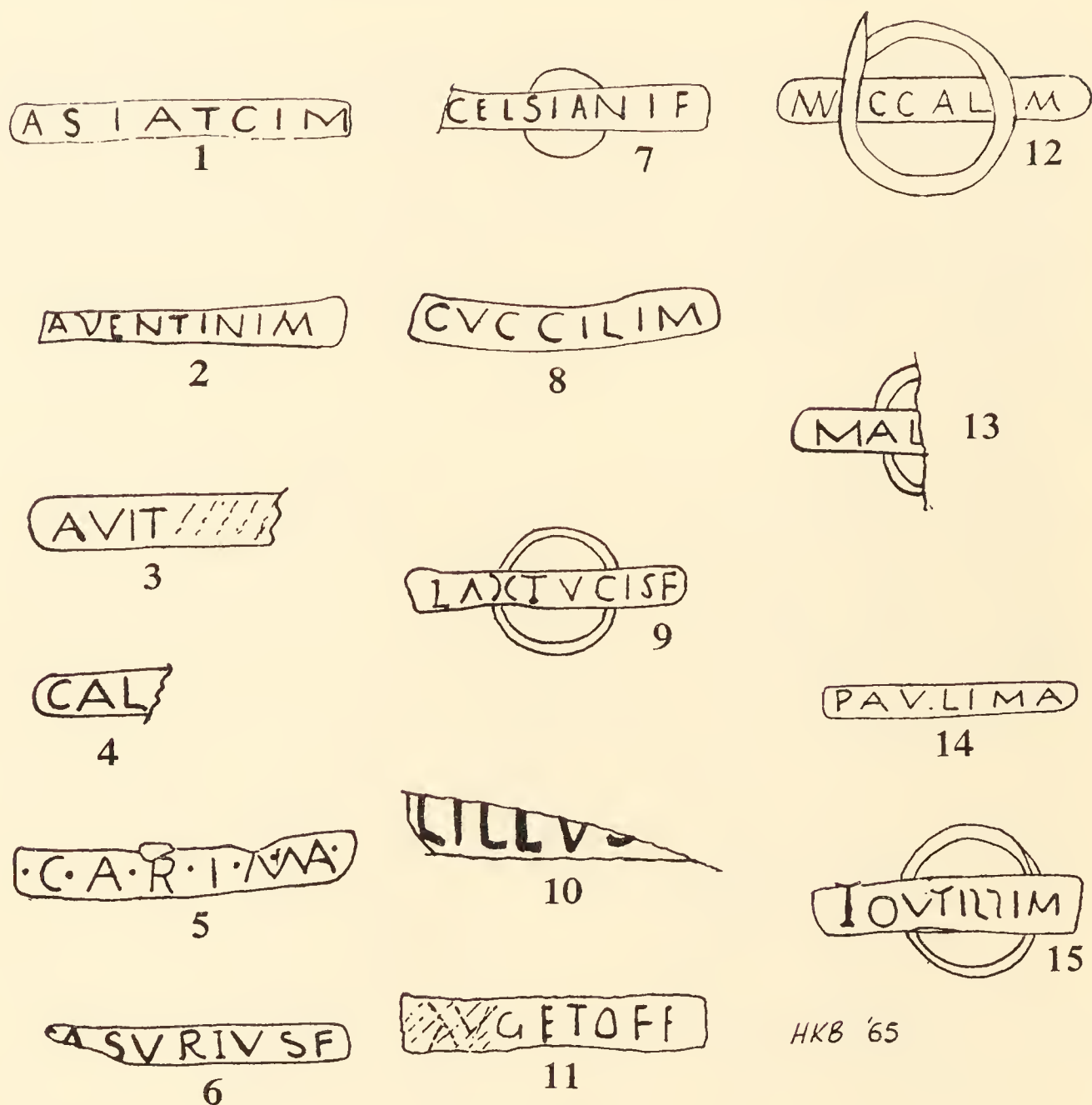


FIG. 10.

Potters' stamps on plain samian ware. Scale  $\frac{1}{1}$ .

This structure seems to have been similar to the previous one on the site – third above – except that it was roofed with stone slats and not with red *tegulae*. The fact that Castor ware was sealed below the floor would suggest a date after c. A.D. 180 while the coin found on the floor would indicate that it continued no later than c. A.D. 270. It was probably burnt to the ground.

#### 5th structure (Plate XI).

The floor of this, 2 ft. 6 ins. below the modern surface, consisted of an *opus signinum* floor, 6 ins. thick, overlying another 6 ins. of building debris. Among the latter were 25 fragments of stone slats (originally clearly lozenge-shaped) and 18 sherds of pottery (16 of Castor ware). On the floor was a coin – an AE 3 – dating to c. A.D. 335-7 (Appendix 2, coin no. 34), 30 fragments of wall plaster (coloured red, yellow, grey, black and *eau de nil*), the fragments of 5 stone roofing slats, 4 blocks of dressed limestone and 10 sherds of pottery (7 of calcite gritted ware from the same pot).





PLATE IX.  
Pit dug through Road A looking N.W. (trench 22A).



PLATE X.  
Pits dug into Road A looking S.E. (trench 22B).





PLATE XI.  
The building (5th structure).



PLATE XII.  
Base of stone statuette and *tesserae*. (The *tesserae* are approximately 1 in. square).



The foundation which had served the 3rd and 4th structures had been re-used in this phase though a shallow trench alongside it, implied that the wall surmounting it had been completely rebuilt. This last structure had walls, floor and roof similar to that of its immediate predecessor: the presence of the late calcite gritted ware suggests that it had continued in use into the late 4th/early 5th century.

One point relating to this building and its history is significant. In the last three phases – dating from the late 2nd/early 3rd century onwards – the building was aligned to the ‘new road’ (Road B): in the earliest two phases (though the evidence is less conclusive) it seems to have been aligned to Road A.

Nothing was found in the plan of this building nor in the artifacts found within it to suggest its purpose. It *might* have been a wayside shrine. The ‘pre-Road B ditch’ (section 3 above) *might* have been a boundary around it: the fragment of a sculptured stone statuette found in the metalling of the nearby Road B (see p. 547) *might* originally have come from it.

The *opus signinum* floor belonging to the last structure on the site had been cut into by a post-Roman pit 1 ft. 6 ins. deep which contained the bones of an ox (Plate XI).

#### 8. *Cobbled ? courtyard.*

(Seen in trenches 7, 8, 10, 11 and 13).

In the trenches enumerated above, a layer of cobbles, bedded in clay 1 ft. thick, was everywhere encountered at depths of approximately 4 ft. below the present ground surface. Some of the larger cobbles measured 8-10 ins. in diameter, though the majority were 4-6 ins. Beneath the clay was about 2 ft. of black soil overlying the subsoil. It is suggested that this cobbling may have formed part of a ‘courtyard’ lying between the building and the junction of Roads A and B. The level at which the cobbles were found would suggest that this ‘courtyard’ was laid down at the time of the third phase of the building i.e. at the turn of the 2nd-3rd centuries, a date which agrees very well with the suggested Severan/early 3rd century date for Road B.

#### 9. *Pits cutting into Road A.*

(Seen in trenches 22A and 22B; Plates IX and X).

Trench 22A was dug in the expectation of obtaining another section across the ditch alongside Road A (no. 6 above). This was not found which led to the conclusion (noted above on p. 537) that the ditch could only have been about 25 ft. long. Trench 22A was also extended 17 ft. into the northern side of where Road A was to be expected. No road metalling whatever was found in it. Instead, parts of two large pits, each at least 7 ft. long, 7 ft. wide and 3½ ft. deep (below the top of the subsoil) were encountered dug where it was expected. These pits were full of loose dark soil together with some 50 sherds of pottery – 25 colour-coated (Castor), 3 plain samian, 12 red ‘legionary’ and 10 of grey, ware, dating no



later than the early/mid third century. As there were no post-Roman finds in these pits they were presumed to be Roman.

The close proximity of these pits and the end of the short length of ditch alongside Road A appears to be more than merely coincidence. In 1953 when these discoveries were made, two complementary interpretations were placed on them. (1). The pits represented a deliberate slighting and abandonment of Road A and the short ditch was to be associated rather with the cobbled 'triangle' between Roads A and B than with the former. (2). Road B had, at some time in the Roman period, superseded Road A. The contents of the pits suggested that this might have been under Severus or soon after. The pottery found stratified under Road B (see pp. 533-4 above) was of roughly the same date (or somewhat earlier) as that in these pits. Further evidence pointing to the abandonment of Road A has been found in two subsequent excavations in the Mount-Dringhouses area. One – on the site of Lister and Edmond's Garage<sup>1</sup> – was only 150 yds. distant from these Blossom Street excavations, the other – near Hob Moor<sup>2</sup> – was a mile away.

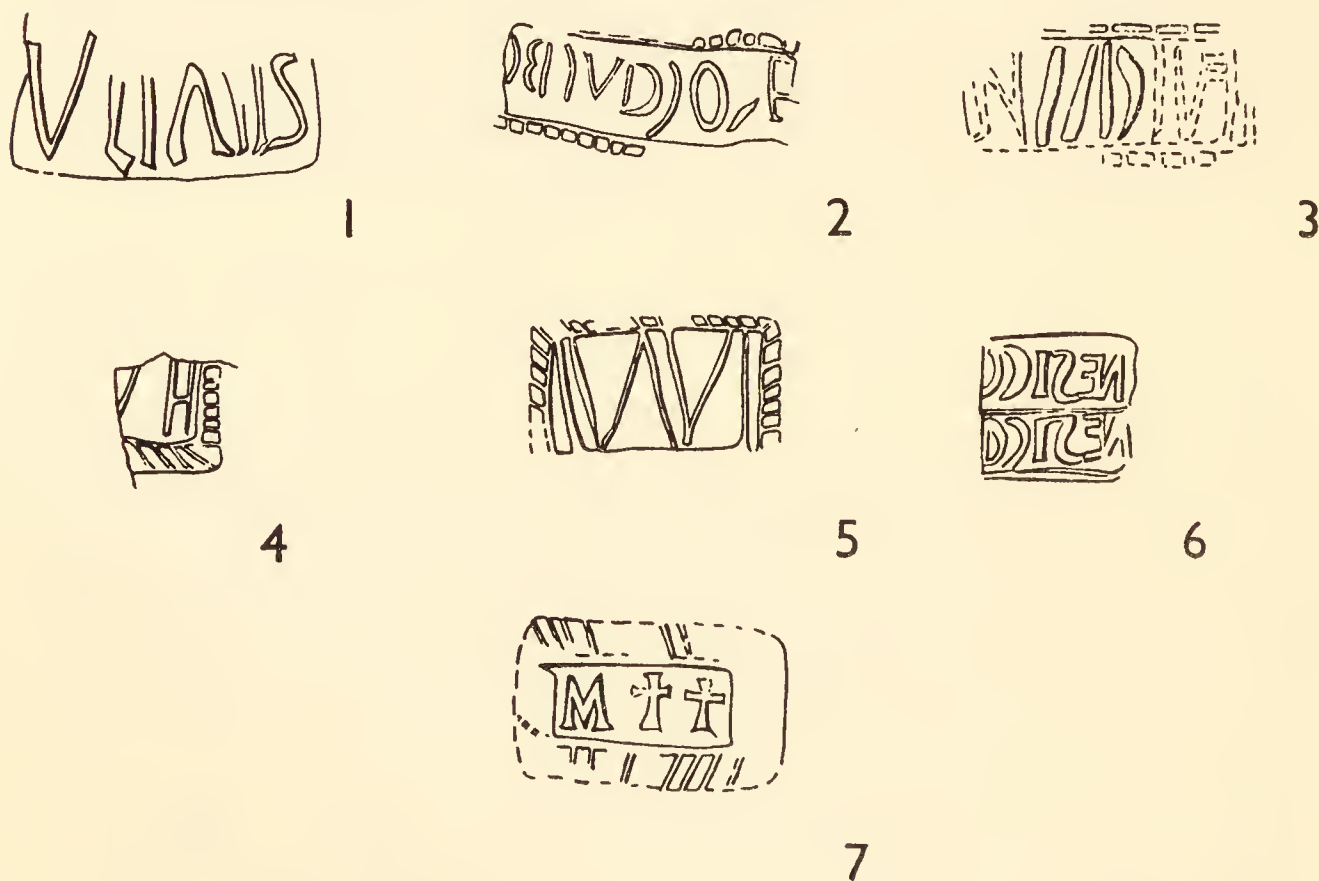


FIG. 11.  
*Mortaria stamps.*

10. *Roman pits alongside the roads.*  
(Seen in trenches 21 and 23).

In trenches 21 and 23 parts of two separate and distinct Roman pits were encountered: both penetrated more than 5 ft. into the subsoil. Both contained quantities of rubbish and of pottery of a Severan/early third century date. Among the rubbish were pieces of

<sup>1</sup> Report not yet published.

<sup>2</sup> Reported *Y.A.J.* xxxix Pt. 154 (1957), pp. 280-2.

coal reported on in Appendix 1. One find in trench 23 was of especial interest – a piece of gold braid (fig. 5, 13 and p. 547). Just beyond the lip of this trench lying on top of the subsoil were the fragments of what, when fitted together, constituted most of a clay figurine of Venus (fig. 5, 12, and p. 547).

These pits – and also those dug in Road A and discussed above (no. 9) – were almost certainly dug to obtain the clay-cum-cobbles to furnish the metalling for Road B. The date of this and the date of the pottery finds in these pits would not conflict with this suggestion.

## APPENDIX 1

## REPORT ON PIECES OF COAL FOUND IN TRENCH 23

by A. H. Edwards, Chief Coal Survey Officer, Newcastle upon Tyne.

1. *Experimental*

A complete analysis was carried out on the coal which had a peculiar woody canneloid structure. The sample did not appear to be much oxidised. The analytical results are given in this table.

Capacity Moisture (washed coal at 30°C., 96% R.H. : per cent.)	9.0	
Specific gravity at 25°C.	1.38	
PROXIMATE ANALYSIS <i>Air-Dried Coal: Per Cent.</i>		
Moisture	6.7	
Volatile Matter less moisture	36.2	
Fixed Carbon	46.9	
Ash	10.2	
Volatile Matter in dry, mineral matter-free coal	42.1	
Total Sulphur (per cent.)	1.07	
Carbon Dioxide (per cent.)	0.18	
CALORIFIC VALUE (B.T.U./LB.)		
Air-dried coal	11,770	
Dry, ash-free coal	14,160	
Dry, mineral matter-free coal	14,270	
	Air-dried coal (per cent.)	Dry, mineral matter-free coal (per cent.)
ULTIMATE ANALYSIS		
Moisture	6.7	—
Mineral Matter*	10.8	—
Carbon	67.1	81.4
Hydrogen	4.4	5.3
Nitrogen	1.6	1.9
Sulphur (organic)	0.8	1.0
Undetermined	8.6	10.4
CAKING TESTS		
B.S. Swelling Number	1 N.A.	
Gray-King Coke Type	B	

\* using K.M.C. formula for mineral matter.



## 2. Microscopical examination

The sample was examined for microspores by Messrs. R. W. Williams and A. H. V. Smith of the Scientific Department (Coal Survey), Sheffield who reported as follows:—

It is not possible by the use of these techniques to determine with any certainty the geographical location of origin of the coal sample. What is possible is to give the approximate geological 'age' of the coal, i.e. to indicate the horizon in the Coal Measures it represents and then to suggest likely sources.

The canneloid nature of the sample which was evident from visual examination was confirmed by the examination of a polished surface under the microscope. The bulk of the sample consisted of finely divided vitrinite and fine-grained micrinite, and in this general matrix were embedded numerous microspores and fragments of semi-fusinite. Various syngenetic and epigenetic mineral materials including pyrite occurred embedded in the coal substance.

On maceration the sample yielded abundant microspores and the assemblage was typical of seams in the upper part of the Lower Coal Measures. The horizon lies somewhere within the *Communis* zone. The main evidence for this designation lies in the presence in the separation of *Schulzospora rara*, which is diagnostic of low horizons in the Coal Measures. Other features of the microflora, e.g., the variety of types of *Raistrickia* and *Planisporites*, the high frequency of *Calamospora*, and the presence of *Cirratrirdites* sp. near *aligerens* – support this view.

If this coal is a British coal – and there is no reason to doubt that it is – then the nearest place to York from which it could have originated would be the outcrop of Lower Coal Measures east of Leeds, and it seems reasonable to suggest this as the probable source of the coal.

In this connection it might be of interest to note that we reached a similar conclusion regarding the origin of a sample of coal which had been found during excavation of a Romano-British Cemetery at York and which was examined at this laboratory in October, 1952.<sup>1</sup>

## APPENDIX 2

### THE COINS

43 coins were found in the excavations; particulars of them are listed below. 13 date before the reign of Septimius Severus (193-211), 30 date between Caracalla (211-217) and Gratian (367-383). 10-marked below with an asterisk – were found in sealed layers and are of considerable dating significance; the other 23 were found scattered over or alongside the various Roman cobbled features encountered (the roads, 'courtyard' and junction). The special significance of the 'sealed' coins is as follows:—

#### *The Building.*

Three (nos. 11, 21 and 34) help to date three of the five structural phases of this (see pp. 537-541).

#### *Road B.*

No 13 – dating to Commodus (180-192) – and sealed beneath the cobbled surface, supplies a *terminus ante quem* for this road.

#### *Rubbish Pit alongside Road B. (Trench 23).*

Of the three coins found in this (nos. 2, 22 and 24), the latest (Tetricus I 270-3) supplies a *terminus ante quem* for this hole.

#### *Pit in Road A. (Trench 22A).*

Of the two coins found in this (nos. 8 and 10), the latest (Hadrian 117-138) supplies a *terminus ante quem* for this hole.

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<sup>1</sup> To be published in the forthcoming report on the excavation of the Romano-British cemetery in Trentholme Drive, York, 1951-2.

<i>Serial No.</i>	<i>Emperor</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Type and Reference</i>	<i>No. of trench where found</i>
1	Augustus or Tiberius	B.C. 27-A.D. 14 or A.D. 14-37	As.	No. 14
2	*Vespasian	69-79	AE 2.	No. 23
3	do.	do.	Denarius. M & S 10	No. 12
4	do.	do.	As. M & S 497 or 528	No. 9
5	Trajan	98-117	AE 2.	No. 8
6	do.	do.	Dupondius	No. 14
7	Illegible	1st or 2nd cent.	AE 2.	No. 14
8	* do.	do.	AE 2.	No. 22B
9	Hadrian	117-138	Sestertius	No. 14
10	* do.	do.	do.	No. 22B
11	*Faustina I (wife of Antoninus Pius)	138-141	Dupondius or as	No. 7
12	Faustina II (wife of Marcus Aurelius)	161-175	Denarius	No. 14
13	*Commodus	180-192	Sestertius	No. 19A
14	Caracalla	211-217	Denarius. M & S 179	No. 14
15	Julia Maesa (grandmother of Elagabalus)	218-222	Denarius	No. 22
16	?Postumus	259-268	Antoninianus	No. 14
17	?	c. 250-270	Antoninianus (3rd cent. radiate head type)	No. 18
18	?	do.	do.	No. 4
19	?	do.	do.	No. 18
20	Barbarous copy.	c. 270	Antoninianus	No. 13
21	*Victorinus	268-270	Antoninianus	No. 7
22	*Claudius II	268-270	Antoninianus. M & S. 110	No. 23
23	Tetricus I	270-273	Antoninianus	No. 14
24	* do.	do.	Antoninianus. RIC 68	No. 23
25	Tetricus II	270-273	Antoninianus	No. 19A
26	*Tacitus	275-276	Antoninianus. RIC 93	No. 23
27	Carausius	287-293	Antoninianus. M & S 783	No. 14
28	Allectus	293-296	Antoninianus. M & S 33	No. 4
29	Theodora (2nd wife of Constantius Chlorus)	305-306	AE 3. C 4	No. 14
30	Constantine I	306-337	AE 3. C. 253	No. 18B
31	do.	do.	AE 3. C. 250	No. 13
32	Constantinopolis (Period of Constantine I)	330-337	AE 3. Cf. C. 21	No. 13
33	Period of Constantine I	Before 330-5	AE 3	No. 12
34	* do.	335-7	AE 3	No. 7
35	?Constantine II	317-340	AE 3	No. 7A
36	Delmatius	335-7	AE 3. C. 5	No. 14
37	Constans	333-350	AE 3. C. 57	No. 14
38	do.	do.	AE 3. C. 176	No. 3
39	do.	do.	AE 3. C. 65	No. 4
40	Constantius II	337-361	AE 3. C. 98	No. 13
41	Magnentius	350-353	AE 3. C. 69	No. 4
42	Valens	364-378	AE 3	No. 21
43	Gratian	367-383	AE 3. M & S. IX, p. 662, no. 15. (Dates 367-375)	No. 4

\* These coins were found in sealed layers, the rest were not.



## APPENDIX 3

## THE FINDS

## A. Pottery

Over 2,000 sherds of Roman pottery were found in the course of the excavation. The number of sherds of Samian were as follows:—

Plain forms	..	..	174
Decorated ( <i>terra sigillata</i> )	..	..	231
Incised design	..	..	4
Lion spouted <i>mortarium</i>	..	..	1
(Makers' stamps)	..	..	23

The Samian ware has been reported on by Mr. H. K. Bowes in Appendix 4.

A rim count of the coarse pottery gave the following figures (an asterisk \* denotes the number of the rims illustrated):—

						<i>Reference—if illustrated</i>
Rusticated jar	..	..	..	..	9 (1*)	Fig. 5, no. 3
<i>Tazzae</i> (incense bowls)	..	..	..	..	8	
Lamp	..	..	..	..	1*	Fig. 5, no. 2
Candlestick	..	..	..	..	1*	Fig. 5, no. 1
<i>Mortaria</i>	..	..	..	..	18 <sup>1</sup>	
Parisian	..	..	..	..	2 <sup>2</sup>	
<i>Amphorae</i>	..	..	..	..	12 <sup>3</sup>	
Flagons	..	..	..	..	31	
'Legionary ware' (red/pink fabric)	..	..	..	..	15	
Miscellaneous grey ware:						
Lids	..	..	..	..	13	
Bowls	..	..	..	..	63	
Platters	..	..	..	..	31	
Jars and beakers (plain)	..	..	..	..	124	
" " " (with lattice decoration)	..	..	..	..	12	
Face vase	..	..	..	..	1*	Fig. 5, no. 4
Colour-coated (Castor)	..	..	..	..	25	
" (Box lid)	..	..	..	..	1	
Crambeck	..	..	..	..	3 (1*)	Fig. 5, no. 6
Calcite gritted	..	..	..	..	22	
Romano-Saxon	..	..	..	..	1*	Fig. 5, no. 5

The vast majority of this pottery was unstratified being found either on top of the cobbles of Roads A and B or lying on the (Roman) ground surface alongside these. The few sealed and stratified sherds were found as follows:—

- (i) One sherd of Samian (*terra sigillata*) in the metalling of Road A (see p. 529). Not illustrated. The style is that of the potter VADERIO, the date Vespasianic.<sup>4</sup>
- (ii) 41 sherds of Samian (plain and *terra sigillata*) in the Roman road ditch underlying and pre-dating Road B (see Appendix 4: Figs. 7-9, nos. 1-20, 26-38. Fig. 10, nos. 1-14).
- (iii) Third century pottery – various wares – in the pits cutting into Road A (see pp. 541-2). Not illustrated.
- (iv) Third century pottery in the pits found alongside Road B (see pp. 542-3). None illustrated.

<sup>1</sup> Those with stamps are reported on in Appendix 5 by Mrs. Katherine Hartley.

<sup>2</sup> These sherds have already been illustrated and described in *Y.A.J.* xxxix, Pt. 153 (1956), p. 51, nos. 4 and 7.

<sup>3</sup> Two have stamps on the handles, see Appendix 6.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. R. Knorr, *Töpfer und Fabriken Verzierter Terra-Sigillata des Ersten Jahrhunderts*, 1919, Taf. 80, p. 77.

- (v) Various fabrics, first to fourth century, found in the building (see pp. 537-541). None illustrated.
- (vi) Rusticated jar containing cremation found alongside Road A (see p. 531; Fig. 5, no. 3).

In addition to the Samian and rusticated jar noted above as illustrated, five more unstratified pieces are illustrated as being of particular interest. They are:—

- Fig. 5, no. 2. Lamp in red ware.
- Fig. 5, no. 1. Candlestick in red ware.
- Fig. 5, no. 4. Fragment of a face vase. For a possible complete jar of this type see *Eburacum* (R.C.H.M. 1962), Plate 29, Accn. 1267.
- Fig. 5, no. 6. What should perhaps be described as a multiple vase in creamy Crambeck fabric decorated with reddish-brown paint. When complete the vessel seems to have consisted of a hollow circular tube, surmounted by ?five (four have survived) small 'vases'. A hole pierced the base of each of these 'vases' into the circular tube below. No parallel can be quoted.
- Fig. 5, no. 5. Sherd of Romano-Saxon ware. Pinkish-buff fabric, red in the break and on the interior surface. Thick and clumsy, almost tile-like. No wheel marks show and the pot could have been hand-made. The decoration is a spiral derivation of the concentric circle and is clumsily applied by describing the spiral over a deep finger boss. Between the remains of three bosses appear three deep grooves. It may represent a late degenerate form of this ware.<sup>1</sup>

#### B. Miscellaneous

Over fifty miscellaneous finds were made in the course of the excavation. They are listed here:—

	<i>Reference—if illustrated</i>
1 clay marble, 0.7 ins. diameter .. ..	Fig. 6, no. 1
3 bone dice, 0.3, 0.35 and 0.6 ins. square respectively .. ..	Fig. 6, no. 2
4 bone counters, 0.7–0.8 ins. diameter .. ..	Fig. 6, no. 3
33 bone hairpins, 3-4 ins. long, 19 of which have been illustrated .. ..	Fig. 6 unnumbered
3 bone needles, approximately 3-4 ins. long .. ..	Fig. 6, nos. 4 and 5
6 bronze rings, approximately 0.8 ins. diameter .. ..	Fig. 6, no. 10
1 jet bracelet, 1.8 ins. diameter .. ..	Fig. 6, no. 6
1 pair bronze tweezers, 2½ ins. long .. ..	Fig. 6, no. 9
1 lead plummet, 2½ ins. long .. ..	Fig. 6, no. 8
1 bowl of a bronze spoon, approximately 1.2 ins. long .. ..	Fig. 6, no. 7
Fragment of red <i>tegula</i> 2 × 1.4 ins. stamped [LEG]VI or [LEG VI] VI .. ..	Fig. 5, no. 14
Pipe clay figurine of Venus. These are common throughout the Roman Empire. There is a figure from the same mould as this York example in the Tullie House Museum, Carlisle .. ..	Fig. 5, no. 12
2 pieces of twisted gold ribbon each about 9 ins. long .. ..	Fig. 5, no. 13
Base of a stone statuette, 8 × 2 × 5½ ins. Only the feet, with traces of the drapery near the ankles remain. The	

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Mr. D. Stewart for assistance in describing this sherd. For other Romano-Saxon sherds found in York see *Y.A.J.*, xxxix Pt. 154 (1957), pp. 311-3, nos. 21, 22 and 33.



length and positioning of the drapery suggests a female.

One quarter life size . . . . . Plate XII<sup>1</sup>

Stone ballista ball or pestle, 4 ins. in diameter.

Lead sealing  $\frac{1}{8}$  in. in diameter. On the front is the impression of a bull facing right with the letters PBI above. A translation of the letters reads – 'Of the Province of Britain'. The bull is the badge of the VIth Legion.<sup>2</sup>

*Tesserae*. 21 were found, each being approximately an inch cube. 20 were cut from red tile or brick, 1 from micaceous sandstone . . . . . Plate XII

Coloured wall plaster. Five fragments were found. One coloured white and red, one blue, black and brown and the others white.

#### Graffiti.

- (i) CANDIDA scratched on the inside of the footring of a cup. Drag. 27 (two conjoining sherds)<sup>3</sup> . . . Fig. 5, no. 7
- (ii) . . . . . ]I AILLI Scratched on the wall of a Drag. 18 bowl below the carination. The name AELI is complete<sup>4</sup> . . . . . Fig. 5, no. 8
- (iii) IVIACI. Scratched on the base of a bowl, Drag. 32 which is stamped with a rosette<sup>5</sup> . . . Fig. 5, no. 9
- (iv) . . . ]RCIDI[ . . . Scratched on part of the base of a bowl, Drag. 18/31. Mr. R. P. Wright<sup>6</sup> suggested that it might have read MA]RCIDI[US . . . Fig. 5, no. 11
- (v) Scratchings on a sherd of Samian of indeterminate form . . . . . Fig. 5, no. 10

Mediaeval horse shoe. Described on p. 531 . . . . .

#### APPENDIX 4

##### SAMIAN WARE

by H. K. Bowes

The following abbreviations are employed:

- O. = *Index of Figure-Types on Terra Sigillata*, by Felix Oswald.
- CGP = *Central Gaulish Potters*, by Stanfield and Simpson. (Note: CGP18/17 indicates Figure 18, item 17.)
- Dr. = Dragendorff.
- D. = Déchelette.
- A.J. = *Archaeological Journal*.
- Kn.19. = *Töpfer und Fabriken Verzierter Terra-Sigillata des Ersten Jahrhunderts*, by Robert Knorr, 1919.
- Kn.52. = *Terra-Sigillata-Gefäße des Ersten Jahrhunderts mit Töpfernamen*, by Robert Knorr, 1952.
- R/F. = *Die Bilderschüsseln der Römischen Töpfer von Rheinzabern* (Text) by Heinrich Ricken – Charlotte Fischer, 1963.
- R. = *Die Bilderschüsseln der Römischen Töpfer von Rheinzabern* (Tafelband), by Heinrich Ricken, 1942.

<sup>1</sup> Also illustrated in *Eburacum* (R.C.H.M. 1962), Plate 49.

<sup>2</sup> Illustrated in *Eburacum* (R.C.H.M. 1962), Plate 65 and CWT.<sup>2</sup> liv (1955), p. 102, fig. 1a. A full description of it appears in the latter together with a discussion on its prototypes.

<sup>3</sup> Reported in J.R.S. xlv (1955), p. 148, no. 20. Cf. *Eburacum* (R.C.H.M. 1962), p. 135 (154) and Fig. 87.

<sup>4</sup> Reported in J.R.S. liii (1963), p. 165, no. 41(a).

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 41(b).

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 41(c) and footnote<sup>50</sup>.

S. = *Saalburg Jahrbuch* VIII, 1934.

Fol. = *Die Bilderschüsseln der Ostgallischen Sigillata-Manufakturen*, by E. Fölzer. 1913.

Two hundred and thirty one sherds of figured samian, found during the Blossom Street excavations, are of sufficient size to identify the centre at which they were manufactured. The number of sherds from each centre is as follows:

Lezoux	187
Rheinzabern	24
La Graufesenque	11
Lavoye	6
Trier	2
La Madeleine	1

The forms represented are Dr.29, 30, and 37.

The period represented by these sherds ranges from c.AD 60 to the end of the second century. By far the bulk of the material belongs to the Antonine period. The sherds of main interest are illustrated, as follows:

Fig. 7. Nos. 1 – 14. Central Gaulish.

Fig. 8. Nos. 15 – 23. Central Gaulish.

Nos. 24 – 25. South Gaulish.

Fig. 9. Nos. 26 – 34. Rheinzabern.

Nos. 35 – 37. Lavoye.

Nos. 38 – 39. Trier.

No. 40. La Madeleine.

1. Dr.37. Ovolos not identifiable. Apollo O.94A, sea-horse O.33, in double medallion, fish O.2418, leaf CGP 30/8, corded division lines. Style of PATERNVS. Antonine.
2. Dr.37. Pan O.710, caryatid O.1199, cornucopia D.1084. Antonine.
3. Dr.37. No exact parallel for ovolo. Sea-horse O.48A, and large circle CGP 23/9, in festoon (see CGP Pl.95/19) bird O.2252 in double medallion. Division lines with six-pointed star, as used by both ATTIANVS and AVSTRVS. Antonine.
4. Dr.37. Stamp in decoration LAXTVCS F (retrograde). LAXTVCISSA of Lezoux. Antonine.
5. Dr.37. Ovolos not identifiable. Jupiter O.3, stand CGP Pl.133/17 (used by AVITVS, CASVRIVS, CINNAMVS and DOCILIS). Antonine.
6. Dr.30. Ovolos CGP 44/2, leaf in double medallion CGP 44/30, four-pointed star CGP 44/1, detail between vertical bead rows, made up of three parts, CGP 44/7 + 44/27 + 44/22. Style of DOECCVS. Antonine.
7. Dr.37. End of large stamp of CINNAMVS. Antonine.
8. Dr.37. Pygmy O.699, giant O.624, decorative detail CGP 18/17. Style of Potter X.6. Hadrian – Antonine.
9. Dr.37. Ovolos CGP 42/2 (with bead row) decorative details CGP 42/1 and CGP 42/4. Style of Small S Potter. (For details of mould, in the style of this potter, with cursive signature CETTVS below decoration, see A.J. Vol. XLI, 1961.) Antonine.
10. Dr.37. End of stamp ALBVCI. ALBVCIVS of Lezoux. Antonine.
11. Dr.37. End of stamp BVTRIO. Ovolos as CGP 13/2 (with bead row in place of wavy line) Stag O.1822A, dog O.2024, leaf CGP 13/8. BVTRIO of Lezoux. Hadrian – Antonine.



12. Dr.37. Group O.XC/H, head O.1330, Pan O.709 or 709A, decorative detail and beadrow CGP 13/7.  
Style of BVTRIO. Hadrian – Antonine.
13. Dr.37. Cursive signature CRICIRV below decoration. Cupid O.426, bead row with six-pointed star, as division lines (see CGP Pl.117/9) CRICIRO of Lezoux. Antonine.
14. Dr.37. Ovolos CGP 17/1. Pygmy (to left) O.698, pygmy (to right) O.693, goat O.1842(?), dog O.2001, panther O.1555, decorative detail CGP 17/20, basal wreath CGP 17/4.  
QVINTILIANVS – PATERCLVS group. Hadrian – Antonine.
15. Dr.37. Ovolos CGP 13/2, head (to right) O.13330, Mercury O.538, head (to left) O.1215, Bellerophon and Pegasus O.835, Venus O.305.  
Style of BVTRIO. Hadrian – Antonine.
- 16 & 17. Dr.37. Ovolos CGP 33/ CRICIRO 1, bear O.1588, lion O.1450, panther O.1581, snake and rock O.2155.  
Style of CRICIRO. Antonine.
18. Dr.37. Bather (seated) O.641, Venus O.290, both in double medallion, Venus on mask O.305, wavy line division row.  
Style of SERVVS II. Antonine.
19. Dr.37. Bacchus O.571, gladiator O.1059, wavy line division row.  
Style of TITVRVS. (see CGP Pl.131) Antonine.
20. Dr.37. Ovolos too badly smeared to identify. Hare O.2057A, in double festoon. Wavy line below ovolo, and for division lines.  
Style of SERVVS II. Antonine.
21. Dr.37. Ovolos as used by 'Potter of the Rosette' Head in fringed festoon. Dancer O.363, rope-twist CGP 7/31, detail CGP 7/23.  
Style of 'Potter of the Rosette'. Trajanic.
22. Dr.30. Apollo O.83 (without right foot), Bacchus O.571. Basal wreath as used by Potter X2 and 'Potter of the Rosette'. The use of the circle in the field of decoration indicates 'Potter of the Rosette'. Trajanic.
23. Dr.37. Ovolos CGP 15/1 (with wavy line beneath). Twin dolphins CGP 15/8, astragalus 15/8, rosette CGP 15/6.  
Style of G.I.VIBIVS. Hadrian – Antonine.
24. Dr.30. Cupid O.436, (see Kn.19.Taf. 17/30) and bird O.2233 (see Kn.19, Taf.17/33) within fringed medallion. Leaf Kn.19.Taf.17/22.  
Style of 'OF CALVI' c.AD 60 – 80.
25. Dr.37. Ovolos Kn.52.Taf.57/19. Pan O.714, charioteer O.1161, spiral Kn.52.Taf.57/18 and Taf.16/15.  
Style of MERCATO. c. AD 80 – 90.
- 26 & 27. Dr.37. Part of stamp REGINVS (retrograde). Gladiator R/F. M.266 in medallion, altar R/F. O.224.  
REGINVS I of Rheinzabern. Antonine.
28. Dr.37. Ovolos R/F. R.14, decorative detail R/F. O.139.  
Style of REGINVS I. Antonine.
29. Dr.37. Gladiator O.1093 (R/F. M.204A), leaf R/F. P.78.  
Style of REGINVS II or B.F.ATTONI. Antonine.
30. Dr.37. Lion R/F. T.10, cornucopia motif R/F. O.160. Other details not identifiable.  
General style of Rheinzabern.
31. Dr.37. For ovolo and arcade, see R.Taf. 161/2F. Large eight petalled rosette R/F. O.37, bead row with small eight petalled rosette R/F. O.271.  
REGINVS II, or IVLIVS I, or LVPVS. Antonine.
32. Dr.37. Bird O.2199 in double festoon. Ovolos and decorative details not identifiable.  
General style of Rheinzabern.

33. Dr.37. Ovolo R/F. E.18. Bowl too badly made to identify the types. Rheinzabern.
34. Dr.37. Ovolo R/F. E.40. Panther R/F. T.47b, head R/F. M.9 in double medallion. This ovolo, and these types, are used by a number of RHEINZABERN potters, including ATTILLVS, AVGVSTALIS and PRIMITIVVS I. Antonine.
35. Dr.37. Ovolo S.XIII/A. Mars O.143. LAVOYE ware. Antonine.
36. Dr.37. Ovolo S.XIII/A, festoon S.XIII/20, star S.XIII/1 or 2. LAVOYE ware. Antonine.
37. Dr.30. Ovolo S.XIII/B, bowl (?) S.XIII/12, bird S.XIII/13. LAVOYE ware. Antonine.
38. Dr.37. Tree Fol.XXXI/760, basal wreath Fol.XXXI/727. TRIER ware. Late 2nd century.
39. Dr.37. Ovolo Fol.XXXI/948. DEXTER of TRIER. Late 2nd century.
40. Dr. 37. Apollo O.77A, Bacchus O.583B, basal wreath Fol.XXV/98, leaf Fol.XXV/92, (with stalk), rosette Fol.XXV/107, head Fol.XXV/51(?) in double festoon, detail S.VII/51. La Madeleine ware. Antonine.

The following types of plain samian are represented in the sherds from the excavation:

Dr.18/31, 27, 32, 33, 44 and Ludowici Tl. Pudding Pan Rock Type 3.

Barbotine decorated Dr.35 and 36. Curle 11.

Mortaria Dr.45.

One sherd with fragment of appliqué design.

Two sherds with part of a white painted design.

Fragments of two vessels with incised design, Dr.72.

Bases of two other Dr.72's.

One base of Dr.53 (?).

The greater proportion of the sherds are of Antonine date.

#### POTTERS' STAMPS ON PLAIN SAMIAN. (Fig. 10)

1. Dr.33. ASIATICVS of Lezoux. Antonine.
2. Dr.18/31. AVENTINVS of Lezoux. Antonine.
3. Dr.18/31. Three potters AVITVS are known to have made plain samian.
4. Dr.18/31. Several potters have names beginning CAL . . . .
5. Dr.18/31. CARVS of Lezoux. Hadrian – Antonine.
6. Dr.18/31. CASVRIVS of Lezoux. Antonine.
7. Pudding Pan Rock Type 3. CELSIANVS of Lezoux. Hadrian – Antonine.
8. Dr.18/31. CVCCILLVS of Lezoux. Antonine.
9. Dr.27. (burnt). LAXTVCISSA of Lezoux. Antonine.
10. Dr.32. LILLVS of Rheinzabern. Antonine.
11. Dr.33. LVGETVS of East Gaul. Antonine.
12. Dr.38. MACCALVS of Lezoux. Antonine.
13. Dr.33. Several potters have names beginning MAL . . . .
14. Dr.18/31. PAVLLVS of Lezoux. Antonine.
15. Dr.33. TOVTILLVS. (see Oswald, *Index of Potters' Stamps*, p. 320.)



## APPENDIX 5

## MORTARIUM STAMPS

by Katharine Hartley.

1. Fig. 11, 1. The two stamps impressed close together, belong to VITALIS I, one of whose kilns was found in Lincoln in 1936 (*J.R.S.* xxvii, pp. 233-234; and *Lincs. Magazine*, vol. 3, no. 7, p. 187). Stamps of his have also been found at Aldborough; Corbridge; Leicester, and Newport, Yorks. There is no conclusive, independent dating evidence, but the rim-forms suggest that he worked in the late first and early second centuries. The Blossom Street mortarium is probably Trajanic.

2. This fragmentary stamp preserves the end of another stamp of VITALIS I (see no. 1), and might perhaps belong to the same vessel.

3. Fig. 11, 2. This is a retrograde stamp of LOCCIVS VIBIVS. Other stamps have been found in Scotland at Ardoch (2) and Inveresk, and in England at Corbridge (7); Hartshill, Warks., (2); High Cross; *Margidunum*; Shenstone, Staffs.; Stanground, near Whittlesey; Tiddington; Watercrook and York. The fabric, grit and distribution are typical of mortarium potters working in the Warwickshire region, and as both stamps from Hartshill were found in association with the kilns, it seems highly probable that he worked there.

One of them came from a deposit belonging to the first phase of a kiln later used by Minomelus, Vitalis IV and Gratinus in association. The kiln must have been constructed within the period A.D. 135-145 and the presence of stamps in Scotland suggests work in the Antonine period. A career c. A.D. 130-160 seems indicated.

4. Fig. 11, 3. A fragmentary impression giving the middle of a stamp whose interpretation is uncertain. Some impressions are clear and it would not be impossible to read FVLCINVS retrograde, though on the whole it seems more probable that it is the stamp of an illiterate potter. A kiln used by him was found at Hartshill in 1960. The only other stamp noted from this die is from Wroxeter (D. Atkinson, *Excavations at Wroxeter*, 1923-27, p. 280, fig. 40, no. 11), found in a pit dated A.D. 100-125 by Professor Atkinson. Unfortunately its exact stratigraphic relation to the forum is not clear, but the associated samian stamps (QVC and BIGA), and, indeed, the forms used by this potter hardly support so early a date. A Hadrianic-Antonine date seems more probable.

5. Fig. 11, 4. The maker of this fragmentary stamp cannot be identified but the fabric and form undoubtedly point to origin in the Hartshill-*Manduessedum* region. The stamp has been painted over with red-brown paint, again a feature of some Hartshill products. The form indicates an Antonine date.

6. Fig. 11, 5. The stamp, IVNI, retrograde, is from one of at least fourteen dies used by IVNIVS. Sixty-two stamps of his have been found in the midlands and north though they are notably absent from Scottish sites. A kiln used by him and Bruscius, was excavated at Hartshill in 1963. The implications of his association with Bruscius (A.D. 145-175), and the absence of his products from Antonine forts in Scotland cannot be discussed here, but they seem to suggest a date c. A.D. 155-190 for his career. A stamp from Bainbridge which should belong to the period c. A.D. 160-190, and the rim-forms he used would agree well with such a date.

7. Fig. 11, 6. This complete mortarium is stamped twice, close together, to each side of the spout, with retrograde stamps reading AESICO. Wasters with his stamps were found together with kiln debris in the early years of this century, on a site in Lincolnshire, probably north-west of Lincoln itself. The similarity of Aesico's work and mortaria of Crico of South Carlton (c. A.D. 160 or 170-190), both in form and fabric point not only to production nearby, but to contemporaneity. A stamp of Aesico from Elslack, which should be later than c. A.D. 160 adds confirmation.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> A study of the samian at Elslack by B. R. Hartley indicates a break in occupation c. A.D. 120/125-160 – Aesico's work could not possibly be as early as A.D. 120-125,

8. Fig. 11, 7. The stamp reads MITTI, and is undoubtedly complete. This could be the genitive of MITTVS or a contraction of MITTIVS. No other example is known. Many mortaria in similar fabric have been found at York and the distribution of stamps of the potters concerned (Agrippa, Muco, Metilius and Mercator among others) points to local production. The highly unusual rim-form is undoubtedly second-century, but cannot be dated closely.

## APPENDIX 6

### AMPHORAE STAMPS

Among the *amphorae* sherds found in the excavation, two had stamps on the handles:-

1. SNR. This is Callender's no. 1641<sup>1</sup>. Stamps from this estate have been found on four other sites in Britain and on many on the Continent. They date c. A.D. 140-180.
2. PNNF. This is Callender's no. 1358<sup>2</sup>. Many examples of this stamp and its variants have been found in Britain and on the Continent. The firm seems to have been operating about A.D. 160-210.

### ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Part of the cost of publishing this article has been met by a subvention from the Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments, Ministry of Public Building and Works.

<sup>1</sup> M. H. Callender, *Roman Amphorae*, O.U.P. 1965, pp. 250-1.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 209-210.





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THE  
Yorkshire  
Archaeological Journal.

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF  
THE COUNCIL  
OF THE  
Yorkshire Archaeological Society.

PART 164.  
(BEING THE FOURTH PART OF VOLUME XLI).  
[ISSUED TO MEMBERS ONLY].



PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY BY  
THE WEST YORKSHIRE PRINTING CO. LIMITED, WAKEFIELD.

MCMLXVI



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THE  
YORKSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL  
JOURNAL





THE  
**Yorkshire Archaeological Journal**  
YORKSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL REGISTER  
1965

*Aislaby, N.R.* (86)

NZ.836074, R.-B. site (*Y.A.J.*, pt. 163 (1965), 316). Excavation completed. The pottery dates 3rd–4th century. Full account *Whitby Gazette*, Oct. 29 1965. *A. W. Riddolls.*

*Aldborough (Isurium Brigantum), W.R.* (91)

SE.414666. Trenches cut through the eastern defences on behalf of the M.P.B.W. The foundations of a bastion projecting over an earlier ditch, the first one south of the east gate, were uncovered. The bank behind the wall showed two periods of construction, the first ante-dating the wall. Under it was a cobbled road surface and the remains of hearths. Both periods of the bank contained a quantity of 2nd century material and it is not yet possible to determine a close date for either. Finds included further fragments of stamped wares. *D. Charlesworth*

*Allerston, N.R.* (92)

SE.878830. Manor House site (*Y.A.J.*, pt. 163 (1965), 316). Excavation continued, directed by F. C. Rimmington. Work was confined to the area near the apparent entrance to the enclosure, where several buildings have been discovered. The pottery associated with these can be referred to two periods – 13th century and 15–16th century. *J. G. Rutter.*

*Askham Bryan, W.R.* (97)

Hagg Farm. SE.542494 or nearby. Upper stone of beehive quern in millstone grit. *J. S. Dent.*

*Baildon, W.R.* (96)

SE.139398. Pottery kiln, found 1964, now in process of excavation. It is roughly pearshaped, with two flues at the wide end and one at the other, and may be more than one kiln. The pottery, coarse with various designs including wavy lines, stamp, and thumb print, is provisionally placed in 14th century. *B. Stubbs.*

*Barwick-in-Elmet, W.R.* (96)

Hall Tower and Wendel Hills. SE.398375. The earthworks were surveyed by R.C.H.M. Examination and analysis confirmed the conclusion reached long ago by Boyd Dawkins (Colman, *History of Barwick-in-Elmet*, 21) that the motte and bailey castle had adapted a pre-existing hillfort of nearly 15 acres. The castle, of 4½ acres, occupied only the south end of the earthworks but the now destroyed east side of the bailey had extended beyond the line of the earlier hillfort rampart, which, as may be seen south of the motte, had been cut off by the motte ditch. Separate observations made during building operations in 1961 by C. E. Hartley and D. P. Dymond can thus be reconciled as of two separate banks, the western one belonging to the hillfort and the eastern to the castle. *H. G. Ramm.*



*Bewerley, W.R.* (91)

Guissecliff Wood. SE.165635. Several stone-lined circular hollows, with entrances, of indeterminate age. *S. Feather.*

*Blacktoft, E.R.* (98)

Faxfleet. SE.873254. R.-B. pottery, kiln furniture, 2 penannular brooches, one dragonesque brooch, one dolphin-headed brooch, and fragment of ? dolphin-headed brooch, from the bank of the Humber near Market Weighton lock. Now in Hull Museums. *I. J. McInnes.*

*Bolton Abbey, W.R.* (96)

(1) Stank. SE.047558. Irregular circular enclosure set into a small hill on the edge of large level plateau, banks on three sides away from hill, 8 ft. wide, 2 ft. high, maximum. 50 yards west is a long bank, and 75 yds. west a 10 ft. dia. cairn (?). In several places on hill slopes towards the Wharfe are short stretches of banks, some with stones set on edge.

(2) Stank, Riddings Hill, Westy Bank Wood, Bolton Hall. SE.052560 to 071545. A long contour watercourse feeding fishponds and probably Bolton Priory mill. Remains of an earlier similar course are visible in several places. *S. Feather.*

*Bradleys Both, W.R.* (96)

Black Hill. SE.00874753. A small single cup-marked stone amongst denuded remains of large round cairn. *S. Feather.*

*Brandesburton, E.R.* (99)

TA.11454667. Mesolithic barbed bone point found in gravel workings. Now in Hull Museums. *I. J. McInnes.*

*Catfoss, E.R.* (99)

TA.12584656. Mesolithic barbed bone point found in gravel workings. Now in Hull Museums. *I. J. McInnes.*

*Cherry Burton, E.R.* (98)

Gardham, SE.954422. Polished stone axe: surface find near York Road. Now in Hull Museums. *I. J. McInnes.*

*Clifton Without, N.R.* (97)

14 Rawcliffe Lane. SE.581548. Bronze palstave of Bohemian type. Two notches on either side of the butt suggest that it has been re-used in recent times. This and the find spot so far removed from its normal distribution suggest that it is a modern import. Now in Yorks. Museum, York. *G. F. Willmot.*

*Clint, W.R.* (96)

Clint Hall. SE.253599. Training excavation. The floor levels had been destroyed and the shallow foundations could only be traced intermittently. A general scatter of potsherds and other small finds covered the occupation period and down to the 19th century. A Victorian gold finger ring with inscription 'Remember the Traveller' on the inner surface was the only striking find. *C. V. Bellamy.*

*Dacre, W.R.* (91)

Harewell Hall. SE.179637. Large stone-lined kiln with bloomery scoriae. *S. Feather.*

*Darton, W.R.* (102)

(1) Gawber. SE.327076. Site of glassworks dating from c. 1700 to 1821. Excavations during 1965 established layout of site and located the main buildings including what is thought to be the hearth and flue of the glassworks cone. Finds have established the works as being mainly concerned in the production of wine bottles throughout its existence. A wide variety of shapes produced in green, deep brown and opaque black glass. Other finds included bottle seals (crests and initials), samples of lead crystal and clear glass wineglass stems. Excavation to continue.

(2) Staincross. SE.326113. Dupondius of Domitian (A.D. 81–96).

*D. Ashurst.*

*Dewsbury, W.R.* (96)

Thornhill. SE.257189. Moated manor house. Excavation in the area immediately north of the gatehouse excavated last season. The early clay bonded wall was traced northwards and a stone flagged area against it might be the seating for a post. Further sherds of Upper Heaton ware were recovered from the lowest archaeological layer.

*T. G. Manby.*

*Easington, E.R.* (105)

(1) Round Barrow. (*Y.A.J.*, pt. 162 (1964), 166.) TA.409182. Excavation by R. W. Mackey revealed a hearth on the old ground surface beneath the mound. Associated with this was a scatter of coarse Neolithic pottery.

(2) TA.409186. Sherds of R.-B. pottery, including Huntcliff ware, from cliff-fall. Now in the Hull Museums.

*I. J. McInnes.*

*Ebberston, N.R.* (92)

Yedingham Priory. SE.895798. The priory walls were located in electricity pylon holes. A sherd of R.-B. pottery was also found.

*R. H. Hayes.*

*Elloughton, E.R.* (99)

Brough. SE.946269. Dragonisque brooch, surface find. Now in the Hull Museums.

*I. J. McInnes.*

*Ferrybridge, W.R.* (97)

SE.474242. A type II Henge Monument has been identified by the Archaeology Division, Ordnance Survey. (*Antiquity*, xl (1966), 145.)

*Fylingdales, N.R.* (93)

Stoupe Brow Moor, Brow Moor, and Howdale Moor. During field survey work from 1962–65 by S. W. Feather further cup and ring markings have been found on the above moors additional to the published finds. The first rock discovered in this area was found in April 1936 by H. P. Kendall (*Y.A.J.*, xxxiii, 120–1), and five further finds are mentioned in *Y.A.J.*, xxxv, 65. As these last rocks are not described it is possible that they will be among the rocks noted here. Several rocks were either partially or completely covered with vegetation and further work is planned.

The most important rock has two 'comb' markings of a type not normally found with cup and ring motifs, one marking being partially obliterated by a concentric ring which must therefore be later in date.

A small, 6 ins. by 5½ ins. by 3 ins. thick, natural rock found alongside a cup marked rock on Howdale Moor has one surface covered, apart from the edges of the surface, with a continuous pecked area; apparently executed in a similar manner to the cup and ring markings. This is now in the finder's possession.

(1) NZ.962018. Rectangular rock, 3 ft. by 1 ft. 8 ins. by 5 ins. with a very weathered triple ringed cup, 11 ins. diameter and part of uncompleted fourth ring.



- (2) NZ.967012. Rock outcrop, 5 ft. by 3 ft. at ground level. Cups with channels, damaged.
- (3) NZ.962016. Roughly rectangular rock, 4 ft. by 2 $\frac{3}{4}$  ft. by 5 ins. On a sloping surface two clear 2 ins. diameter cups, 3 $\frac{1}{4}$  ins. c/s.
- (4) NZ.961015. (a) Flat triangular rock, 3 ft. 5 ins. by 2 ft. 5 ins. by 3 ins. Cups, and cups and rings. (b) Flat, roughly square rock, 5 ft. 2 ins. by 4 ft. 9 ins. by 5 ins. Many cups, some with single and double rings. (c) Flat triangular rock, 3 ft. 9 ins. by 3 ft. 6 ins. by 3 ins. Cups and ring, cups and channels. (d) Rock outcrop, 7 ft. 6 ins. by 5 ft. 6 ins. by 3 ins. Cups and 6 $\frac{1}{2}$  ins. by 4 $\frac{1}{2}$  ins. rectangular channel motif.
- (5) NZ.958014. (a) Ridge shaped rock, 5 ft. 6 ins. along ridge, 2 ft. high, 4 ft. by 2 ft. 10 ins. steeply sloping side. Four cups with single rings, channels, and two 'comb' motifs, one of which is cut into by a ring marking. (b) Ridge-shaped rock, 3 ft. by 2 ft. by 1 ft. 2 ins. Two cup marks. (c) Flat rock, 4 ft. 5 ins. by 2 ft. by 6 ins. Many cups. (d) Small triangular rock, 11 ins. by 8 ins. by 2 ins. Single cup. (e) Wedge-shaped rock 2 ft. 2 ins. high, 1 ft. 11 ins. wide, 2 ft. 6 ins. sloping sides. Cup marks. (f) Flat rock, 4 ft. 3 ins. by 3 ft. by 8 ins. Extremely fine markings over the whole surface. Cups and rings, cups and channels. Two cups of exceptionally large size (6 ins. by 3 ins.).
- (6) NZ.961012. (a) Flat rock, 5 ft. by 4 ft. by 7 ins. Many cups. (b) Flat rock, 2 ft. by 1 ft. 10 ins. by 4 ins. Cup marked. (c) Flat rock, 2 ft. 10 ins. by 2 ft. by 2 ins. Single oval depression. (d) Triangular rock, 3 ft. 3 ins. by 2 ft. by 1 ft. Cup marks mainly on large (3 ft. by 2 ft.) sloping side.
- (7) NZ.959009. Large ridge-shaped rock, 7 ft. by 4 $\frac{1}{2}$  ft. by 2 $\frac{1}{2}$  ft. Two ring marks 5 ins. and 4 ins. diameter, and six cups on the main sloping side.

*S. W. Feather.*

#### *Halifax, W.R. (96)*

Pule Hill. SE.092273. A five flued stone built pottery kiln was excavated by the Ovenden Secondary Modern School Archaeological Club. It proved to be 8 ft. in diameter and had walls still standing to a height of 1 $\frac{1}{2}$  ft. The flues were narrow slits, 4-6 ins. wide, running through the walls and opening into stoke holes which were originally cup-shaped but were later extended. The whole kiln structure was surrounded by a stone wall presumably for draught control. Pottery included internally glazed bowls, dishes and egg-cups; platters decorated with trail and comb slips; and tygs with fine black glaze. A mid 17th century date is suggested.

*G. F. Bryant.*

#### *Harpham, E.R. (99)*

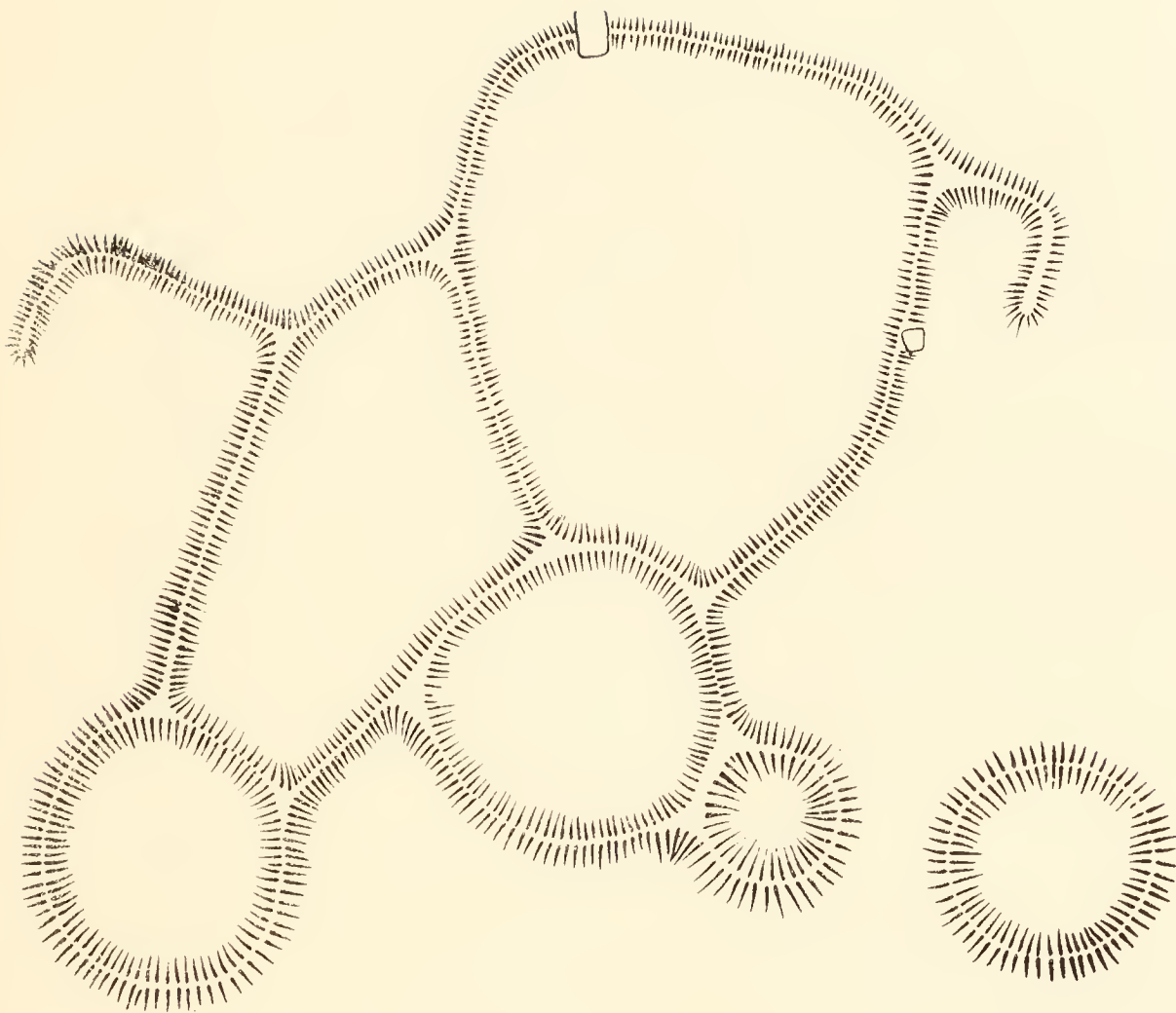
- (1) Lowthorpe. TA.090585. Two late neolithic flint knives, and a polished stone axe; surface finds. Now in the Hull Museums. *I. J. McInnes.*
- (2) Ruston Parva. TA.07656204. E.I.A. iron anthropoid dagger found in a pit in the course of road widening at Bracey Bridge. Property of E.R.C.C. on loan to Hull Museums. *I. J. McInnes.*

#### *Hartwith cum Winsley, W.R. (91)*

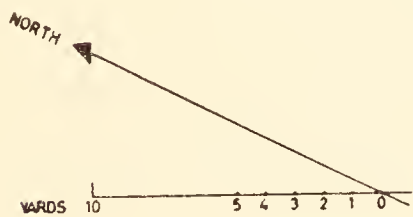
Brimham Hall. SE.222629, formerly a grange of Fountains Abbey. Further excavation primarily of part of a large (60 ft. long) substantial stone building (? early 16th century). *D. G. Wild.*

#### *Hedon, E.R. (99)*

- (1) Mrs. Park, of 'Windyridge', Market Hill, Hedon, reports the find in 1922 of what appears to have been a hoard of 3rd century Roman coins. Twelve coins (Victorinus, Gallienus, Postumus and Tetricus) remain in Mrs. Parks' possession. Ten coins (Gallienus and Tetricus) have been given to Hull Museums. It appears that the hoard was originally larger but that the rest of the coins are now untraceable.



GAUBER LIMEKILN  
PASTURE (WEST)  
OS. Ref. SD761788



A.K. WHW 1965.

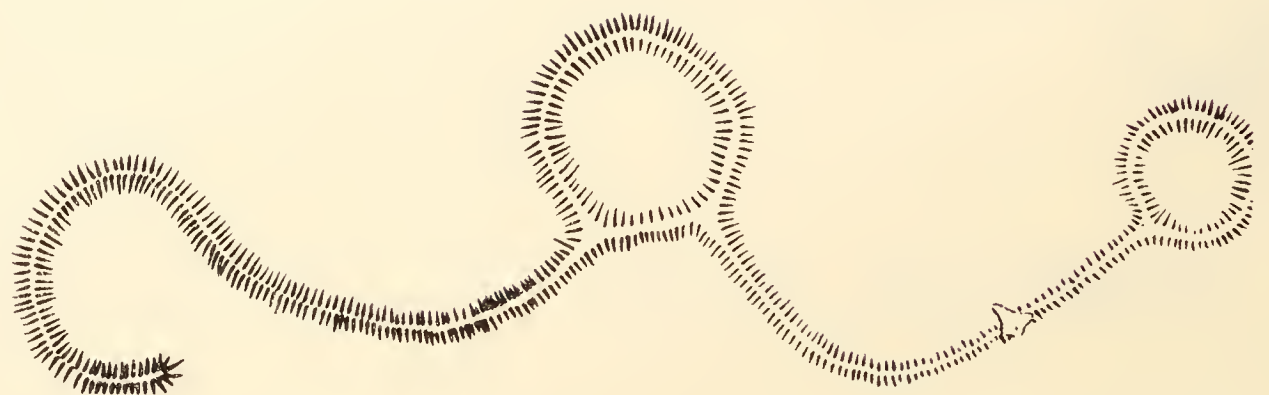


FIG. 1.



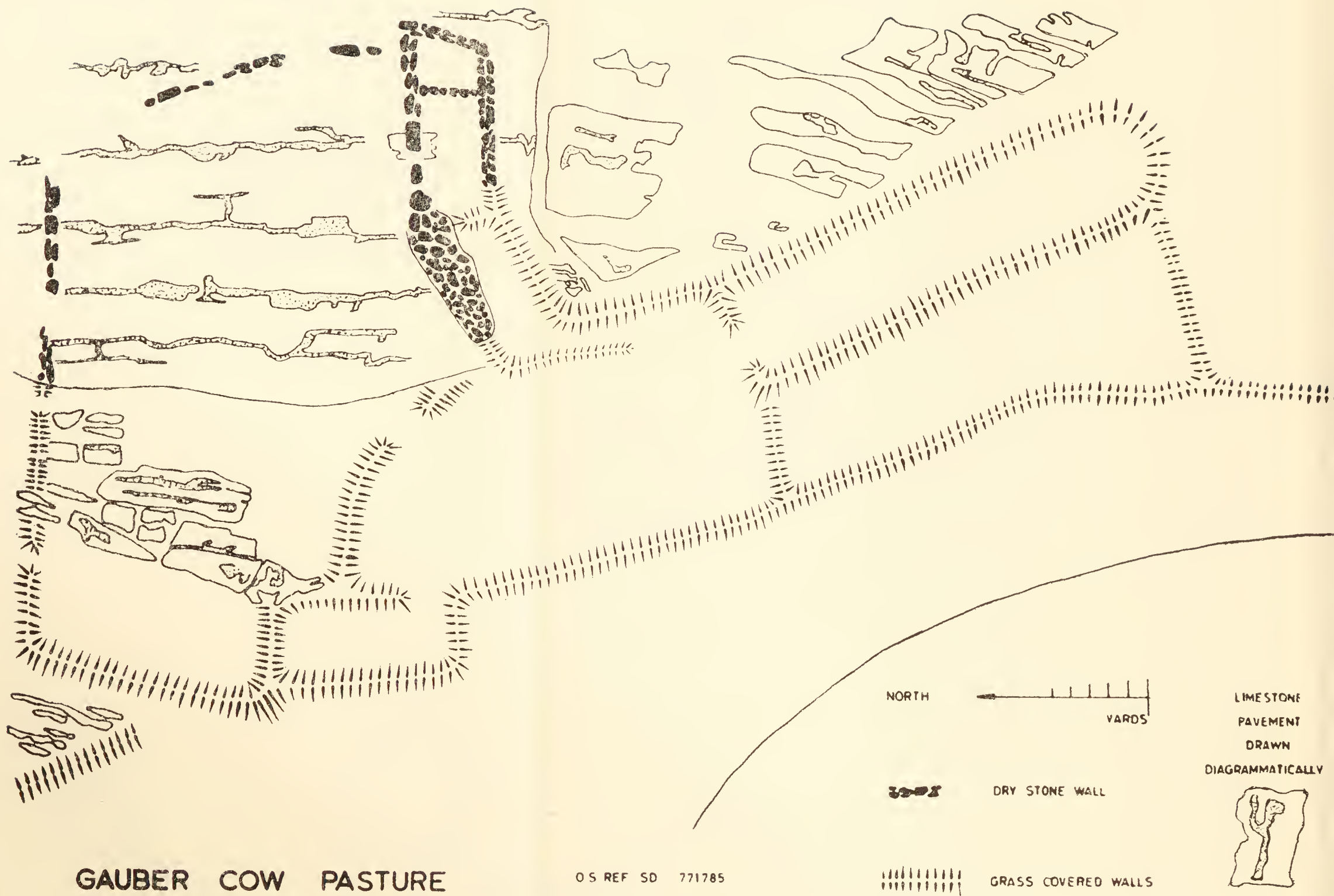


FIG. 2.

- (2) Saltend. TA.164284. Sherds of R.-B. coarse ware found in the course of building works. Now in Hull Museums. *I. J. McInnes.*

*Heslerton, E.R.* (93)

West Heslerton Sandpit. SE.918770. Human skeleton found during the mechanical extraction of sand, together with a jet necklace, of which 16 beads of Bronze Age type were recovered. Now in Scarborough Museum. *J. G. Rutter.*

*Heslington, E.R.* (97)

Germany Beck-West Moor. SE.622494. A drain cut across and exposed part of the metalling of the Roman road. (Road (1), R.C.H.M., *York I*, 1, Fig. 2). *J. Radley.*

*Hull, E.R.* (99)

TA.107308. Sestertius of Faustina found on dyke edge. Now in Hull Museums. *I. J. McInnes.*

*Hutton Lowcross, N.R.* (86)

NZ.597141. Supposed site of a leper hospital. Preliminary reconnaissance had shown traces of a wall towards the eastern side of the field. Excavations revealed the foundations of a rectangular building which had something of the character of a farm building, and small finds suggested 17th century occupation. Local publicity led to the sight of hitherto unknown estate plans of the locality. These carried indications of foundations claimed to be those of the leper hospital slightly south of our site, and gave remains of a later farm in the area we dug. There are today no surface indications of the earlier buildings but it is hoped to resume work on the site in 1966. *C. V. Bellamy.*

*Ilkley, W.R.* (96)

During July and August 1965, excavations were carried out on the west wall of the fort of Olicana. Sixty-eight feet of wall were exposed, extending from the north wall of the Manor House Museum to the north-west corner of the fort. The wall survives to a height varying from 2 ft. at the north-west corner to 4 ft. at the Manor House. The excavation also revealed the foundations of a late 14th century building incorporating the Roman wall, and proved that the present Manor House is built on the west wall of the fort. Further excavation revealed 45 ft. of drain of the Roman period running parallel with the north wall of the fort. The excavations are to be left permanently open to view and work of pointing and grouting will commence in April 1966. *K. Wilson.*

*Ingleton, W.R.* (90)

- (1) Gauber Limekiln Pasture, Ribbleshead. SD.761788. Prehistoric site. (Fig. 1).

This pasture, with the exception of the western end, is well covered by a series of air photographs by Dr. J. K. St. Joseph. It is in the western end that these hut circles and enclosures are found.

To the south, well-developed limestone pavement occurs at about 1075 ft. O.D.; on the lower level the limestone is covered by a thin veneer of drift. Here are to be seen six hut circles with three complete enclosures. In the south, three hut circles are separated from the rest of the settlement. They are linked to one another by a bank. The middle one of these huts is 20 ft. in diameter, and was stripped of turf, but no well defined features were found, simply a 6-9 ins. low rubble bank. This bank was made up of small platy pieces of limestone 4-9 ins. long and 2-3 ins. thick. The interior of the hut was limestone pavement with quite deep grykes, the centre of the hut being lower than the limestone foundation of the walls. It was decided to dig the largest hut. This is virtually circular, 27 ft. in diameter, part of its wall being common with one of the enclosures.



The hut wall is 4 ft. thick, faced on both sides by almost spherical grit and sandstones, up to 20 ins. in diameter. Between the facings the platey limestone was again found, this time firmly wedged together, with their long axes vertical.

No signs of a doorway were found nor any postholes, but again, as in the first hut cleared, deep grykes were found in the hut centre: these could easily have accommodated posts. Again, the limestone in the centre of the hut was lower than that beneath the hut wall, this time by 12–15 ins. It is suggested that the limestone chipped from the interior of the hut was used as packing in the wall.

Unfortunately, no dating evidence was found. The only finds were 3 flints, half a sandstone rubber, and a horse astragalus wedged in the wall with the other filling.

(2) Gauber Cow Pasture, Ribbleshead. SD.771785. Mediaeval site (Fig. 2).

Whilst doing fieldwork during 1964 on the extent of the Iron Age settlements at Ribbleshead, the outline of this farmstead was noted and surveyed. No excavation has yet taken place.

The walls remain standing to an average height of only about 2 ft., the maximum height about 3 ft. The north-east section of the settlement is now bare limestone pavement, and there are still sections, one course high, of the wall remaining in position on this bare limestone. The short section running westwards from the north-east corner stands at the edge of a low scarp.

On the east and west sides of the site are small rectangular enclosures, which may have been houses. They are about 25 ft. by 16 ft. There is a building at the south-east corner which is 66 ft. long and about 18 ft. wide. One of the long walls of this building is slightly concave, but this may be the result of the fall of the wall and is not suggestive of a dividing wall. The doorways of this house and the two smaller ones all open into a small enclosed yard, which in turn opens into the north-east enclosure.

This house is the longest so far observed amongst the upland farmsteads around North Ribblesdale, and may be of Norse origin. *W. H. Walker.*

### *Keyingham, E.R. (99)*

TA.238261. Stray find of R.-B. pottery sherds of Huntcliff type now in the Hull Museums. *I. J. McInnes.*

### *Kilham, E.R. (93)*

(1) Long Barrow. TA.056673. Excavation Sept. 1965, under the auspices of the E.R. Archaeological Research Committee. This barrow was dug by Canon Greenwell about 100 years ago and has been much reduced by ploughing since. The first season's work was concentrated on the broader north-east end of the mound. Beneath the edges of the mound were the bedding trenches of a mortuary enclosure 35 ft. wide. These had been dug down to the top of the solid chalk and held vertical posts. The posts had been burnt down and their position was marked by voids and charred stumps. The intensity of the burning had fused the chalk packing behind each post. The façade of the enclosure was convex with a large central kidney-shaped pit filled with chalk rubble and charcoal. Finds:—Neolithic and R.-B. pottery, flint implements and waste, a broken amber bead and a hammerstone. *T. G. Manby.*

(2) TA.05636568 – 07586775. A possible cursus of which the ploughed out north-east end is still traceable on the ground. *H. G. Ramm.*

### *Kilton, N.R. (86)*

Kilton Castle. NZ.704176. The first season's excavations uncovered a range of buildings along the inside of the north-east curtain wall. They include a kitchen, a small apartment and staircase base last used about 1520 and lie alongside a well discovered in a mural tower. The well, which

was 4½ ft. in diameter, had been filled in during the demolition of the tower sometime in the 16th century, and yielded large quantities of well preserved constructional timber and fragments of leather shoes in the 27 ft. so far excavated.

*F. A. Aberg.*

*Kirkbymoorside, N.R. (92)*

Neville Castle. SE.697869. The 1965 excavations confirmed that firstly the earliest occupation on the site was late 13th to early 14th century, consisting of a cluster of buildings, probably a manor, built both of timber and of timber superstructure on stone foundations with a plaster floor, which were extended and largely rebuilt by the middle of the 15th century; and that secondly these buildings were dismantled at about that date to make way for a more substantially built manor house or hunting lodge, probably constructed on a courtyard plan, which underwent subsequent modification some time before it fell into disuse at the end of the 15th or beginning of the 16th century.

*A. Dornier.*

*Lead, W.R. (97)*

Newstead. SE.460381. A complex moated site excavated on behalf of the M.P.B.W. Documentary evidence suggests that the first house, built on an inner island some 90 ft. square, was of 13th century date. This house and its successor were represented by postholes only. A 15th century house, built on limestone stylobates, surrounded a cobbled courtyard. The area between the moats produced nothing of earlier date than the 18th century save a dovecote in the south-east corner of the southern enclosure.

*H. E. J. Le Patourel.*

*Levisham, N.R. (92)*

SE.830922. The Scarborough and District Archaeological Society has continued the survey of the earthwork complex on Levisham Moor during 1965. The site of a hut in enclosure D which housed an Iron Age bloomery was completely excavated. In the central area of the hut was a shallow depression containing a clay furnace partly superimposed on the remains of two earlier furnaces. A small quantity of pottery of Iron Age character was recovered.

*J. G. Rutter.*

*Littlethorpe, W.R. (91)*

Aismunderby. SE.306686. D.M.V. at Chapel Garths. Excavations in 1964 found a building thought to have been a chapel. A neighbouring Knoll was examined in 1965 and this revealed a large square platform of rubble masonry some 10 ft. square and generally three courses (15–18 ins.) high. This seems to be a pedestal of some kind. There was nothing in the overburden or on the surface of the platform to indicate its purpose, but we tentatively suggest it might have been a base for a market or other cross, probably 13th century.

*C. V. Bellamy.*

*Malham Moor, W.R. (90)*

SD.881672. R.-B. group of small enclosures and hut circles, and one rectangular dwelling. Portions of two hollow faced R.-B. type querns in the rectangular dwelling.

*A. Raistrick.*

*Meltham, W.R. (102)*

SE.087101. Iron Age defended farmstead. The 1965 excavations included a trench through the defences on the eastern side; a box rampart was established, as elsewhere, but on this side the counterscarp wall had not been constructed, although the ground had been prepared for it. Abandonment of the site before completion is indicated also by the early collapse of the rampart into the ditch and by the paucity of material finds.

*J. P. Toomey.*



*Middleton, W.R.* (96)

(1) Middleton Moor, Foldshaw Ridge. SE.114517. Cup-marked rock. Two channels associated with cup-marks. Cf. Bradford Arch. Gp. Bull. X, 88-9.

(2) Middleton Moor, Foldshaw Ridge. SE.115515. Two cup-marked rocks. *S. W. Feather.*

*Murton, N.R.* (97)

SE.651526. Three 17th century stoneware flagons found on the floor of a demolished barn. One now in Yorks. Museum. *G. F. Willmot.*

*Naburn, E.R.* (97)

Yews. Farm. SE.602456. Partly polished flint axe. Now in the Yorks. Museum. *G. F. Willmot.*

*North Anston, W.R.* (103)

Townwells. SK.517843. A moated site surveyed by R.C.H.M. was tested with a magnetometer. Trial trenching produced pottery dating back to the 14th century. Little evidence of structure was found in the main enclosure. Further excavation is planned before the site is developed.

*D. W. Crossley.*

*Norton, E.R.* (92)

Model Farm. SE.796711. Five 4th century Roman bronze coins were found during building operations in 1965. They were identified by Scarborough Museums but retained by the finder. *J. G. Rutter.*

*Pontefract, W.R.* (97)

The Priory. SE.463226. 9th season of excavations. At the east end of the church a wide wall foundation was exposed underneath a great bank of cobbles which carries the third east end. The underlying wall is now seen as the outer wall of the second east end, and the structures previously thought to limit the second east end, are now accepted as sleeper walls of that period. (Thoresby Report, xlix, no. 110, 1965.) It now appears that the second church was of 265 ft. internal length, and the eastern end of it about 60-65 ft. wide.

Excavations at the south end of the Dorter range disclosed the location of the Rere-dorter, and led to the planning of the stone built conduit which diverted water from the stream to flush this. *C. V. Bellamy.*

*Rudston, E.R.* (93)

TA.089667. 5th season of excavations by M.P.B.W. More circular Iron Age huts were discovered together with several storage pits. One corner of a rectilinear enclosure was excavated; defined by a ditch from 9 to 10½ ft. deep, it had a palisade, but no bank, on the inside. A Roman well is being excavated, weathered to a cone shape, 23 ft. diameter at the surface, 10 ft. diameter at 20 ft. deep, and 8 ft. at 35 ft. It is likely to be 50-60 ft. deep. *I. M. Stead.*

*Scarborough, N.R.* (93)

Osgodby. TA.057847. Mr. G. R. Pye has undertaken small-scale excavations on part of the shrunken mediaeval village site upon which houses are being erected. *J. G. Rutter.*

*Seamer, N.R.* (93)

Crossgates. TA.030834. Mr. G. R. Pye has carried out further small-scale excavations on the Anglian settlement which continues to be exposed by gravel working. *J. G. Rutter.*

*Seaton, E.R.* (99)

TA.135468. Rescue excavation of a site exposed when topsoil was stripped preparatory to gravel quarrying. A flat cremation cemetery consisted of 17 deposits, 12 of which were originally in urns. 7 cremations were enclosed by a penannular ditch approximately 25 ft. in diameter; the ditch was V-sectioned; 3 ft. wide and deep. The urns were bucket shaped with some grooved decoration. *I. J. McInnes.*

*Silsden, W.R.* (96)

Brunthwaite. SE.053463. Training excavation on a site where ploughing revealed mediaeval pottery. Several hundredweights of potsherds of typical East Pennine gritty ware were collected, suggesting a late 12th or early 13th century pottery industry. No definable kiln could be shown, but considerable daub and kiln débris in the plough scatter indicated its destruction. A Max-Bleep survey was inconclusive because of an overhead power line crossing the field at the critical point. None of the pottery pieces collected were glazed, but several had spots or splashes suggesting that glazed fabrics were also being produced; ware was usually dark grey to almost black; splashes of glaze green or yellowish green, or brown. *C. V. Bellamy.*

*Skelton (by York), N.R.* (97)

SE.568563. A human skeleton was found in digging house foundations opposite the British Legion Club. *D. Stewart.*

*Skidby, E.R.* (98)

Raywell. SE.998311. A scatter of worked flints including one scraper on the surface of field. Now in Hull Museums. *I. J. McInnes.*

*Skipton, W.R.* (95)

Horse Close Hill. SD.997505. Excavation in 1965 showed that the occupation material discovered in the previous season's investigation extends under the enclosure wall. Postholes and lines of edge set stones were found belonging to two circular huts, and a possible third hut or other structure also seems indicated by another groups of postholes. *F. A. Aberg.*

*Snainton, N.R.* (93)

Westfield Manor. New Bungalow built on a moated site. Trial excavations revealed buildings and 13-14th century pottery. *R. H. Hayes.*

*Spaunton, N.R.* (92)

SE.721893. R.-B. site. The continued excavation revealed a series of postholes parallel to those previously discovered. Groups of small pillars, one or two courses high, with flues between suggest a hypocaust system. A samian rim sherd was found in a posthole, but the normal pottery is calcite gritted, Norton and Crambeck. The foundations of a further wall were found; but the wall system was indeterminate. *A. H. Whitaker.*

*Stonebeck Down, W.R.* (90)

Blayshaw Gill. SE.094724. Large heap of bloomery scoriae. *S. W. Feather.*

*Tadcaster, W.R.* (97)

Castle Hill. SE.484435. Motte. A section at the base of the mound on the south-east side was observed by D. P. Dymond in 1961 and showed that the mound included Roman building débris at its base. Erosion on the cut-back east face near the top of the mound was examined by Ramm, Radley, and Keen in 1965, and showed that this building débris as well as 2nd-3rd century Roman pottery occurred in the body of the mound as



well as at the base. A rim of Norman 'pimply' ware was also found. The R.-B. material derives from the Roman site of *Calcaria*. The fact that it occurs throughout the mound and not just at the base suggests that the material for the mound does not derive from a ditch but has been scraped from the surrounding ground. Had it been derived from a ditch, the upper levels containing building débris would only have appeared at the bottom of the mound, whilst the upper part of the mound deriving from the bottom of the ditch would have been sterile. There is no apparent ditch round the motte: that on its north side is continuous with the ditch of the bailey. In fact the motte could be said to sit on the end of the bailey rampart. This latter was continuous with the now disappeared town defences and it is probable that the castle earthworks were superimposed on already existing town defences of earlier Norman or pre-conquest date. That they were not Roman is shown by their lay-out, centring on the present and not the Roman river crossing. *H. G. Ramm.*

*Wakefield, W.R.* (96)

Sandal Magna. SE.338182. Castle excavations, second season. An area c. 80 ft. square was completely stripped of its occupation levels. An interesting sequence of buildings was revealed.

- (1) c. 1600 stables and forge (with c. 2 cwts. of Cromwellian metal work).
- (2) Below this was the oven block and its adjacent small west tower. The west tower was a late 15th century insertion.
- (3) The lower levels were earlier in date than the curtain wall and the remains of a partly timbered industrial area containing an oven, metal smelting hearth and tile kiln were found.

Approximately  $\frac{1}{8}$  of the bailey has now been excavated.

*P. Mayes.*

*Weaverthorpe, E.R.* (93)

High Dales Farm. SE.9672. The following polished axes have been presented to Scarborough Museum: (1) Flattened-oval section, length  $3\frac{1}{4}$  ins., greenstone. (2) Oval section, length  $3\frac{3}{4}$  ins., basalt. *J. G. Rutter.*

*Wharram Percy, E.R.* (98)

- (1) Wharram Percy. SE.859642. The fifth season of excavations on house 6 by the D.M.V. Research Group completed the examination of the 13th century timber buildings. Two early mediaeval boundary ditches to the open fields before the site was built on were discovered.

On the church site the north aisle was excavated and 189 more burials were found. Other finds in the churchyard include a possible lime kiln and an early ditch of unknown date. *J. G. Hurst.*

- (2) Burdale. SE.872623. East of the mere, a series of pits dug into the chalk were cut through by a silage pit. From the filling came animal bones, iron nails and sherds of mediaeval pottery, including glazed and Staxton ware – also some sherds of R.-B. calcite gritted ware. This provides an indication of the site of the last mediaeval village of Burdale of which there are no other remains (*Y.A.J.*, xxxviii, 58). *T. G. Manby.*

*Winksley, W.R.* (91)

SE.240715. Reports of kiln wasters and quantities of potsherds led to an emergency dig on this site during August. Max-Bleep surveys indicated the location of the kiln and its orientation, and excavation trenches were sited accordingly. The trenches yielded several hundredweights of sherds of 12–13th century pottery of the highly decorated York ware, together with fragments of a number of anthropomorphic vessels in various forms, and several roof tiles, many with ornamental crests. The kiln had been rebuilt and reshaped once. The earlier kiln, represented by two successive floors, and most of the lowest course of walling, was multiflued, and about 21 ft. long and 5–6 ft. wide. The other floors belonged to a smaller kiln adapted from the larger one. This was about 12 ft. long and 6 ft. wide, and probably a simple through-draught type. *C. V. Bellamy.*

*Withernsea, E.R.* (99)

TA.334295. Coin of Salonina, wife of Gallienus: Perga mint. Stray find.  
Now in Hull Museums. *I. J. McInnes.*

*Worsborough, W.R.* (102)

Rockley Smithies. SE.340023. This year the pond dam was cleared and two bloomery hearths and bellows buildings were found. Each hearth was blown from an overshot wheel about 10 ft. in diameter: some timbers are well preserved. The northerly of the adjacent wheel pits originally held a breast wheel, but was subsequently converted. An anvil base appropriate to a power hammer was found: further work may clarify its date and power source. Dating evidence from a coin, pottery and a bottle stamp suggests that the site was in use from somewhat before 1500 until the second quarter of the 17th century. *D. W. Crossley.*

*Wykeham, N.R.* (93)

Wykeham High Moor. SE.926963. A complete partially polished discoidal knife in grey flint, roughly circular, 3 ft. in diameter, found on surface. Now in Scarborough Museum. *J. G. Rutter.*

*York.* (97)

(1) Blossom St., Bar Convent. SE.59755140. Roman rubbish pits containing coins, pottery and domestic débris were found. A 2nd–3rd century date seems indicated. Finds included two *graffiti* and an amphora stamp. *L. P. Wenham.*

(2) Heworth, Dodsworth Avenue. SE.61265268–61175275. In the course of cable laying, considerable quantities of wasters from the southern Heworth Moor pottery kilns were found between Heworth Green and Pottery Lane, on the west side of the Avenue. They had probably been used as metalling for a lane to the kilns. The pottery is at present being examined, but as an interim dating, it can be said that there are examples of all periods from late mediaeval to early 19th century. *L. Keen.*

(3) Heworth, Foss Islands Railway. SE.61055294. Excavations were continued on the site of the Anglian cemetery. It was established that the cemetery did not extend beyond the limits defined on J. Raines's plan of the original discoveries. Several additional sherds of cinerary urn were found. A full publication of the existing finds and new material is under preparation. *L. Keen.*

(4) Heworth, Mill Lane. SE.61245260. The lid of a Roman Coffin was found lying half way down the slope of the west side of the Railway Cutting, presumably having slipped from a burial at the top. It lay 56 yds. south of Heworth Green. *L. Keen.*

(5) Heworth, 18 Walney Rd. SE.62085261. B. and T. flint arrowhead. *G. F. Willmot.*

(6) St. Helen's Square, Barclays Bank. SE.60195192. See below, *Notes on Archaeological Finds*, p. 581.

(7) St. Mary's. SE.59795241. Excavations by Bootham School Archaeological Society in the gardens of St. Mary's Hotel adjacent to the Railway and the present position of a Roman stone coffin demonstrated (1) that the burial ground discovered in the 19th century in constructing the railway (R.C.H.M., York I, 72, iii and iv) had not extended into the hotel grounds: (2) that the Roman coffin was not *in situ*. *J. Dagg.*

(8) St. William's College. SE.604521. More of the mediaeval kitchens located last year were found. At a depth of 16 ft. Roman finds included part of a robbed wall (?Trajanic) and a stamped tile of the VIth legion. *L. P. Wenham.*

(9) Tanner Row. SE.60005176–60055179. Sewer trenching reached to Roman level but revealed little coherent evidence of structures, although it produced building débris and quantities of potsherds. *J. Radley.*

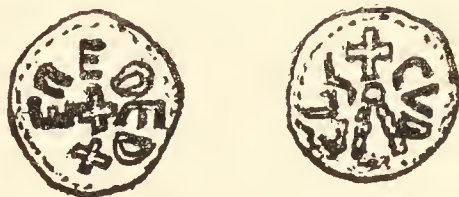


## NOTES ON ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDS

### A SCEAT FROM ALL SAINTS CHURCH, KIRKBYMOORSIDE

By R. H. HAYES

A silver *sceat* of Aethelred I, King of Northumbria (2nd reign, 789–796), was found in 1965 by the sexton (E. Collier) whilst digging a grave in the north-east corner of the churchyard (Nat. Grid. SE. 698867), a piece of ground added in 1940 and formerly cut by the footpath to Vivers Hill. It was found at a depth of 1 ft. in burnt sandy soil.



Obv. ETHXRED Cross in centre

Rev. CUTHCLI Beaded triangle surmounted by a cross.

Cuthcli was the moneyer.

This is the only Anglo-Saxon coin yet recorded from Ryedale and thus has considerable interest. W. G. Collingwood (*Y.A.J.* xix, 277, and 343 and xxiii, 287) on the basis of an architectural feature (a decorated corbel or impost) found in the church suggested that there was already a fine stone-built church here by A.D. 825–50

Excavation was not possible in the churchyard or outside the wall adjacent to the find; but permission was obtained from the vicar to excavate some 100 yds. north-west of the find spot in a field called Great Applegarth which belonged to the church and into which the churchyard was to be extended (SE.697867). There is a tradition recorded by Eastmead (*Historia Rievallensis*, 476) that Old Kirkby-moorside 'was burnt down and the field now called Applegarth was the site of houses. This is likely as there were many burnt stones etc.' There is a Little Applegarth to the south-east of the church where the vicarage stands.

Three trenches were dug in September 1965 without producing evidence of Anglo-Saxon occupation, although some early sherds might conceivably belong to this date. Trench A (10 ft. by 3½ ft.) was dug 50 ft. west of the churchyard wall and 32 ft. north of the orchard behind the churchyard at this point. Trench B (12 ft. by 2½ ft., north – south) was dug 32 ft. from the churchyard wall. Trench C was dug 10 ft. east of B. Trench A contained in its upper soil several burnt stones and a scatter of mediaeval pot-sherds

mostly 15–18 ins. down, as well as at its west end a pit of 3 ft. diameter and 3 ft. depth below the modern surface containing besides other sherds the base and side of a cookpot in black gritty ware and a rim of eroded buff-grey ware dated by J. G. Rutter to *c.* A.D. 1250. Trench B produced a dozen small sherds, including two rims also of *c.* A.D. 1250, again at a depth of 15 to 18 ins., and two possible post-holes, minor pockets of earth in the natural clay here two feet deep. Trench C produced a few sherds and the subsoil was only 12 ins. down. Two of the sherds were however Romano-British, small scraps in black gritty ware with incised lines.

A possible dwelling site, a scooped out platform, was noted on the west slope of Vivers Hill just east of the churchyard extension, and might be worth excavating in the future.

### A SCEATTA FROM WESTERDALE, NORTH RIDING

By R. H. HAYES

An early Saxon *sceatta* (Type B.M.C.4) in perfect condition was found in 1957 and kept by Geoffrey Jenkinson of Preston, Lancs., on the bleak moorland ridge (1400 ft. high), south-west of Westerdale above White Gill (NZ.640021). He picked it up on the surface of the peaty soil with flint flakes. The coin was identified by P. V. Hill for the late E. J. W. Hildyard. Mr. Hill commented on the fact that whilst it was about the commonest type of *sceatta* in the country, very few *sceattas* of any type come from north and west of the Fosse Way, except for fairly large numbers at Whitby.



Why should this tiny coin be found in such a remote site? Perhaps, like the old men from Westerdale before the days of the Lucifer match, some early settler had gone up there looking for strike-a-light flints and lost a coin. Otherwise a modern flint hunter, and they are numerous, lost it from his pocket.

### A DITCH AT CRAMBECK QUARRY

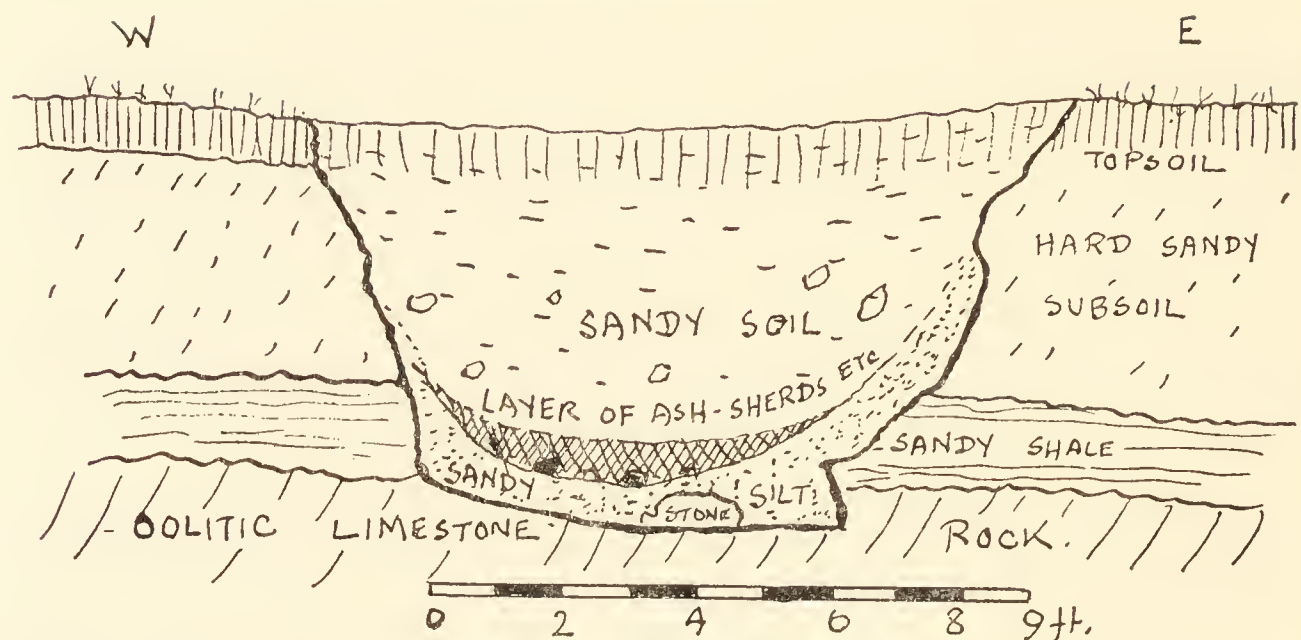
By R. H. HAYES

This ditch was noted in 1950 from the Malton road. It lies in the upper face of the large quarry west of Jamie's Crag where Romano-British pottery kilns were excavated in 1927–28<sup>1</sup> about 50 yds. east from the main road. This part of the quarry was worked from 1940 to 1960 by the Seamer Limestone Co. Mr. J. Brigham, their foreman,<sup>2</sup> readily gave permission to excavate a section.

<sup>1</sup> *Roman Malton & Dist. Rep. No. 1*, 1928, P. Corder.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Brigham thought two pottery kilns were destroyed when topsoil was removed in 1940–41; they were not far from the ditch.





## CRAMBECK QUARRY DITCH

R.H.H. 1953

FIG. 1.

The ditch in 1952-53 was 8 ft. to 10 ft. in width, 5 ft. 6 ins. in depth. The base was fairly flat as it ran on top of a bed of harder limestones, below a layer of shale (calcareous grit?) 3 ft. in thickness. The filling was uniformly sandy soil or silt to 3 ft. 8 ins., where there was a layer of ash, sherds and bones, 6 ft. in width and tapering from 1 ft. to 3 ins. in thickness. Also in this deposit were broken pieces of clay firebars, broken kiln lining and burnt stones. Below this was 12 ins. to 18 ins. or more of sand silt. This led us to think it was the stoke-hole pit of a kiln, a view shared by the late Dr. Philip Corder, who saw the first report on it. Subsequent excavation removed 12 ft. and it still continued slightly east of north. Later still in 1963 it was still visible though much of the overburden had been removed. The ash layer went on for 8 ft. then gradually petered out; subsequently 10 ft. more went in quarry operations and this showed a similar section without the ashy layer and with very few sherds in the filling.

If it is not a boundary to some pottery kiln working area it might be the west boundary ditch of the enclosure bank and ditch marked 'Earthwork' on the 6 ins. O.S. map in Ox Carr Wood<sup>1</sup> though I admit this looks partially natural and the ditch may simply be a hollow track round the brow of the hill overlooking the river Derwent. This problem might be solved by more excavations.

Potsherds 3 and 4 (Fig. 2) would accord with a 1st century date for early occupation on the site.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Roman Malton & Dist. Rep. No. 1*, 1928, P. Corder. Note 1, Page 12. 'Roman camp referred to by Sheahan is a roughly rectangular earthwork' – originally enclosing about 6 acres(?) *V.C.H., Yorks.*, Vol. 11, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* No. 1, p. 14-15, describes the finding of the rough walls of a rectangular dwelling, Fig. 1 (Plate) Samian bowl, cf. form 37 Hadrianic found with 'rough vesicular black pitted ware entirely hand finished of a type found with early ware at Malton', and 'base of large hand made vessel' – Pre-Roman(?) Hints of the early occupation within the ditches.

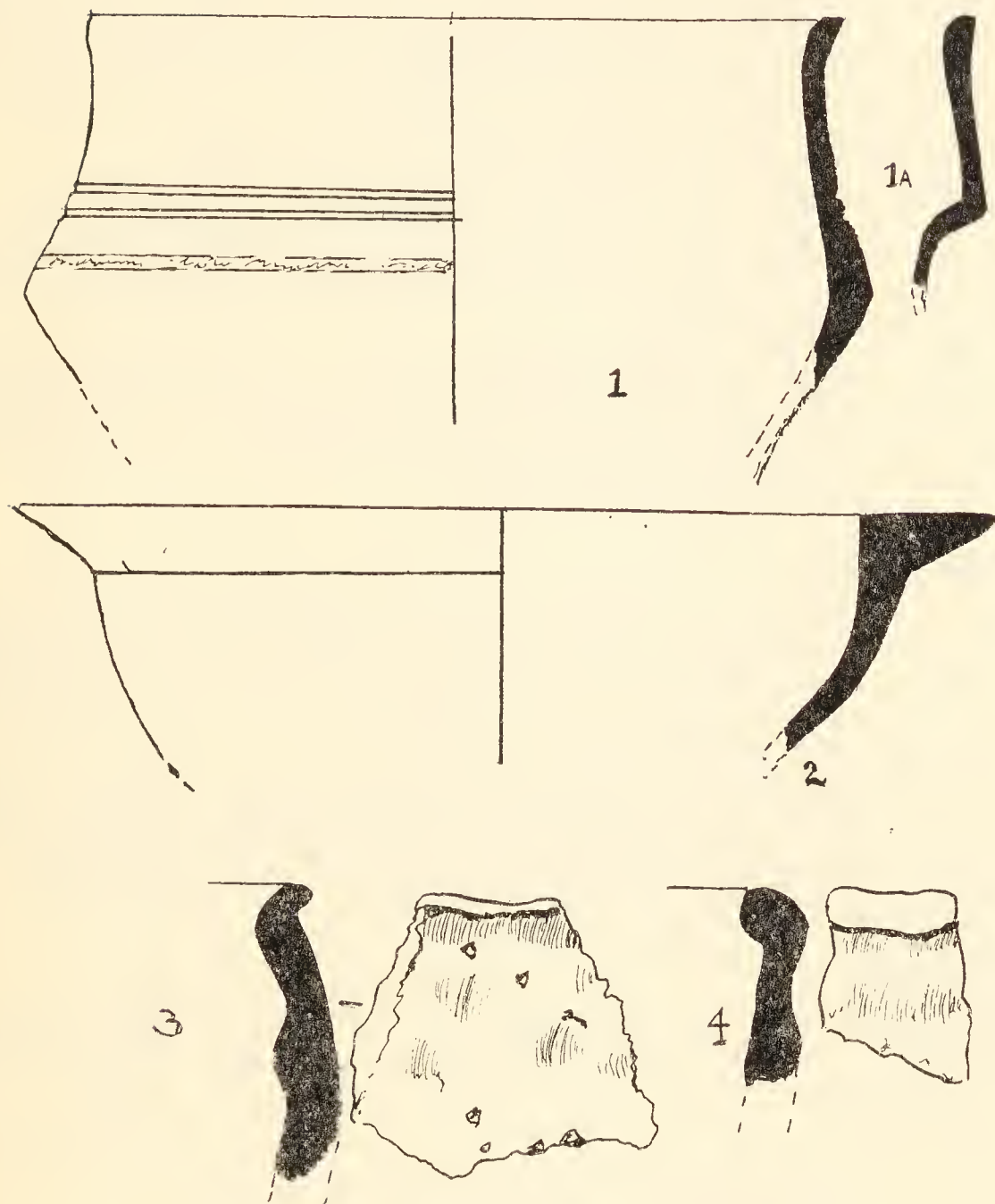


FIG. 2.

## POTTERY

From the section dug 1952-53, 325 rims of several hundred body sherds were collected. All but 12 were common Crambeck types.<sup>1</sup> Two fragments of Castor ware, the rim and neck of a small beaker, were noted. No Samian was found.

## CRAMBECK TYPES:

- |          |   |
|----------|---|
| Type 1   | Straight-sided flanged bowls. 72 examples and 6 bases. No type 1b with internal wavy line noted.      |
| „ 2      | Straight-sided dishes. 128 rims, mainly grey.   |
| „ 2A     | 3 only and 2 varieties, some in black and buff ware.  |
| „ 3 & 3A | Jars with loop handles. 39 rims, mostly large, and 8 handles, many side body or base fragments found. |
| „ 3C     | 3 examples.   |
| „ 4      | Deep wide-mouthed bowls, scarce, 2 or 3 found.  |
| „ 5      | Hemispherical flanged bowl, 1 painted example 5b, in buff with XX pattern in brick red paint.         |

<sup>1</sup> Crambeck 2. *Ant. Journal* Vol. xvii No. 4 Oct. 1937. List of Crambeck Pottery types and drawings. P. Corder.



- Type 6 Hammer head mortarium. 32 rims, 2 plain, 4 one reeded band and 26 with 2 or 3 reeded bands, mainly in light grey or buff. 16 body sherds with grit. Two very large rims with large spouts 14 ins. or 15 ins. dia.
- „ 11 Small jars or beakers. 8 rims, one very like Fig. 4, No. 11 A.J. 1937. 2 small footrings, 1 grey, 1 black.
- „ 12 Beaker. Fragments of one or more with rouletting.
- „ 13 (Fig. 2, nos. 1 and 2). Small bowls. 4 possible varieties of this form, 1 carinated rim, 7 ins. dia. (illustrated – no. 1), and wide flat rimmed variety (illustrated – no. 2), 6½ ins. dia. light sandy grey.
- „ 16 Calcite gritted cook-pots. 1 rim of this distinctive ware from Crambeck, hard dark grey, and quite unlike the vast majority of Signal Station Type 26 which is so common and widespread it must have been made in many localities. Crambeck type 16 is rare.

#### EARLIER POTTERY:

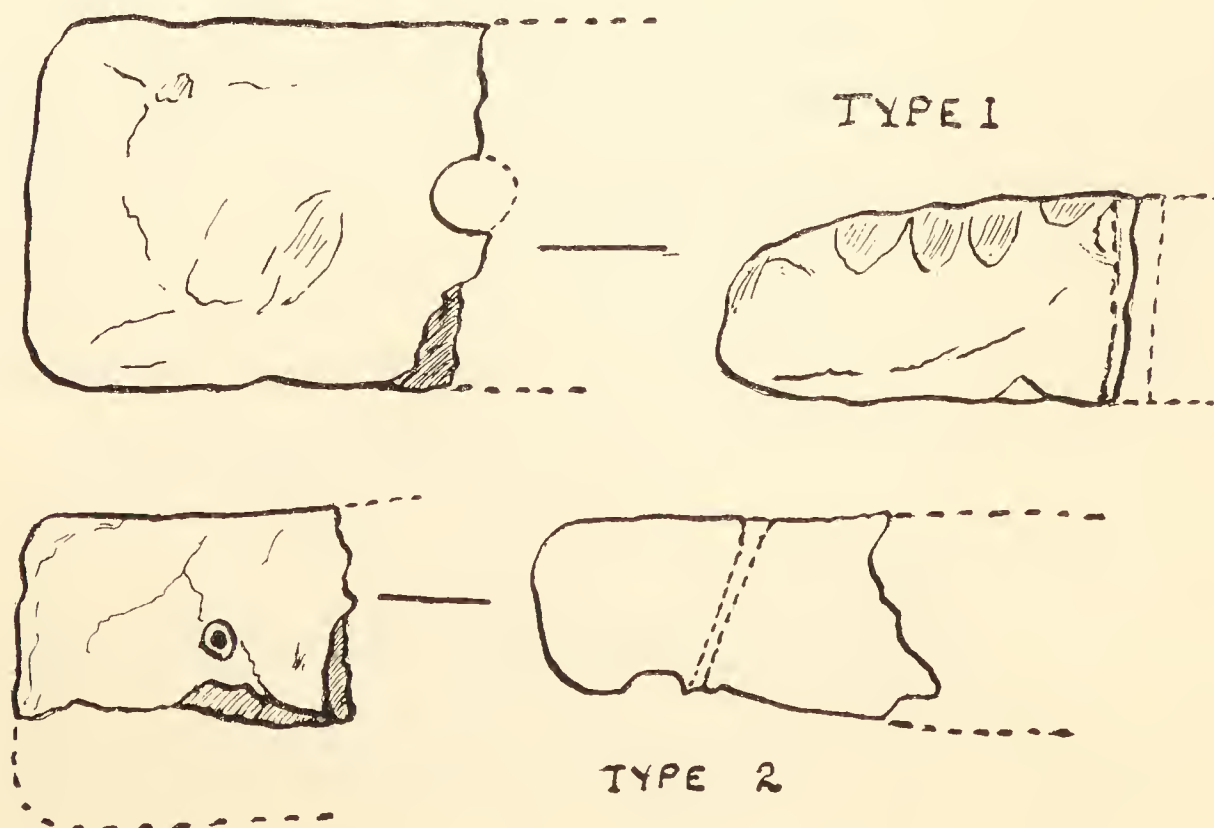
Fig. 2, No. 3 is in corky stony gritted ware, grey to brown, hand made. In lowest sandy silt under ash layer, cf. Langton Early Enclosure Rep. No. 4, Fig. 7, Nos. 40–41, and Levisham Moor 1st century A.D. enclosure (R.H.H. 14–15 – neckless cook-pots?). Rim dia. 6 ins.

Fig. 2, No. 4. Rim of very wide hand made corky gritted ware very uneven smoothed grey-black ash, platter? dia. 12 ins.? Iron Age survivals from lowest sand and silt. cf. Carlungie Souterrain Pits 11 and 19, F. T. Wainwright.

#### CLAY FIRE BARS

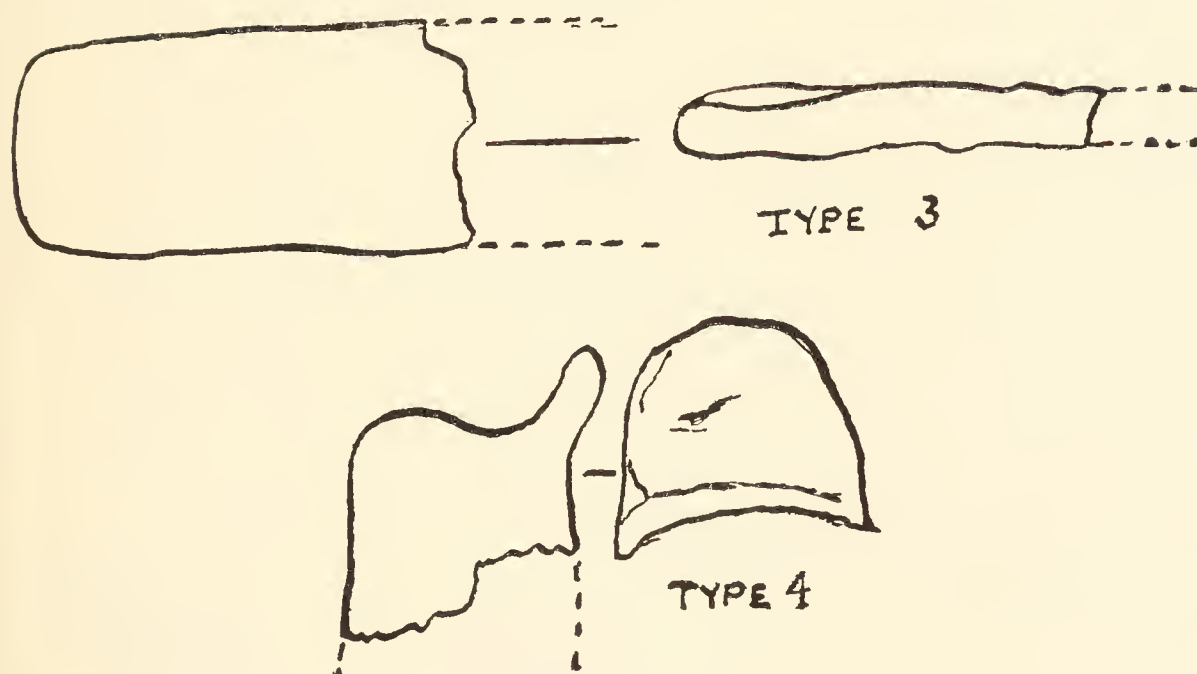
This excavation proves beyond doubt that some of the Crambeck kilns did use movable fire bars rather than, or as well as, a fixed platform visualised by Dr. Corder (R.M.D.R. No. 1, p. 16).

#### CRAMBECK CLAY FIRE BARS.



## CRAMBECK CLAY FIRE BARS.

continued

FIG. 3.  $\frac{1}{4}$ .

- Type 1 Fig. 3. This corresponds to Norton type 7 (R.M.D.R. No. 7, p. 21, F.127) which was  $10\frac{3}{4}$  ins. long and pierced by 3 small holes. Our example from the ditch was 5 ins. long,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  ins. to hole,  $\frac{3}{4}$  ins. dia. and could well have been 12 ins. long originally.
- „ 2 Had a small hole near the end which rested on the ledge of the kiln wall, might be a peghole or to suspend or hang it up.
- „ 3 Very thin and flat, used radially on a central support as kiln on Lincoln Racecourse.<sup>1</sup>
- „ 4 Appears to have a lug to rest on supports – but only very fragmentary.

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON A SECOND DITCH SECTION  
FROM THE CRAMBECK QUARRY

By H. G. RAMM

A similar ditch, cut by the east face of the same quarry, was observed independently in 1964 and reported in *Y.A.J.* pt. 163 (1965), p. 321, Fig. 2; but it ran approximately east – west and was some 300 yds. south-east of the main York to Malton road, i.e. at right angles to and some 250 yds. further east than the ditch described by Mr. Hayes. It also shewed a different stratification and a slightly different profile. This last difference is of no significance however, since the ditch in the east quarry face overlay a natural fissure in the limestone which may well have affected the ditch profile and would account for any extra depth. The ditches could well belong to the same system or even be the same ditch turning through a right angle and be part of the south and west sides of an enclosure perhaps defining, as Mr. Hayes suggests, some pottery working area. In this case one might expect the east side to be on or inside the lip of the steep slope down to the Derwent, providing a maximum distance east – west of about 400 yds. There is no natural limit north.

<sup>1</sup> *A Romano-British Pottery Kiln on Lincoln Racecourse.* P. Corder 1950.



The difference in stratification is more significant and suggests a difference in treatment between the two ditches or two parts of the same ditch. The section in the east quarry face shewed uniform north to south tilted tip lines suggesting deliberate refilling of the ditch from the north side presumably with the material from a bank on that side of which slight indications remain. This refilling took place when there was approximately the same amount of silt in the ditch bottom as there was in the west ditch when the ash with kiln débris was deposited there. In Mr. Hayes' excavation the section shows none of the tilt lines and was uniformly a sandy silt above the ash layer. If the two sections belong to the same ditch or even the same system the implication would appear to be that the south side of the enclosure or east – west ditch was deliberately filled in in Roman times before kiln working had reached near enough to leave any débris in the ditch, whilst the west side of the enclosure or north – south ditch was left open until pottery working came sufficiently near to the ditch for it to receive a deposit of kiln débris. If the ditches did define a pottery working area then the south side of the enclosure was abandoned fairly early in the history of the expansion of the site.

The ditch on the east quarry face has from its siting no connection with the supposed earthwork enclosure in Ox Carr Wood and Mr. Hayes is surely right in interpreting the existing remains there as a hollow way. This represents an earlier line of the York–Malton road making for the ford across the Crambeck at Nat. Grid Ref. SE.73866740.

### A PROBABLE THIRD DITCH SECTION FROM THE CRAMBECK QUARRY

By J. S. DENT

The fields around Crambeck quarry, called Jamie's Craggs, were examined in July 1964 by J. Dagg, C. Cooper, and the writer, but little was found since most of the fields were under crops. Examination of the quarry edge revealed several sherds of Roman pottery, with a concentration of sherds about 50 yds. from the York–Malton road. The section here appears to be as follows:

1. 7 ins. of brown top soil with a few late 3rd century–early 4th century sherds.
2. A few inches of burnt oolitic limestone with a few sherds.
3. 26 ins. of clean light brown sand with numerous sherds throughout. At the base of this bed were fragments of firebars and a piece of imbrex.
4. Silt or natural.

This sequence appeared to be in a pit and the primary silt, free from sherds, suggests that the pit was dug somewhat earlier than the kiln period. While it was not possible to obtain a perfectly clean section, it seems highly probable that this pit is in fact a third section through the ditch described by Mr. Hayes at an earlier stage of the

quarry face's advance, and which is probably related to the ditch recorded by Mr. Ramm.

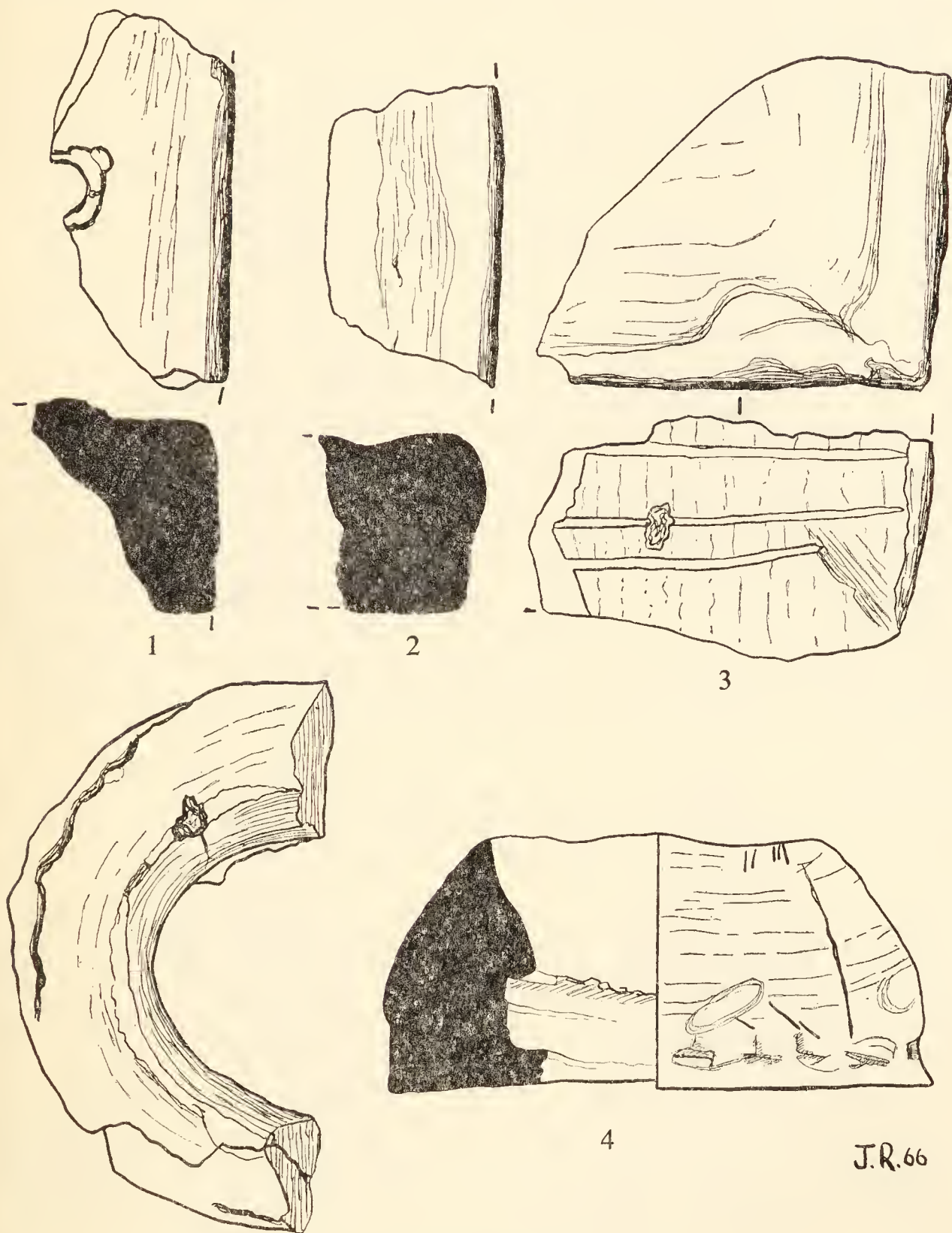


FIG. 1. Kiln Furniture from Crambeck.  $\frac{1}{3}$ .

Four fragments of kiln bars were found below the bulk of the sherds: three fragments appear to be parts of Hayes' Type I fire bars (Nos. 1–3), and one piece is a half of a round kiln support similar to those found by Corder (No. 4).

#### POTTERY

Several hundred sherds, including 112 rims, were recovered and all appear to be standard Crambeck types, excepting two sherds. One is a fragment of Nene Valley colour-coated ware, part of a



small thumb-pressed beaker, and the other is a smooth red ware with two burnished lines beneath a small rolled rim of a small bowl, probably a 2nd century form. No Samian was found.

CRAMBECK TYPES:

Type	1	36 rims
„	1b	With two wavy lines inside. 2 examples
„	2	14 rims and 3 bases
„	3	9 rims and 3 handles; many base and wall fragments
„	4	1 rim
„	5	1 rim and 5 body sherds with flanges
„	6	28 rims and 6 large body sherds; 3 rims have spouts
„	7	Wallside Mortarium. 1 rim
„	11	10 rims
„	12	2 rims
„	13	1 rim
„	16	1 rim and several burnt body sherds

In October 1964 the ploughed field immediately west of Jamie's Crag and adjacent to the main road was examined by J. Dagg and C. Cooper, and on the southern side of the field, 130 ft. from Jamie's Crag, a concentration of sherds was found (SE.734671). A trial trench revealed a foot of top soil with frequent sherds resting on yellow sand. Below this, the dark soil was rich in sherds and charcoal. The sherds, and a complete small flanged bowl represent typical Crambeck types, while the occurrence of the charcoal and numerous fragments of defective pots suggests another kiln in the vicinity.

## STONY RIGG, FARNDALE SLOPE

By R. H. HAYES

On the southern slopes of this bare moorland ridge the peat is eroded away, leaving large areas of sandy shale and outcropping boulders. Numerous water gulleys or channels scoop out their courses throughout this area, especially after heavy winter storms. The height of the ridge is 1350–1400 ft. above sea level.

Looking for microliths in 1953 Mr. Walter Thornley from Lancashire, an ardent collector of flints, saw what he thought was a blade sticking out some 2–3 ins. from the peat in a water channel (NGR NZ 632002). He was surprised to find that he had picked up a perfect barbed and tanged arrow-head. He immediately uncovered three more, some 2 ins. distant, also in perfect condition. They look as though they were unused and may have been lost, perhaps in a bag or sheath.

Flint arrow-heads of this type have been found on the north-east Yorks. moors and the square-ended barb is characteristic of the Beaker or Food vessel period of the Early Bronze Age.

Professor G. W. Dimbleby took samples of peat at White Gill, half a mile north-east of this site and proved beyond doubt that forest conditions prevailed when the microliths were made and that, at Burton Howes, 2 miles west, the forest was still thick in the Bronze



PLATE I.



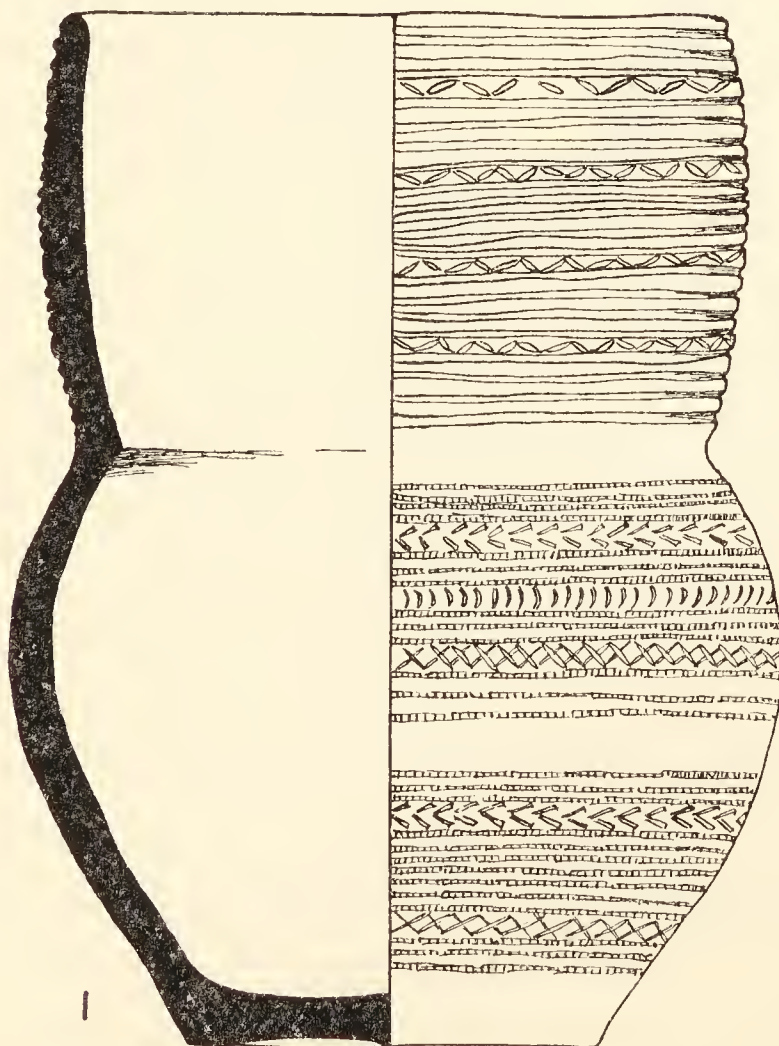


Age.<sup>1</sup> Another proof of forest conditions on this ridge is the discovery by Messrs. Rowland Close, W. Thornley and the writer, of horn cases of *bos longifrons* – the Celtic shorthorn. These were found in the peat of Stony Rigg. Four were found in the area. Mr. Don. Bramwell of Bakewell, Derbyshire, who identified three of the horns, said that they belonged to creatures of the forest clearings, eating leaves as well as grass. Horn-cores of the same size have been found in the Ryedale Windypits and they belong to the Beaker period c. 1750 B.C. It seems possible therefore that the arrow heads were originally lost in forest undergrowth.

## TWO BEAKERS FROM THE EAST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE

By T. G. MANBY

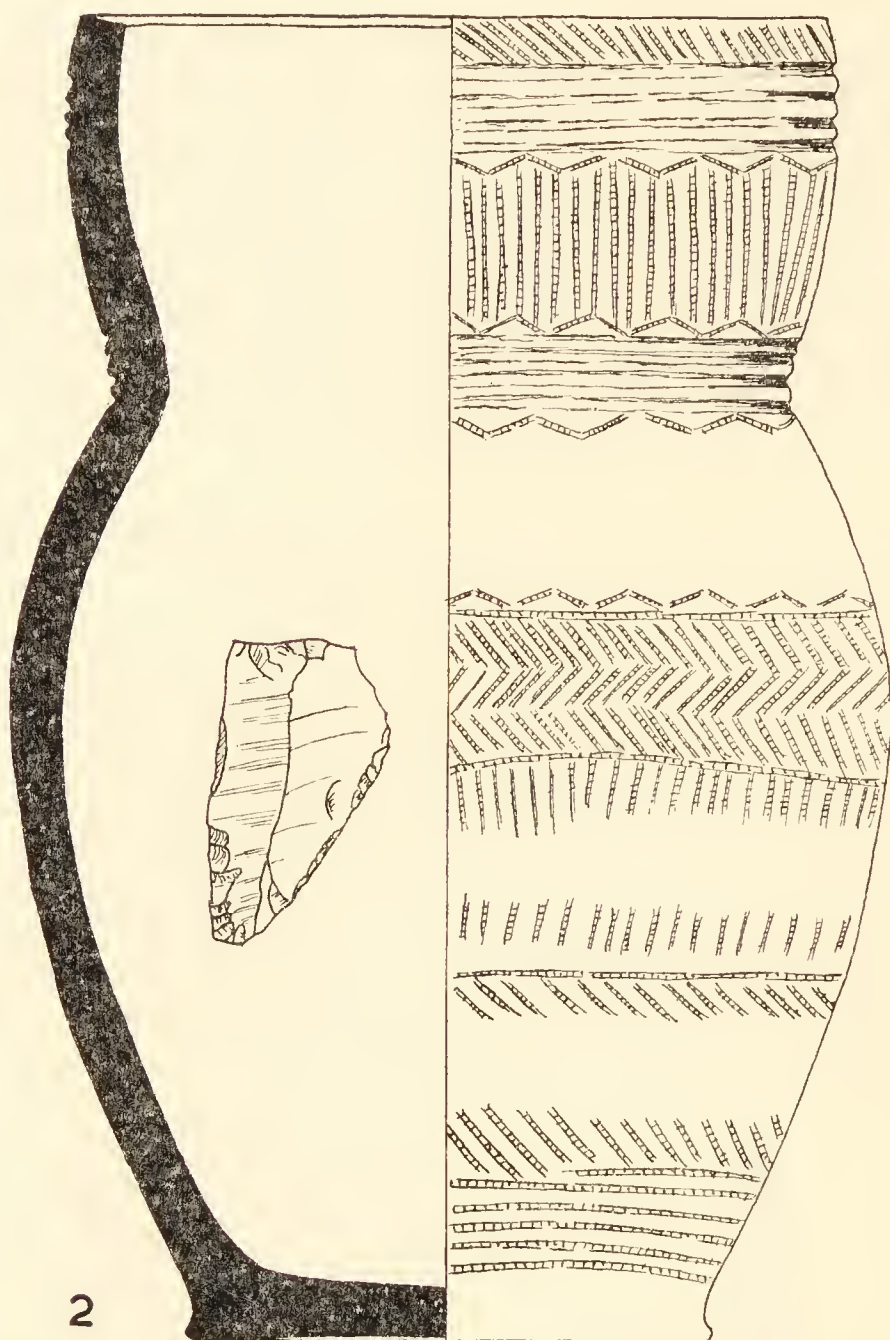
1. J. R. Mortimer recorded a Beaker found at Middleton on the Wolds (*Forty Years Researches* . . . , p. 354, fig. 1018) about 1894 in a sand pit without any recorded burial. This Beaker was in the hands of Col. A. Brookbank of Middleton Hall and it left the district later when the family moved to Southern England. In 1954 a member of the family presented the vessel to the parish church of Middleton on the Wolds and it is now on display in an alcove on the north side of the chancel arch. The writer was able to examine and draw this vessel by kind permission of the Rev. P. G. Evans, sometime Rector of Middleton on the Wolds.



Middleton.

<sup>1</sup> G. W. Dimbleby, 'The Ancient Forest of Blackamoor'. *Antiquity* vol. xxxv, no. 138 June 1961, pp. 123–9.





Hempholme, Beaker and Flint Knife.

The vessel is complete,  $7\frac{1}{8}$  ins. high,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  ins. diameter rim and  $2\frac{7}{8}$  ins. diameter base. The fabric is hard reddish buff with large calcite grit mixed in, the exterior surface is smooth with dark grey patches. Decoration consists of horizontal grooves on the neck with incised diagonal strokes in the intervening zones. On the body are groups of horizontal comb impressed lines with bands of incised herringbone pattern, lattice and vertical strokes in between.

2. In 1958 a beaker burial was found in a gravel pit on the eastern side of the hamlet of Hempholme (Nat. Grid. Ref. T.A. 090/504) in the parish of Brandesburton. The burial was disturbed by a mechanical excavator working in the gravel pit, and some of the bones, the pottery fragments and a flint knife were collected by the excavator driver and passed on to Messrs. C. & E. Grantham. The restored vessel is now in their private museum at Driffeld. The surviving bones suggest this was the burial of a young adult.

The restored vessel is  $8\frac{1}{8}$  ins. high, 4.6 ins. diameter rim,  $3\frac{1}{4}$  ins. diameter base. The fabric is buff to brown, slightly pitted in places with a smooth interior surface. Apart from two groups of four

horizontal grooves on the neck, decoration consists of comb impressed lines all over the exterior. Found with the vessel fragments and bones, and presumably accompanying the burial, was a small flint knife made by retouching two edges of a triangular sectioned flint flake.

## NANNY HOWE, COATE MOOR, CLEVELAND

By R. H. HAYES

Nanny Howe was one of a group of three tumuli on top of a ridge of moorland,  $\frac{1}{4}$  mile east of Capt. Cook's monument, about 1,000 ft. above O.D., at NZ 599103, (A on Fig. 1). It was described by the Elgees in 1933 as follows:<sup>1</sup> 'Half a mile east of Captain Cook's monument (an obelisk) on Easby Moor, is the Devil's court, where, according to tradition, witches congregated under the presidency of their lord and master. We therefore examined the court and found what we expected, a typical moorland Bronze Age settlement site, with stone walled enclosures, shallow pits, flint implements, and many barrows, one of which is named Nanny Howe, after a famous witch, it is said who also frequented Nanny Hook, a right angled bend in a stone wall near Wayworth Farm, Comondale, marking another settlement site'.



FIG. 1. The location of Nanny Howe (A), and other sites. (Drawn by J. Radley).

Even before Forestry Commission ploughing and planting in May 1956 there was little trace of the settlement. On the 6 ins. O.S.

<sup>1</sup> F. & H. W. Elgee, *The Archaeology of Yorkshire*. (1933), 89.



maps only the name Nanny Howe appeared. The Howe itself was not marked, nor were the other two close by, nor the 6–8 small stony cairns in the vicinity. When ploughing did take place it revealed no signs of walling. The area had been extensively planted with larches some time in the early part of this century. These remained in patches until the 1956 ploughing.

The kerb of the barrow was exposed and noticed by J. N. Grayson whilst excavations were in progress on Great Ayton Moor.<sup>1</sup> S. V. Morris, A. N. Pacitto and the writer examined the site. It was a cairn of about 30 ft. diameter and 3 ft. high in the centre, with a strong kerb of stones set on edge of 25 ft. diameter. Its construction, of massive stones, was similar to the chambered cairn on Great Ayton Moor, one mile to the north, and very like the food vessel-urn tumulus on Danby Rigg which also had a kerb of the same diameter.<sup>2</sup> As we had no chance of finishing the Great Ayton Moor site before the Forestry Commission planting took place, Rowland Close of Baysdale undertook the salvage excavation of the tumulus, with the permission of the Forestry Commission.

When the heather and turf were removed on the south-east side of Nanny Howe, a mass of cremated bones with part of the rim and side of a typical Iron Age 'B' jar (Fig. 3, no. 1) were found only 6 to 9 ins. under the turf. This was clearly a secondary burial long after the cairn was built. The sherd may have been a token offering but more probably the remainder of the pot so near the surface of the mound had been eroded. No other secondary burial was found although almost all the cairn was removed.

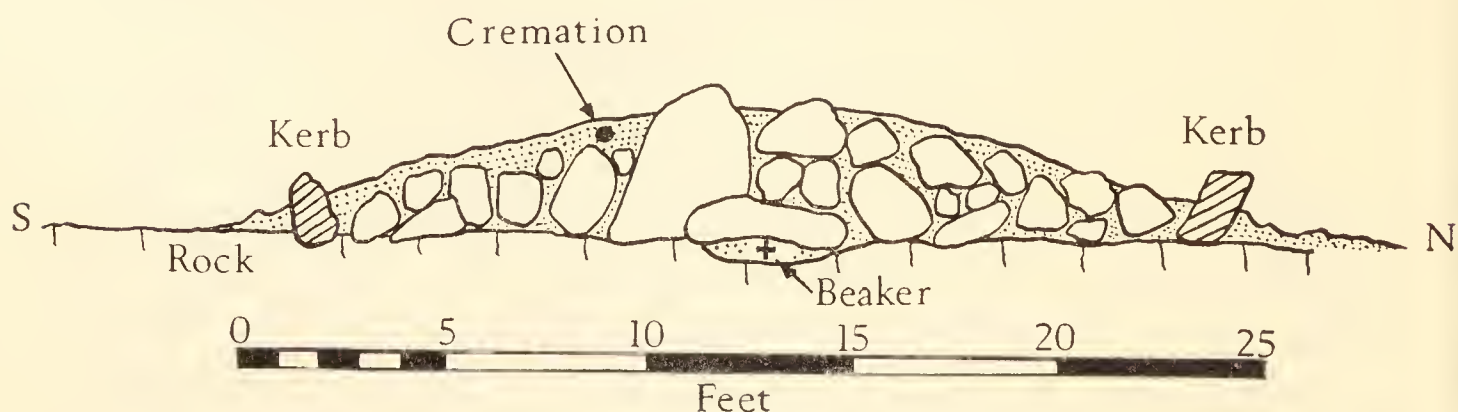


FIG. 2 S.-N. section through Nanny Howe, Coate Moor.

Under large boulders in the central area was a shallow pit or depression in the shaley rock (inferior oolitic sandstone). Only minute specks of charcoal and some small burnt stones distinguished its filling from natural sand. It was about 3 ft. in diameter and not more than 9 ins. deep (Fig. 2). In it were the broken sherds, more than 80 in number, of a beaker (Fig. 3, no. 2) which was skil-

<sup>1</sup> See R. H. Hayes and S. V. Morris, 'A chambered cairn on Gt. Ayton Moor'. *Scarborough and Dist. Arch. Society Research Report no. 6*.

<sup>2</sup> W. H. Lamplough and the late W. C. Baker, 'Danby Rigg. Excavations of barrow containing primary food vessel, urn, sherds, incense cup with bronze knife and flints'. Unpublished. Some of the finds are in the Whitby Museum.

fully restored by Mr. Close and is now in his collection. There were no signs of bones or cremation, although presumably a contracted skeleton had accompanied the beaker. In the acid sand all bone would perish quickly. None of the animal and human bones so common on Romano-British sites in the Malton district were found on the Kildale site of that date. This burial would have been at least 1500 years earlier. This bears on Elgee's statement<sup>1</sup> that no beaker burials had yet been found on the high moors. It is likely that they will be recognised in the future. Many of Canon Atkinson's tumuli may still contain their primary burials. Indeed, he found in a howe on the Guisborough moors a vessel which from his description sounds very like a corded bell-beaker. The nearest site where a beaker has been found in Cleveland is at Mount Pleasant, a tumulus on the southern tip of the Eston Hills, about 3 miles north-west of Nanny Howe. This had a bell profile and similar decoration.<sup>2</sup>

No other relics were found in the cairn. A few scraps and flakes of flint and 5 well worked thumb scrapers were picked up on the moor and near the small cairns. The two adjoining mounds were of earth and small stones about 20 ft. in diameter and 1½ ft. high. They may simply have been heaps of soil from previous forestry work as there was no sign of burials, cremated bone, or flint, in trial holes dug into them before the trees were planted in 1957. A small fire pit, 2 ft. wide, 1½ ft. deep, was noted near Nanny Howe. Charcoal from it was identified as Scots Pine by Prof. G. W. Dimbleby. Scots Pine charcoal was present in several samples from the chambered cairn on Great Ayton Moor.

Thus we have an early example of beaker burial within a stone ring, over which the cairn was piled, and, long after, an Iron Age secondary cremation inserted.

Was the person interred in Nanny Howe a famous witch? Or were the witch and devil legends connected with the site faint echoes of ceremonials and rites held here? Mrs. Gotch (*County Folklore*, II, 157–8)<sup>3</sup> describes a visit by the devil to Stephen Howe's small cot 'on the brink of *Court* moor'. Satan was riding in a car drawn by six coal-black steeds. Stephen fled in terror but his wife Nanny hit him with her broom, whereupon the devil invited her to take a ride in his car which she did without hesitation. He is reputed to have drunk the church-well dry at one draught. Locals reported seeing Nanny Howe riding her broomstick over the Devil's Court.

#### *Pottery from Nanny Howe*

Fig. 3, no. 1. Rim and body sherd of a large jar of Iron Age 'B' type, black outside, brown to black inside, with no calcite grit

<sup>1</sup> F. & H. W. Elgee, *loc. cit.*, 62.

<sup>2</sup> E. W. Sockyett, 'Excavations at Mt. Pleasant, Eston Hills, 1952–3'. Unpublished. The beaker is fragmentary and the restored drawing is by Mr. G. F. Willmot of the Yorkshire Museum.

<sup>3</sup> *County folklore*, collected and ed. by Mrs. Gotch, vol. xlv (1899). North Riding of Yorks. Folklore Society.



although there are some stones in the fabric. Rim diameter  $9\frac{1}{2}$  ins.

An identical sherd comes from the quadrangular enclosure of Iron Age date on Great Ayton Moor, less than a mile away to the north. (Site 'B' on map Fig. 1.) Another comes from the late Bronze Age–Iron Age hut sites at Percy Rigg (R. Close 1960–63). (Site 'C' map, Fig. 1.)

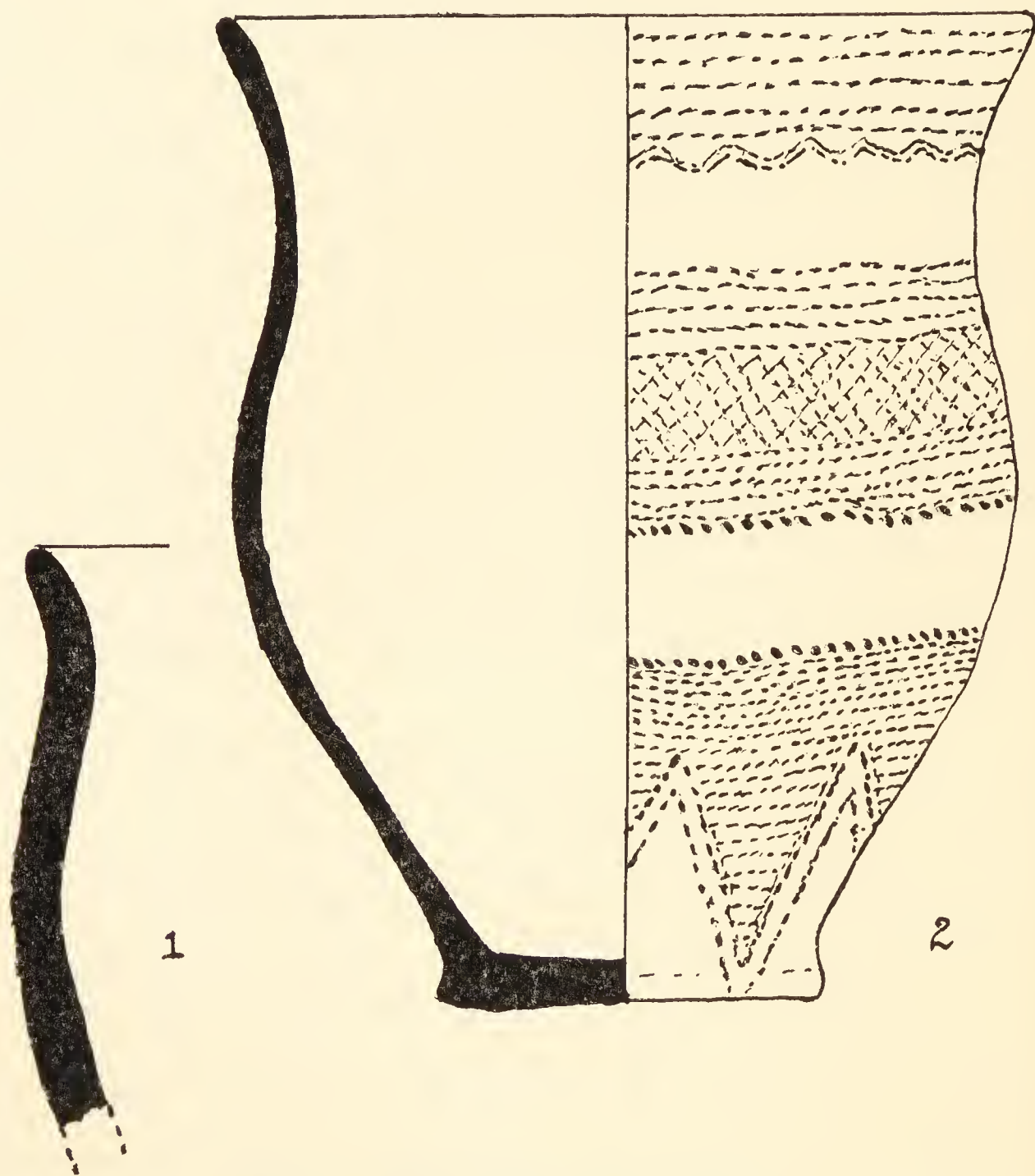


FIG. 3. Pottery from Nanny Howe.

Fig. 3, no. 2. Bell Beaker in good reddish buff ware with a black core. Diameters: 6 ins. (rim), and  $5\frac{3}{4}$  ins. (girth). Height:  $7\frac{1}{4}$  ins. The decoration is in three zones separated by two intermediate plain zones. (1) Immediately below the lip, 5 lines of incisions above a wavy line ( $1\frac{1}{4}$  ins. below the rim). (2) Girth Zone of incised lines with central band of zig-zag, and above a line of incisions. (3) Below another horizontal line of deep incisions are several more, closely set above a row of pendant triangles incised 2 ins. above the base.

G. F. Willmot thought this a late type of B-C beaker decoration.

For similar pendant triangles but on a long necked beaker compare Mortimer, *Forty Years Researches* ..., 349, Fig. 1014, from a secondary burial in Hedon Howe, a Neolithic radial cist barrow. For pendant triangles on a bell beaker compare *ibid.*, Pl. xiii, Fig. 4, found with a burial in barrow 116 at Aldro, E. Yorks.

The pottery is at present in the collection of Mr. R. Close at Lonsdale.

## URN FROM STONY RIGG – WESTERDALE, N. RIDING

By R. H. HAYES

The urn illustrated (Fig. 1) was found accidentally by Rowland Close in 1955 whilst walking on a stormy day over the rocky ridge between Baysdale and Westerdale. He found fragments of the pot apparently washed out from or disturbed by ramblers building a cairn from a rocky knoll on the north-west edge of the highest ridge [1400 ft. O.D. Nat. Grid Ref. NZ 634033 (approx.)]. A few fragments of burnt bone remained from the cremation that the pot had originally contained. There were no signs of any tumulus or cairn.

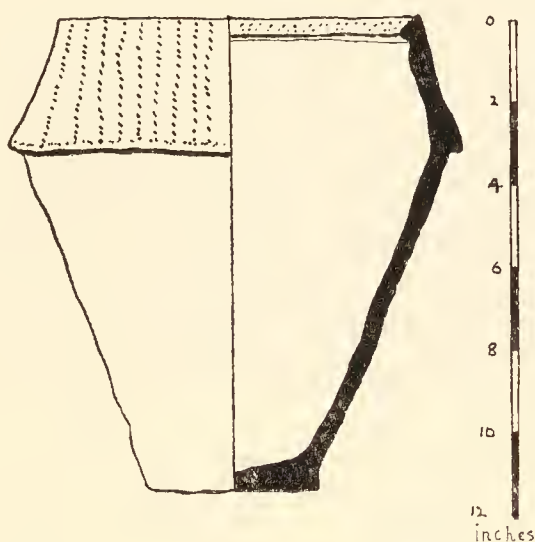


FIG. 1. Urn from Stony Rigg.

The pot was restored from numerous pieces and is in Rowland Close's collection at Lonsdale. The ware is brown-buff of fairly good fabric with little grit. It is  $11\frac{1}{2}$  ins. high with a  $3\frac{1}{4}$  ins. overhanging rim, with diameters of  $9\frac{1}{4}$  ins. (rim),  $11\frac{1}{4}$  ins. (girth) and  $3\frac{3}{4}$  ins. (base). There are cord impressions on the rim  $\frac{1}{4}$  to  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. apart and two rows of incisions on the rim bevel. Middle or Late Bronze Age.

## A SECTION OF THE ROMAN FORTRESS WALL AT BARCLAY'S BANK, ST. HELEN'S SQUARE, YORK

By J. RADLEY

In 1929 the excavation of the basement of Barclay's Bank (Mansion House Branch) revealed a stretch of the outer face of the fortress



wall, immediately south-east of the Porta Praetoria. The main record of this is a photograph in the Yorkshire Museum<sup>1</sup> which shows the wall surviving to a height of 5 ft. In 1965, the extensions to the Bank included the sinking of a lift shaft which necessitated exposing an 8 ft. stretch of the wall adjacent to the 1929 section (Fig. 1), and the removal of the face of the wall to a depth of about 2 ft. The excavation was observed and recorded by the writer for the R.C.H.M.

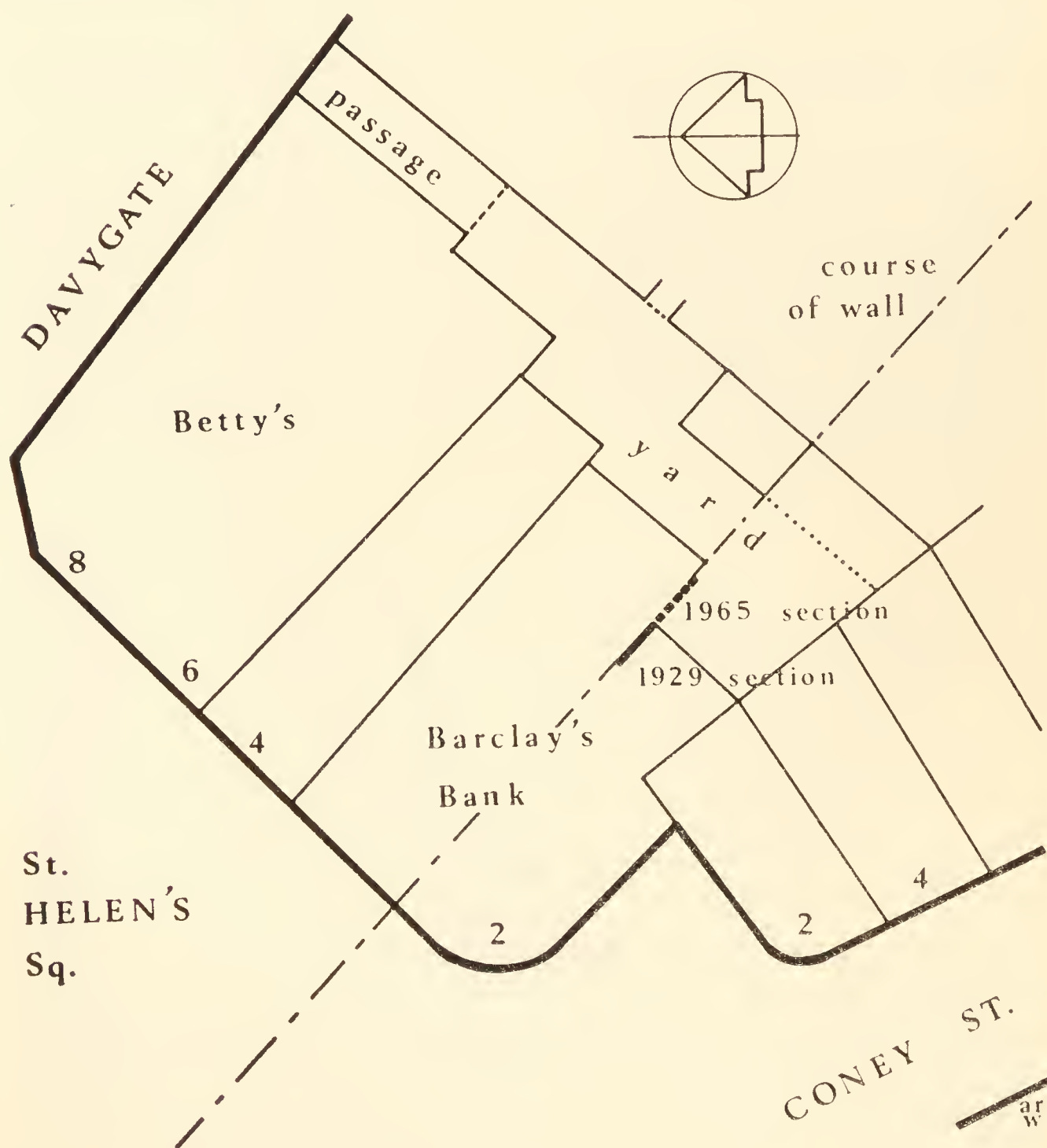


FIG. 1.

The plate shows the main features. The wall stands 7 ft. high, and is faced with neatly squared, claw-tooled, limestone blocks which were embedded up to two feet in the rubble core. On the upper left is a doorstep at modern ground level resting on the basement's wall. To the right is a former cellar or old yard filled with old flagstones and rubble, abutting on to the wall. Beneath

<sup>1</sup> Reproduced in R.C.H.M. York, v. I, Plate 10 and page 21.





*Photo. : R.C.H.M. (Eng.) (Crown Copyright).*

PLATE II. A section of the Fortress wall at Barclays Bank, St. Helen's Square, York.





this was a smelly wet zone of black domestic rubbish and débris, which yielded Roman and Norman sherds, and numerous bricks, shells and animal bones. The wall must have been clearly visible at this point well into historic times.

At the foot of the wall, the plate shows the concrete footing, projecting in front of the wall, and a board placed by workmen. A later extension to a depth of 13 ft. (Fig. 2) showed that the wall stands on a stoney platform which rests on foundations which were made by digging a trench at least  $4\frac{1}{2}$  ft. deep, and probably about 6 ft., and 7 ft. wide at the top, which was filled with concrete and cobbles.

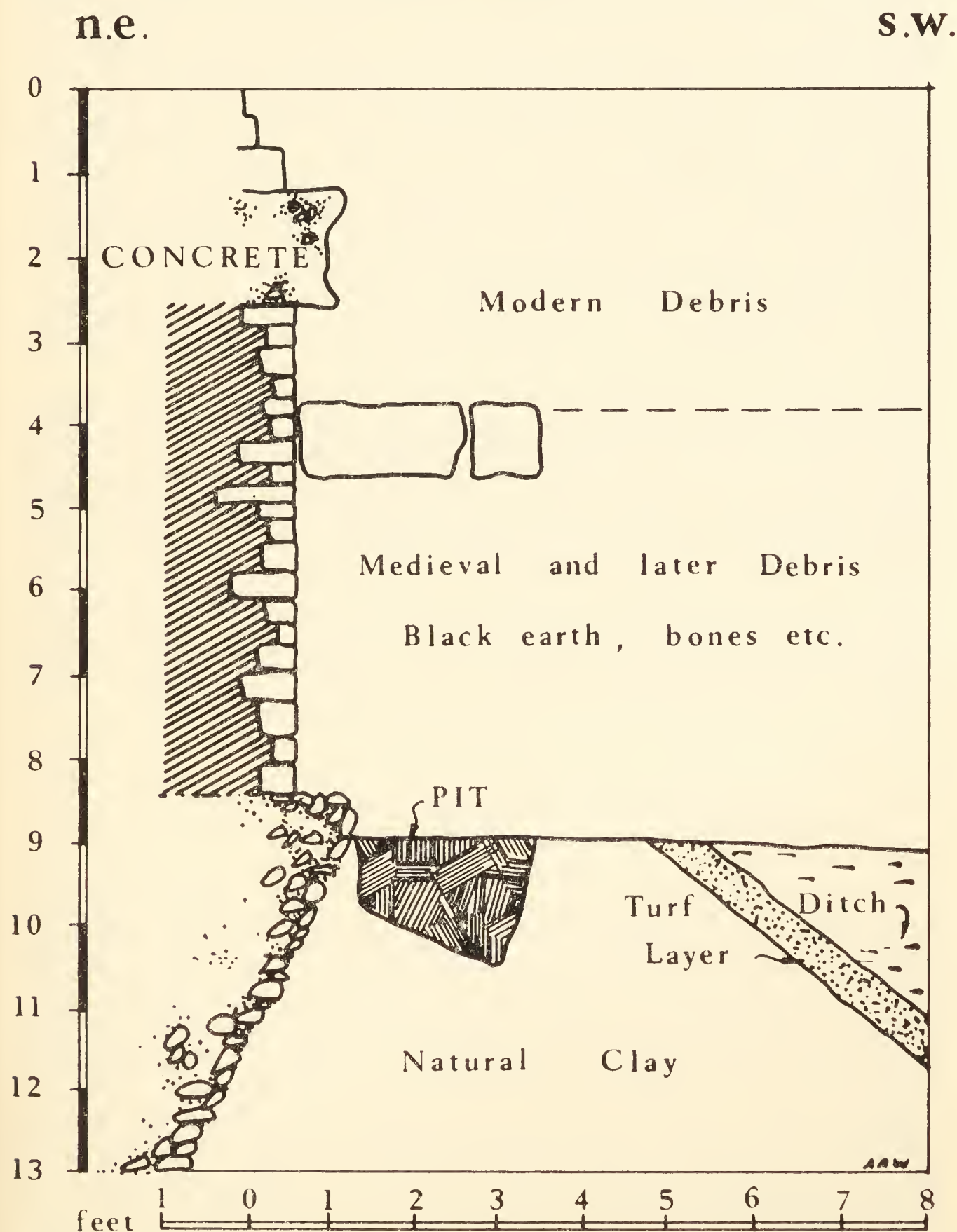


FIG. 2.



The bottom of the lift shaft revealed a 4 ft. wide berm and the inner edge of the first century ditch. This ditch had a dark, decomposed turf layer, about 6 ins. thick, resting on a perfectly regular slope, and buried by a fill of uniform dark sand, which was rich in charcoal fragments.

Cut into the berm on its 8 ft. exposure were two pits. Both were close to the wall, one central to the exposed section was ruined by workmen, but one exposed in the south-east face of the hole proved to be circular, 2 ft. across, and 18 ins. deep. The pits were full of slimey bones and silt, together with fragments of tile, brick, oyster shell, and leaves. Also included were a fragment of human skull, and a coin of Constantine. Between the two pits there were two stakes, 5 ins. in diameter, and set at least 2 ft. deep into the berm.

This new exposure of a stretch of the fortress wall adds several useful facts to our knowledge of the fortress. The concrete foundations, usually Severan in date, are normally rectangular in section and often about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ft. thick. The Bank section's V-shaped foundation trench is similar to the trench-filled mortared rubble foundation under the nearby shop of Dorothy Perkins, Coney Street, and the massiveness of the deep section seems to be a common feature along the south-western side of the fortress, being 4 ft. – 5 ft. at the western corner, and 4 ft. under the British Home Stores.

Excavation of the Interval Tower S.W.3. revealed a turf covered face of the Agricolan ditch similar to the small piece exposed in the lift shaft. The 4th century facing of the wall has a basal course which is larger than the others; it was found in the 1929 section and has been shown to be the plinth-line of the Severan wall which has been cut back to the line of the latest phase.

The pits and two stakes adjacent to the wall must derive from a period when the walls were not being manned, and the domestic rubbish may represent squatters living around the gate at some time after the withdrawal of the Roman army.

## THE SITE OF SIWARD'S HOW, YORK

By H. G. RAMM

Siward's How is the name given by the O.S. to the mound on Heslington Hill at SE.6208 5088. The name first appears on Ordnance Maps on the 1853 1st edition 6 ins. map, sheet 174, as Seward's Mount. Earlier maps name it differently, e.g. on Newton's map published by the Archaeological Institute in 1846 it is Heslington Mount; on Greenwood's map published in 1818 it is Mill Hill, and similarly on F. White's map of 1785; on the map (in the City's possession D.Vv.3) of the Walmgate Ward stray by J. Lund junior, 1772, it is marked as 'Mill Hill and trees'. In a paper published in 1849 (*Archaeological Journal*, Vol. VI, 27) J. Thurnam ascribes to R. Davies the identification of this mound with Siward's How on the basis of two documents published by F. Drake (Eboracum, 595,

and 597). A closer examination of the wording of these documents suggests that in fact the identification is probably mistaken. In 1849 Thurnam states the mound was generally known as Heslington Mount.

Of these documents the second is the most detailed. It is preserved among the city records (E 30, p. 74) and represents the award of commissioners arbitrating in a dispute between the city and St. Mary's abbey concerning the boundaries of common pasture in Clifton and Fulford and dates from 19th August 1484. It includes the following boundary (quoted from Drake's translation, p. 597):

*'Item, The Bounds of the Franchise betwixt the said city and Foulford, shall begin at the South-West End of the Green-Dykes, besides St. Nicholas; and from thence by a Dyke that lies betwixt the South End of the Arable Lands of a field called Seward How-field and a Pasture called the Ox-pasture to the South End of a Moor that goes from Seward How-Mill to the said Ox-pasture and from thenceforth by the said Dyke towards the West to a Head-land of the said Abbot and Convent, and by the North Side of the Head-Land into a Highway that goes from York to Foulford and there a cross to be set, and called the Franchise-Cross of the said City; and so overthwart the said Way North, towards York, by the East Side of the said Way to a little Stone-Bridge, upon a causeway leading from Foulford aforesaid into Fishergate, butting upon the King's Dyke on the East and West Part of the said Bridge, and so by the said King's Dyke to the water of Ouse'.*

The site of the Green Dykes is now represented by Green Dykes Lane between Heslington Road and Thief Lane and it is possible that the name may have applied also to the narrow strip of grassland leading thence to Walmgate Stray. The south-west end may have been either at the junction of Green Dykes Lane and Heslington Road or farther south at Nat. Grid Ref. SE 61725056. From here the boundary proceeds with Siward How Field on the north and Oxpasture on the south in a general westerly direction. Seward How-field must lie to the west and not to the east of the Green dykes. From SE.6172 5056 there now runs west the boundary between Walmgate Stray and the grounds of the Retreat, a boundary extant on Lund's map of 1772. On the 1853 1st ed. 6 ins. O.S. map a wet dyke is shown running along this boundary – this may well be the 'Dyke that lies betwixt the south end of the arable lands of *Seward How-field* and a pasture called the *Ox-pasture*'. At SE.61485056 this dyke cuts across an arm of the stray which ran north, and still does, towards Lamel Hill and Heslington Road. Lamel Hill was originally the site of a windmill marked on J. Lund's map of 1772. This agrees with the description of the boundary running along 'the south end of a Moor that goes from *Seward How Mill* to the said *Ox-pasture*.' The identification of Seward How Mill and the Lamel Hill Mill seems indicated. The boundary then proceeds west to the Fulford road. Even if the identification of Seward-How-Mill and Lamel Mill is not accepted – Seward How Mill cannot be the Heslington Mill Mount called Siward How on the present O.S. because it must lie west and not east of the Green Dikes. It must lie within an area disputed between Fulford and the City of York. Heslington never has belonged to either except for a very brief period, when the city



jurisdiction was extended in the 17th century to include the neighbouring villages. The area west of Green Dykes Lane and south of Heslington Road was included in the township of Gate Fulford in 1853, and in 1772 in Fulford Lordship.<sup>1</sup>

The same document (again quoting from Drake, p. 598) allows access to the city's pastures along the Green Dykes in the following terms: 'And that it shall be lawful for the Mayor and Commonality and their Successors, to have, use, and occupy their Ways and their Moors and Pastures, as they have used towards *Foulford*, between the *Green Dykes* on the east side of *Seward-how-Fields* and the *Green Dykes* to *Heslington*'.

The implication of this reference is that the Green Dikes were double and that they served as a cattle-drove from the city to her pastures – as is also suggested by the layout of Walmgate Stray with its narrow arm running north to the end of Green Dikes Lane. It also implies that the Green Dikes separate Heslington from Seward How field, that Seward How field lay on the west side of the dikes and Heslington on the east.

The other document quoted by Drake is of earlier date and represents the final solution to the quarrel between the City and St. Mary's Abbey over their respective jurisdiction, particularly in the Bootham area. The document dates from 1353 and consists of articles of agreement between the city and St. Mary's Abbey. Briefly, Bootham except for Marygate and some adjoining areas was restored to the city's jurisdiction. On the other hand the Abbot and monks were not to be arrested in Bootham by the city authorities except for felony, trespass, and so forth and this last privilege was extended to include certain other of St. Mary's Abbey property within the city jurisdiction, notably 'the manors of *Painlaythes* and *Siward-How* with the appurtenances'. That the manors in question lay within the city is implied by the additional clause 'saving to the said mayor and commonality and their successors in those manors and places aforesaid with the appurtenances, all other jurisdictions at all times, so that the said abbot and monks, their goods and chattels from henceforth be not taxed or tallayed into those of the city by reason of the manors aforesaid'. The manor of Painlaythes lay north of Monkgate where its name survives in Penley's Grove Street. Siward's How need not be looked for in the same locality since the propinquity of the two names in the document does not imply that they were necessarily adjacent. But it must be within an area claimed by the city. Heslington Mill Hill lies outside the widest boundaries ever ridden or claimed by the city within the mediaeval period, when the Green Dykes are consistently the eastern boundary in this area.

<sup>1</sup> Since the above was written, Mr. J. Harvey has drawn my attention to a reference printed in *Letters and Papers . . . Foreign and Domestic* xxi, pt. i, 357, no. 718[4], dated 24th April 1546, which speaks of 'a hill and waste called Seward Myll Hill where a windmill formerly stood, in Fulforde beside York'.

The 19th century identification of Siward's How and Heslington Mount or Mill Hill is incorrect. The name Siward How has given a certain authenticity to the recognition of the Mound as a tumulus or barrow, an identification already appearing on the 1853 edition of the O.S. The situation and appearance of the Mound indeed suggest a barrow, but they are equally consistent with the mound being no more than, as its name suggests, the steading of a post mill. It is of course possible that the builders of the mill utilised an existent burial mound, but there is no superficial evidence of this and, short of excavation, no way of proving or disproving that hypothesis which has now lost such support as the name Siward's How provided.

It should be noted that the identification of the name with the area west of Green Dykes would not require us now to hunt for another barrow site there. The name How does not necessarily imply a burial mound – it can be applied to a natural mound as indeed it is at Severus Howe on the west side of York. It need mean no more than a hill and could well be a geographical description of the marked ridge on which the Retreat stands and which dominates that district of York. The fact that it belonged to St. Mary's Abbey, the successor to Siward's Minster of St. Olave, may suggest that it originally belonged to Earl Siward, thus deriving its name, and was part of Siward's original endowment of St. Olave.

## THE GREEN DYKES – A FORGOTTEN YORK EARTHWORK

By H. G. RAMM

The name Green Dykes Lane survives in the eastern suburbs of York as that of a road running due south from the Hull Road across Thief Lane to Heslington Road, beyond which its line is continued south by a narrow arm of Walmgate Stray. Recent alterations connected with York University have considerably changed the junction of Green Dykes Lane and Heslington Road and the following description applies to the Lane before they were undertaken.

The lane and continuing arm of the Stray together span the marked but narrow morainic ridge approaching York from the east which here has a height of 100 ft. above O.D. The central section – the lane between Thief Lane and Heslington Road (old line) – runs from crest to crest, whilst the lane north of Thief Lane and the arm of the Stray ascend either flank of the ridge. The north section of the lane is now an ordinary suburban road running through a housing estate. The central section had a wide verge on its eastern side converging with the lane at its southern end. A footpath and right of way descends the arm of Walmgate Stray but there is no trace there of any ditch, dyke or track.

Earlier maps emphasise this three-fold division. In particular on Lund's map of 1772 (of Walmgate Ward Stray, City Archives D.Vv.3)



the north section is shown as a very narrow lane without verges, and the wide verges of the central section are emphasised.

The name Green Dykes Lane has been applied since the 1st edition of the O.S. 6 ins. (Sheet 174, 1853) to both the central and north sections. On Lund's map it is only the central section that is so named. The only evidence that the name was ever applied to the south section is in a document quoted by Drake (*Eboracum*, 597), where a boundary definition could be interpreted to imply that the south-west end of the Green Dykes lay at the south end of the arm of the stray. But the terms of the description are not sufficiently detailed to be sure.

The lane existed at least as early as 1736 when it is shown as a lane on the map of York and the Ainsty published in Drake's *Eboracum* (1736). Lund, although he limits the name to the central portion, continues the symbol marking the lane south along the arm of the stray. The whole complex south of Thief Lane has the appearance of a drove way giving access to the stray (or Low Moor as Lund calls it). This use is moreover implied by another document quoted by Drake (*Eboracum*, 598) dated 1484 in which the city are said to have the right to use their ways, moors, and pastures 'as they have used' them towards Fulford and specifies one such way 'between the *Green Dykes* on the east side of *Seward-How-Fields* and the *Green Dykes* to *Heslington*'. This implies that the dykes were double and that the way ran between them, whilst the phrase 'as they have used' suggests that this use was in 1484 already of long standing.

The name Green Dykes occurs earlier than 1484 in a different context. From the 14th to 16th century (and later) the Green Dykes figure in all the accounts we possess of the city's ridden boundaries. The earliest reference is in 1374 (*York Memorandum Book*, Surtees Soc., Vol. 120, 20-22) and it is clear from the topographical context that the Dykes meant are those after which the lane is named. As a boundary marker, the Dykes were not efficient. They were too wide and a dispute arose as to the ownership of the dykes themselves. In the 18th and 19th century the dykes are shewn as the boundary between the 'Lordship of Fulford' and the 'Lordship of Heslington' (Lund's map) or the 'Township of Gate Fulford' and the 'Township of Heslington St. Lawrence' [O.S. 1: 1056 (1852), 1: 10560 (1853)]. In 1457 the archbishop settled a dispute about the tithes from the Green Dykes between the Vicar of St. Lawrence (in whose parish Heslington St. Lawrence lay) and the abbot of St. Mary's (to whom Fulford belonged). His decision (quoted in Drake, *Eboracum*, 251) was that the vicar of St. Lawrence 'by reason of the endowment of his vicarage shall always receive those tythes and oblations arising out of a certain place called green-dyke whether within the limits of St. Mary's and the chapelries of St. Olave and Fulford as the abbot and convent of St. Mary's alledge or within the precincts of this church of St. Lawrence as Richard vicar thereof asserteth of right to belong to him'. Since tithes were derivable from the Dykes and

were worth arguing about, presumably they were put to some profitable use whether as pasture or for hay.

The archbishop only settled the dispute as it affected tithes. The boundary between the townships of Gate Fulford and Heslington St. Lawrence was still disputed in the 19th century and the two early O.S. maps [1: 1056 (1852), 1: 10560 (1853)] both show two separate boundary lines as claimed by each township. The narrow (35–50 ft. wide) strip of land between the two boundaries probably represents the site of the dykes. It is limited to the central section (between Thief Lane and Heslington Road) at its southern end occupied by the lane itself but for most of its course equivalent to the verge on the strip of land east of the Lane.

From the references quoted certain facts can be deduced about the character of the dykes as they survived into the later Middle Ages. A grass grown feature (this is implied by the adjective Green), double (i.e. two banks and intervening ditch, or two ditches with external and/or medial banks), 35–50 ft. wide, extending from crest to crest of a marked ridge with relatively steep sides, they served both as a boundary marker and a drove way, and were also put to some productive use from which tithes were derived.

They were not designed for any of the purposes they are known to have served in the later Mediaeval period. They are co-extensive with neither of the two boundaries which they served to mark and are inefficient purely as a boundary marker. They are not co-extensive with the drove-way into Low Moor or Walmgate Ward Stray but limited only to that part of it on the ridge summit. They were presumably an existing feature when the boundaries and drove-way were formed.

They have an obvious analogy in the well-known dykes of the E. Riding which are basically Iron Age in date, although, like the present work, were put to use as trackways and boundary markers in later periods. These dykes are very complex, and their study is difficult, because of their use and amendment over very long periods. While it is true that they do tend to multiply in crossing natural features such as the narrow wold valleys or the necks of ridge between valleys, they differ from the present work in their length, often very great. It is of course possible that only that part of the dykes on top of the ridge survived into the Middle Ages, but it seems more probable that the Green-dykes belonged to another type of Iron Age work – the cross-ridge dyke.

The purpose of such a work would be to control traffic using the natural ridge route across the Vale of York. The Roman legionary fortress was sited within the junction of the Ouse and Foss for very good Roman military reasons, and this became the centre of the Roman and later road systems, and the centre of the Roman and later settlements. But it is not the natural centre. The greatest area of well drained light soils lay on the west side of the river, whence came the majority of prehistoric finds of all periods from the York



area for which the detailed provenance is known. There is, moreover, evidence to suggest that an Iron Age settlement existed on the site of the present railway station. The natural ridge route leads to a river crossing south of the junction of Foss and Ouse. The dykes would control the natural approach to such a crossing from the east, west of where the ridge began to broaden out.

## A CARVED AGNUS DEI AT SPEETON, EAST YORKSHIRE

By EDWARD INGRAM

During recent restoration work at the small church of St. Leonard, at Speeton, a rather crude carving of an Agnus Dei was discovered, built into the wall and completely covered by the masonry. It only came to light when the other stones had been removed. The stone itself was found over a modern square-headed doorway.

The church is of early Norman date, and the position of the stone, together with its broken character, would suggest that it once formed part of a larger composition, possibly a tympanum over an earlier door.

The top side of the stone measures  $14\frac{1}{2}$  ins., the lower side 13 ins., the left hand side  $5\frac{1}{2}$  ins. and the right hand side  $7\frac{1}{2}$  ins. The lamb has the near forefoot raised to support a cross, a position typical of early representations of the Agnus Dei. There are two rudely ornamented strips which form the lateral edges of the stone and these appear to taper at the top. Miss K. Galbraith, M.A., of the Courtauld Institute of Art, who has kindly examined a photograph of the stone considers that if this tapering is intentional, it is difficult to imagine in what way the stone may have been used, since such a configuration is not wholly consistent with the architectural field most usually selected for decoration, that is tympana, lintels, friezes and the like, although the use of the stone for one of these cannot be wholly excluded.

There are a number of Yorkshire churches, where the Agnus Dei occurs on fonts, panels, capitals etc., the nearest being at Thwing, where it forms a tympanum over the south door. This comes closest in style to the Speeton one. The similarity may be fortuitous, but Thwing and Speeton are only some nine miles apart. In the Middle Ages, both were chapels dependent on Bridlington Priory, and this suggests that a connection does indeed exist between the two carvings. It also strengthens the supposition that the Speeton stone formed part of a tympanum, although this is by no means conclusive. Miss Galbraith suggests that the stone should be dated *c.* 1120–25.

The stone has been re-set inside the building, next to a carved stone discovered during the restoration work in 1910.





PLATE III. Carved Agnus Dei.





## KNARESBOROUGH CASTLE

By JEAN LE PATOUREL

In the Spring of 1961 a small excavation was carried out at Knaresborough Castle on behalf of the Ministry of Public Building and Works. The occasion was a proposal by the Urban District Council to erect a stone bandstand in the Castle Yard; the site proved unsuitable for a heavy building and the proposal was abandoned. Though the excavation was necessarily limited to the threatened area, it produced evidence which in its nature and implications should help to resolve some of the problems in the history of the castle that have in the past given rise to a good deal of discussion, not to say controversy.

### *The Excavation*

The excavated area covered some thirty-six by twenty-eight feet, with an extension westwards from the bandstand site, measuring eight by four feet, and an isolated small rectangle immediately south of the existing eastern stub of the curtain wall, dug to check stratification at this point (Fig. 2). In the centre of the area a large disturbance caused by an excavation in 1926 was only partially removed (Fig. 2) owing to the presence, adjacent to its unconsolidated backfill, of a large modern concrete float. Several such floats were removed elsewhere, but it was judged that the time and trouble involved was unjustified in this case where no new information was likely to be obtained. An earlier disturbance in the northern corner of the site had been filled in late in the eighteenth or early in the nineteenth century. Apart from this, only minor disturbances due to activity subsequent to the laying out of the castle as a public park were encountered. The site lay over the course of a subterranean sallyport or postern discovered in 1926 by Mr. S. C. Barber and reported by him in this *Journal*.<sup>1</sup> The findings in 1961, as they affect the structure of the sallyport, confirm and amplify what was then discovered. The stratification observed when the whole area was open, however, must modify his conclusions as to the nature and development of the outer ward.

The postern, some ninety feet long, sloped from ground level in the outer ward northwards towards a cavern in the side of the moat, with a defensive portcullis about half way along its course. In order to construct it a wide gully had been dug through red drift

<sup>1</sup> *Y.A.J.*, Vol. xxx, (1931). Excavations at Knaresborough Castle, pp. 200-220. I am grateful to Mr. Barber for his help throughout the excavation and for the loan of unpublished drawings made at the time of the 1926 excavation.



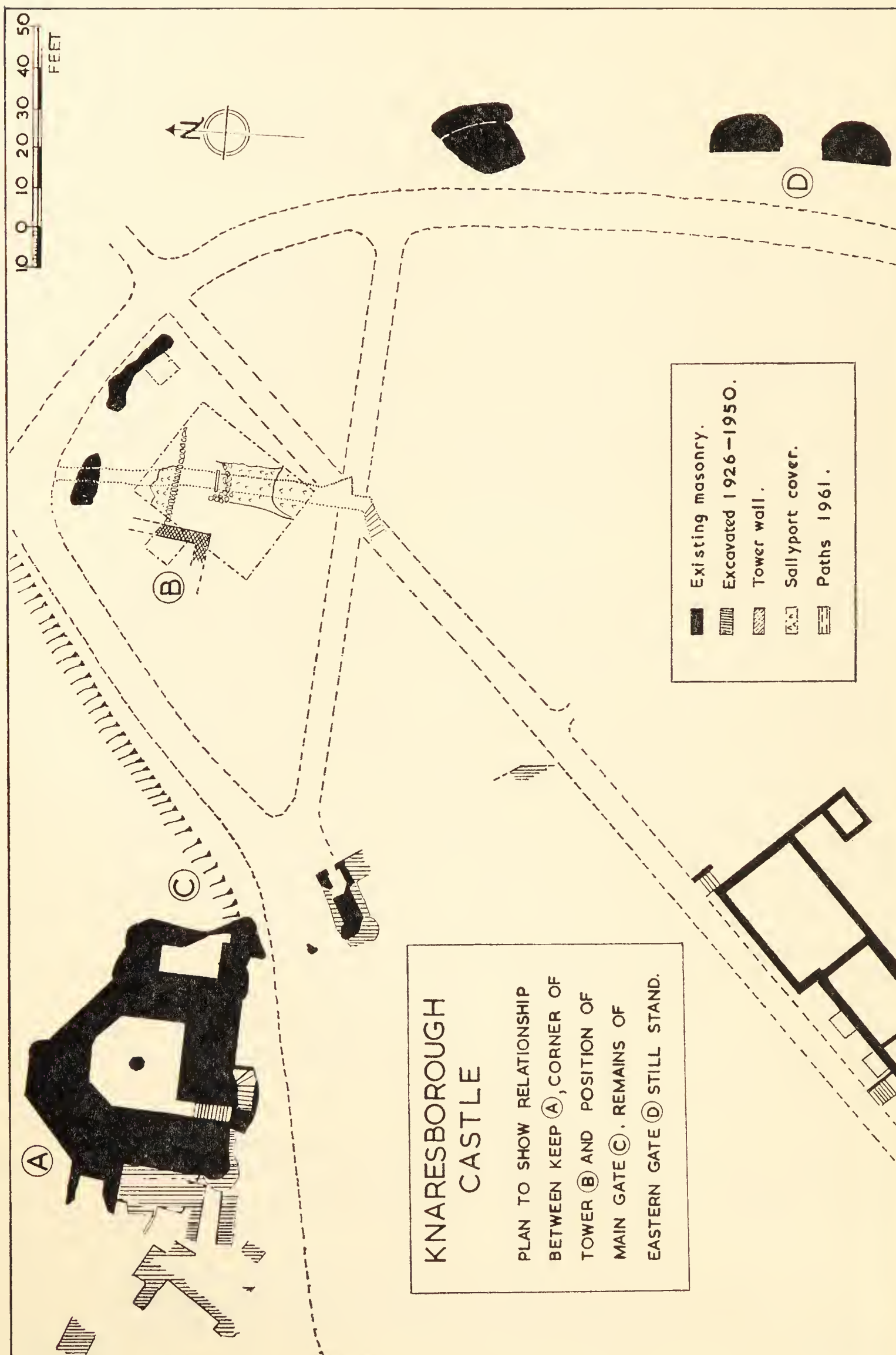


FIG. 1.

clay which at this point covers the magnesian limestone to a depth of some five feet. This gully would destroy earlier features in the area if any such had previously existed. In the centre of the cut, which was about ten feet wide where it met the rock, the latter itself had been excavated. A marked discrepancy between the level of the rock outside the postern and the rock face as it appears within the passage suggests that the masonry of upper wall and roof rests on a shelf cut from the rock, which was, as it were, stepped down to accommodate the wall foundation. At the southern corner of the site, where the top of the structure approached within a foot of modern ground level, the sallyport roof was covered with a rough dome. As the entrance steps lie over sixteen feet further south, beyond the limits of the excavation, part of the postern must originally have been above ground. Though somewhat obscured by modern walling, there is some slight evidence in the entry that the passage opened into a species of chamber, possibly within a building. The dome covering the passage where it approached ground level consisted of a rubble core topped with hard mortar mixed with a certain amount of stone. As the mortar showed a tendency to deteriorate soon after exposure it was re-covered as soon as recording was completed. This dome, and the passage beyond it, were presumably originally faced with ashlar since a survey of the castle made in the reign of Henry VIII<sup>1</sup> speaks of the posterns as 'privy stairs vaulted extending under the ground of clean hewen stone'. As the passage descends into the rock, less and less masonry was required to cover it until, a few feet north of the portcullis, it becomes a rock tunnel with a safe four feet of limestone forming the roof.

North of the dome the sallyport cover flattened out to support a structure for enclosing the portcullis mechanism. In the report on the 1926 excavation it was stated that heavy masonry was removed to allow entry into the tunnel at this point. While the precise point of entry (subsequently covered with concrete by the U.D.C.) could not be uncovered for the reasons mentioned above, enough of the area was exposed to show that the machinery for raising and lowering the portcullis had not been contained in any major building. No trace of walls in either timber or stone was found in the undisturbed ground to the south of the area excavated by Mr. Barber. A rectangle of stone rubble, some ten feet square, resting on the cover of the sallyport itself, represented the extreme limits of the structure. This rubble (Fig. 2), partly destroyed in 1926, seems to have been in the nature of a backing for the squared masonry lining the shaft itself where this appeared through the postern roof. It is probable that the upper courses of this shaft, and the rubble behind them, constituted the 'heavy masonry' removed at the time of the earlier excavation. Too much had been destroyed for a clear interpretation, but since the mechanism must have needed a housing of some sort, and since the evidence would appear to preclude a building in the usual sense of the word, something resembling the traditional roofed well seems the most probable type of structure to be envisaged.

<sup>1</sup> P.R.O. Misc. Books (Treasury of the Receipt) E.36/159.



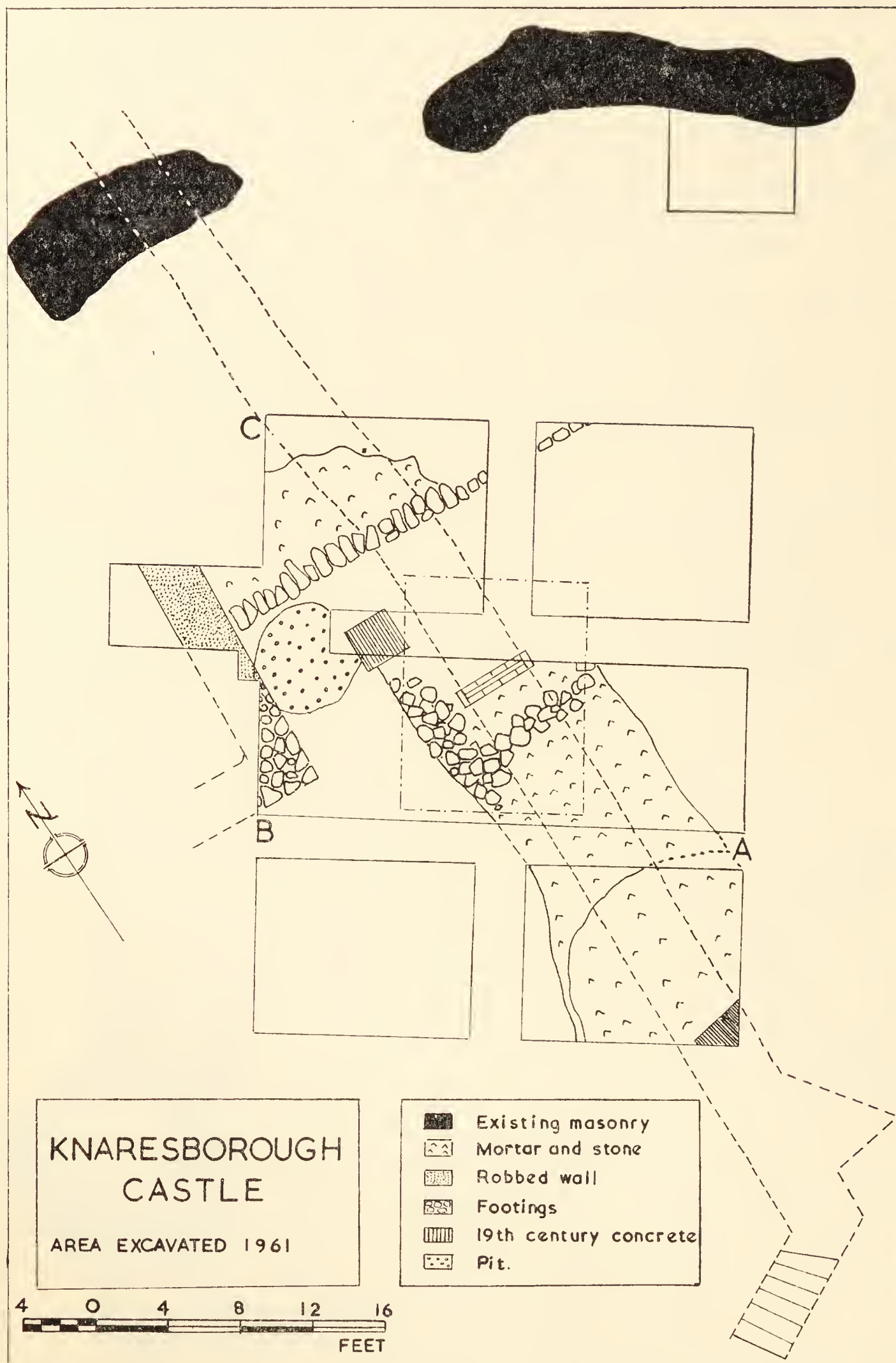


FIG. 2.



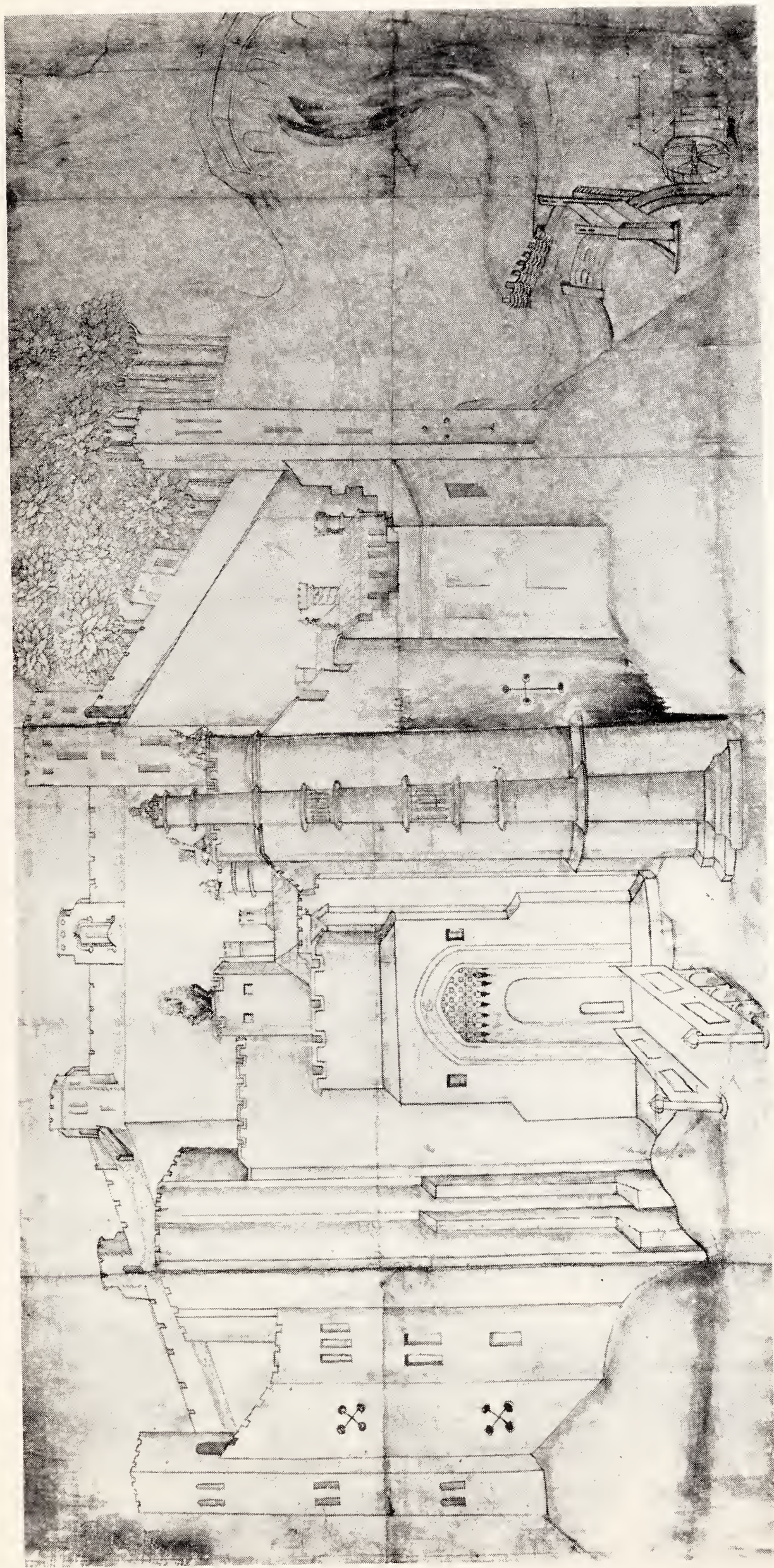


PLATE I.



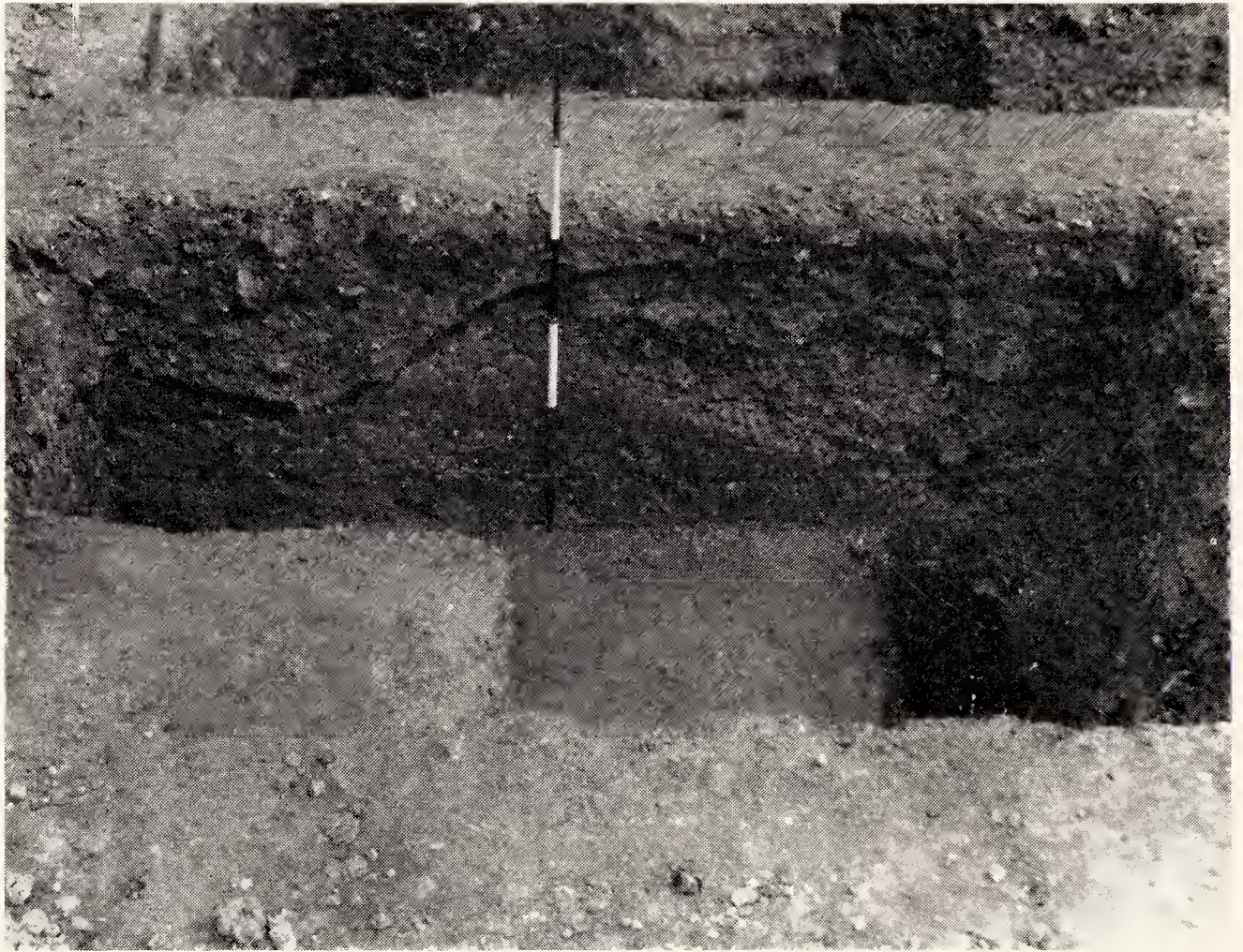


PLATE II.  
Section to show cut for sallyport.



PLATE III.  
Rubble around portcullis slot.



North of the portcullis, and of the point where the postern entered the rock, a somewhat unusual feature was found. Above the tunnel, but not spanning its course with precision, was a buttress-like structure of rough stone blocks, strongly mortared together and to a stone and mortar cap that continued in a northerly direction. The original extent of the cap is uncertain as it was cut into by a deep disturbance. This latter appears to have been caused by the destruction ordered by Major-General Lambert following the Civil War, when each petty constable in the wapentake of Claro had to send a certain number of labourers 'with spades, shovels, pickaxes, hacks, mattocks or gavelocks'<sup>1</sup> to complete the destruction of the castle. Eighteenth-century drawings show pits and hummocks over the area, while a lithograph of 1837<sup>2</sup> shows it levelled up by that date. This accords with the evidence of the pottery from the lines of tip found here, for it seems to belong to the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century. The structure itself terminated within six inches of the ghost trench of an earlier wall. It was built while the cut for the postern was still open, for although stratification was destroyed by the disturbance over the cap itself and over the western end of the arch, at its eastern end the latter tailed off into a row of unmortared blocks covered by undisturbed limestone chips from the tunnel excavation. Since the feature seems to form no integral part of the sallyport construction, the most reasonable interpretation would seem to be that it was a buttress constructed to strengthen the foundation of the older wall, weakened perhaps by the proximity of the excavation for the postern which would have attained its maximum depth of some twenty feet just south of the buttress (Fig. 3, Section B-C).

A fifteenth-century rubbish pit was cut down to rock level immediately south of the buttress, obscuring the sequence at this point. It cut obliquely into the outer stones of the foundation of the older wall. Further south, at the extreme west of the excavated area, was the corner of a building running north and west. The footings, of undressed limestone bonded with a very poor, disintegrated, sandy mortar, rested directly on the rock surface (Section B-C). To obtain more information about the building it represented, a four foot trench was run westwards from the bandstand site. Here the continuation of the north-south wall was picked up as a ghost trench against which was built the buttress-like structure described earlier. Projected northwards towards the existing remnant of curtain wall and westwards towards the ditch top along which the destroyed sections of the curtain wall must have run, the corner would form part of a building some twenty-eight by thirty-six feet internally, if it were rectangular, with outer walls formed by the curtain wall of the castle (Fig. 1).

In the south-west corner of the site a pitted floor with large charcoal patches (section in Pl. 2) marked the surface at the time of the castle's destruction. This floor, with similar charcoal patches,

<sup>1</sup> W. Wheeler, *Knaresborough Castle and its Rulers*, 1907, p. 238.

<sup>2</sup> S. Howell, *Fourteen lithographic views of Knaresborough*, 1837.



# SECTION B-C

STONE ARCH OVER SALLYPORT-X

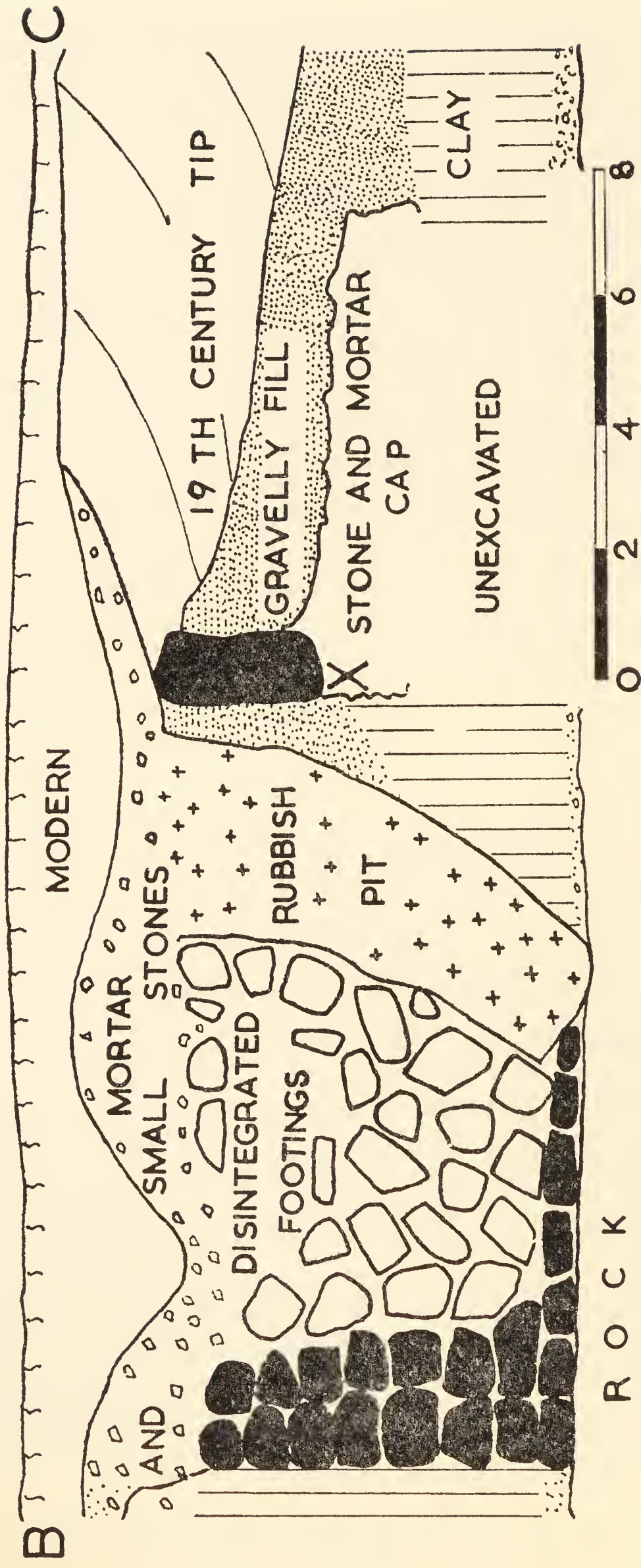


FIG. 3.

was found also at the north-east corner of the excavation. There it overlay the limestone chips of the postern construction, the excavation for which extended north, though at a lesser depth, beyond the point where the tunnel entered the rock, and outside the bandstand area. As no earlier floor level could be found in such circumstances a rectangle was dug south of the curtain wall, but this area was found to have been disturbed to rock level by some previous excavator.

The southern end of the gully, beyond the 1926 disturbance, had been levelled with a brown earthy fill containing a good deal of pottery. This fill was uniform over the sallyport roof, and unless it had been entirely removed and replaced at some later date, which appears very unlikely, the pottery in it must belong to the construction period, since the cut is unlikely to have been left open for long. The group of pottery it contained has been compared with a collection published by Mr. Dudley Waterman,<sup>1</sup> believed to be contemporary with the digging of the castle ditches, consisting entirely of unglazed cooking pots and bowls in twelfth century gritty northern ware. The postern fill contained none of this pottery. Here there were, for the most part, partially glazed sherds, including internally glazed cooking pots of the shape, though not of the precise fabric, found in the lowest level of a kiln at Cowick,<sup>2</sup> three sherds of Humber ware<sup>3</sup> and a small number of decorated sherds. It is impossible to accept these as contemporary with the ditch group. Even when due allowance has been made for long survival of pottery types in the Middle Ages it is difficult to put the sallyport group earlier than the second half of the thirteenth century.

### *Discussion*

The first point that must arise is the date at which the sallyport was made. Although Knaresborough is as well documented as most royal castles,<sup>4</sup> there is no mention in surviving building accounts of the construction of its subterranean posterns. Two of these still survive and there is reasonable evidence for the existence of a third; their building must have been a matter of some labour and expense. Most of these rock-cut exits, found sporadically on both English and continental castles when the underlying rock is suitable for such tunnelling, are of early date. Those at Dover, for example, were dug at the beginning of the thirteenth century, a time when King John was spending also large sums on the construction of the Knaresborough ditches. The archaeological evidence, however, would seem to preclude such a date in this case. It has been suggested that the pottery from the sallyport fill can be no earlier than the second half of the thirteenth century. At that time the castle

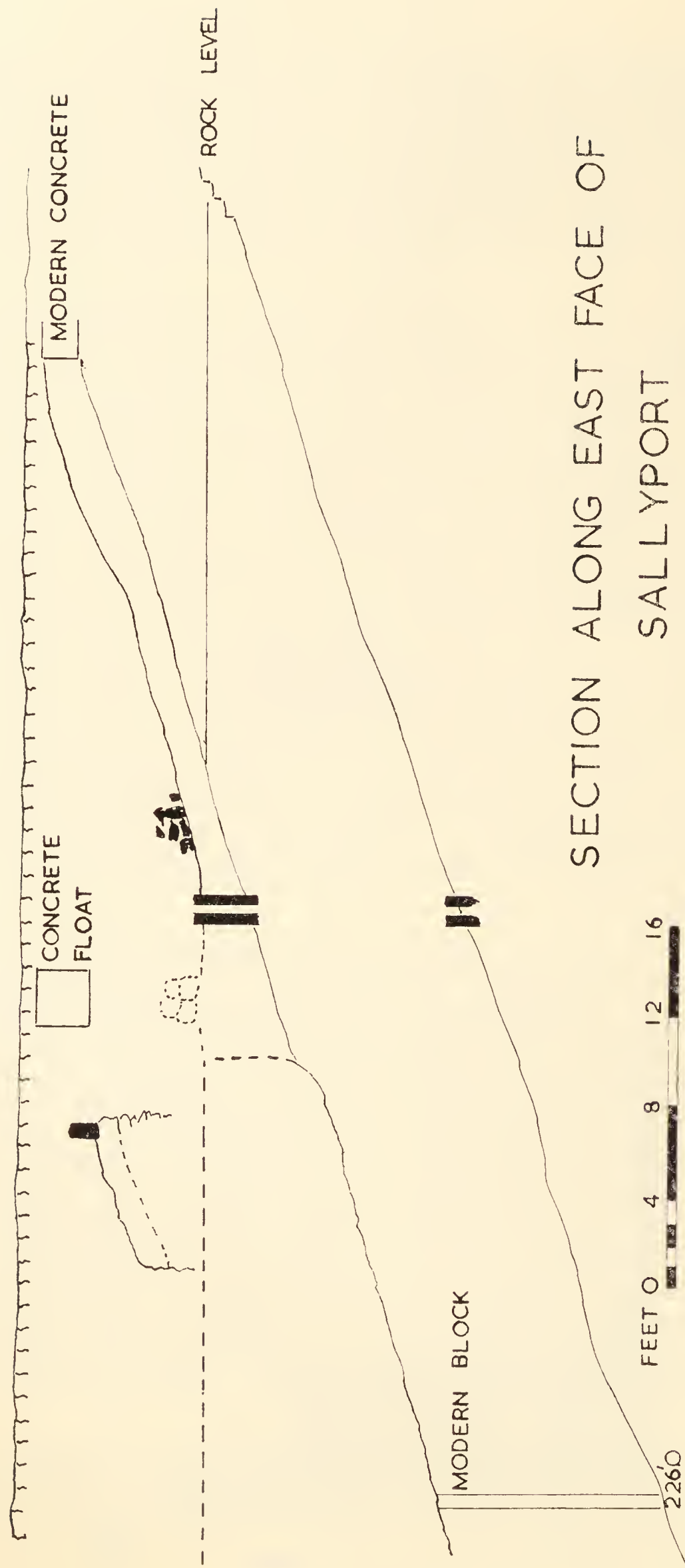
<sup>1</sup> *Antiq. Journ.*, 33 (1953), p. 212.

<sup>2</sup> This level in the Cowick series is estimated to date very early in the fourteenth century. Excav. P. Mayes, report forthcoming.

<sup>3</sup> Humber ware is described in *Excavations at Pontefract Priory*, Thoresby Soc., vol. xlix, p. 114.

<sup>4</sup> *History of the King's Works*, Vol. ii, p. 687ff.





# SECTION ALONG EAST FACE OF SALLYPORT

FIG. 4.





PLATE IV.  
Sallyport cover.



PLATE V.  
Wall foundation (B), (Fig. 1.).





was in private hands and no building accounts are known to have survived. It might perhaps be argued on general grounds that the posterns could be of considerably later date, since even in the sixteenth century Paul Ive<sup>1</sup> was urging the necessity for such privy exits. There was, however, a *terminus ante quem* in the shape of a rubbish pit dug partly into the sallyport filling. Among the contents of this pit were a halfpenny struck between 1335 and 1343; a considerable amount of pottery, predominantly early fifteenth century in character, which included three *Skipton-on-Swale*<sup>2</sup> type jugs (Fig. 6, 16, 17, 18) and part of a glass goblet (Fig. 8, no. 1) for which Dr. Harden has suggested a date of about 1400 or somewhat later. *Skipton-on-Swale* type jugs were being made at Cowick from about 1375 onwards; the latest coin in the pot from which the name derives was minted c. 1399. While the type continued to be made for a century or more, the later examples show minor differences in shape which do not occur at Knaresborough. Taken together, these finds suggest a date early in the fifteenth century for the rubbish pit, which means that the sallyport into whose fill it was dug must antedate the fifteenth century. Furthermore, there is very little overlap in pottery style between the two fills. Since there is little change in pottery in Yorkshire during any span of less than fifty years, it can be suggested with confidence that the postern fill is not likely to be later than the mid-fourteenth century. Fairly full building accounts survive for Edward II's reign, and the absence of any mention of the sallyports at that time, though not conclusive since this is negative evidence, makes the most probable date for the posterns either late in the thirteenth century, when the castle was in private hands, or possibly between about 1327 and the mid-century.

The widespread belief that the northern or outer ward had been artificially raised during the Middle Ages requires some modification in the light of the stratification recorded during the 1961 excavation. Mr. Barber believed such a process to have taken place during John's reign at the time of the early thirteenth century work on the castle ditches. Mr. W. A. Atkinson,<sup>3</sup> in an article on the implications of the 1926 report, advanced the theory that the whole outer ward was an 'Edwardian addition' to the castle and that such levelling up had taken place at the time of its construction. The presence of undisturbed drift clay (Pl. II and section A – B) within a foot of modern ground surface shows that no major levelling up can have taken place at least in the area of the 1961 excavation. The differences in level between the outer and inner wards are more probably to be explained by natural erosion of the drift clay as the ground slopes towards the cliffs overhanging the river Nidd.

The wall corner found in the extreme west of the site poses a number of interesting problems. If a late thirteenth century date is

<sup>1</sup> Paul Ive, *The Practise of Fortification*, 1589, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> J. D. A. Thompson, *Inventory of Coin Hoards*, Pl. IV and *Y.A.J.*, vol. xl, 1960, p. 300.

<sup>3</sup> *Y.A.J.*, Vol. xxxi, 1934, p. 121ff.



# SECTION AT A-B TO SHOW SALLYPORT CONSTRUCTION

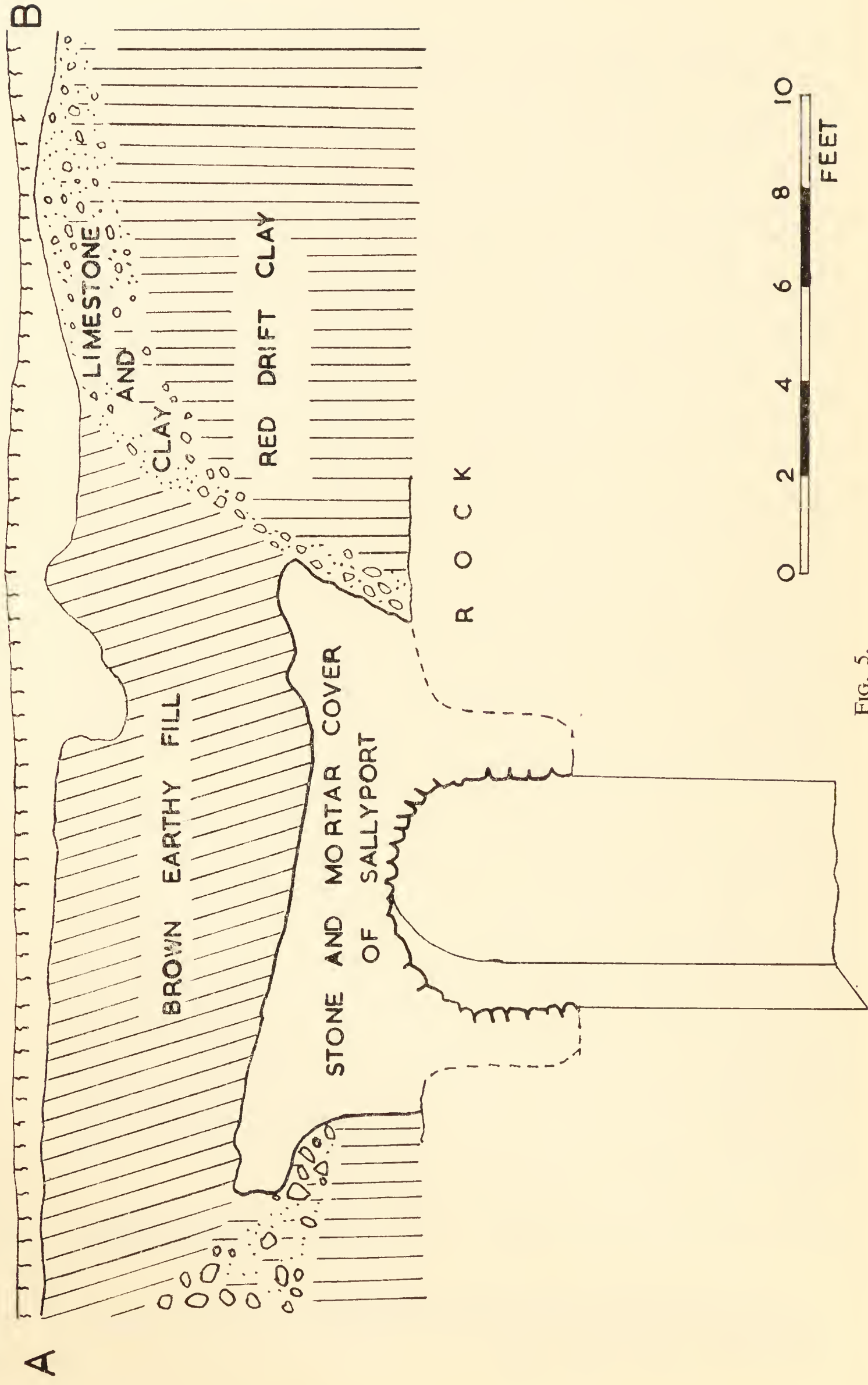


FIG. 5.

accepted for the sallyport, the presence of an earlier building requiring support at this point would seem to rule out any suggestion that the outer ward was a late addition to the castle. But there are further implications. An Elizabethan drawing of the castle (Pl. I) shows a tower which, allowing for Tudor conventions of scale, should come at just about this point.<sup>1</sup> At first sight it may seem that a drawing of this character does not merit serious consideration; and this one especially, has given rise to some perplexity because of the position of the main gate in relation to the castle keep. There survives, however, a drawing by this same artist of another Duchy of Lancaster castle, namely Tickhill. There can be no doubt that both drawings are by the same hand. Conventionalised treatment of background details is identical; methods of drawing oak trees and arrow slots, water mill and bridge parapet among other small but unmistakable touches, show quite clearly that the same artist is responsible for both. Mr. R. Allen Brown has published the Tudor picture of Tickhill alongside one of that castle as it stands today, taken from the same viewpoint.<sup>2</sup> This juxtaposition shows the artist with a good general eye for layout and relative position of buildings combined with a quite fanciful hand with decorative devices. Confirmation of both characteristics comes from other sources. The 1538 survey of Knaresborough Castle says that at 'every angle . . . is a tower standing, without the wallys of great thickness'. It further notes wall towers that are 'massy within and not hollow', large enough to take carts and ordnance; besides this it speaks of residential towers ('three houses high') and a tower for storing ordnance lighted only by doors, in addition to the keep. This multiplicity of towers is confirmed by Leland, writing a few years earlier, who counted 'eleven or twelve'. The artist in fact draws ten; nine correctly projecting beyond the walls, but all, and in view of the evidence of the survey this cannot be correct, plentifully adorned with conventionalised Tudor windows. It does therefore appear that he is reliable in general though not in detail, and that his relative layout of keep, entry and tower must be treated with some respect. The apparent line of the building of which the corner was excavated in 1961, and the deep robbing of the area adjacent, both point in the same direction.

If it is accepted that the drawing is substantially correct and that there was, in fact, a tower at this point, the further question of the position of the main gate must arise. It seems that there were three gates to the castle, two of which at least are likely to have existed in the early fourteenth century. The Tudor survey speaks of a 'large postern against the south', blocked at that time, and another 'against the east towards the town', also blocked and also in the outer ward. In another entry it also speaks of the 'gatehouse roof where the bridge is'. The eastern gate is probably that of which the remnants still stand, possibly, in view of its architecture, the

<sup>1</sup> P.R.O. MR 14.

<sup>2</sup> R. Allen Brown, *English Mediaeval Castles*, p. 196.



'new gate' of 1305.<sup>1</sup> Whether or not this was the case, it seems certain that the main gate in the sixteenth century was the one next the keep, shown in the illustration with a bridge in front of it, which, as the survey complains, 'is now a lieng bridge that should be and was a drawbridge and the chains and all other thing unto the drawbridge belonging want'. To underline this latter point the artist shows two large rectangular cavities from which the chains 'want'.

The function of the first floor of the keep has been the subject of much discussion. Mr. W. A. Atkinson summarised this in 1944,<sup>2</sup> accepting, what indeed can be seen from the existing ruins, that a large doorway opened eastwards from the main room, and refuting G. T. Clark's<sup>3</sup> theory that this room was merely a passage way from the outer to the inner ward, approached by a raised causeway from the outer ward. Neither writer mentioned in this connection the 1538 survey which speaks clearly of this middle floor as the 'King's Hall'. If, as has been argued here, the main gate lay directly north of the keep, the 'passage way' theory would be untenable, unlikely as it is on other grounds. There is no evidence to show whether any means of communication existed between the keep and the lodging above the gatehouse, mentioned in the survey and shown in the drawing, though the survey speaks of complicated arrangements above the stairway for 'making war downwards', which may have some relevance in this connection. The architectural evidence was destroyed with the slighting of the keep, and the ground level east of the keep makes it unlikely that excavation at this point would be profitable in such a heavily robbed area. Further work west of the 1961 excavation to clarify the lines of the supposed tower and the consequent authenticity of the Tudor drawing would, on the other hand, be very valuable, should the opportunity present itself.

#### THE POTTERY

A combination of documentary and place-name evidence, combined with fieldwork followed by excavation, has shown beyond doubt that pottery making was very widespread in Yorkshire throughout the middle ages. It is possible that a potter was working in Knaresborough itself; it is certain that potters were working in the Forest adjacent to the town. In addition a certain amount of pottery came to the castle from York and from other neighbouring markets, and an occasional pitcher, such as a Dutch jug found during the 1926 excavation, came from overseas.

The two principal groups of pottery to be considered are, first that associated with the construction of the sallyport, and secondly that from the filling of a rubbish pit dug partly through the sallyport fill. Of the pottery associated with the sallyport, the great number of sherds were glazed, and three pots were decorated, two with stamped stripwork, one with continuous rouletting in a simple wedge design. The rims of two of the cooking pots, both of which have internal glaze, are comparable in shape to an example found in the lowest level of the Cowick kilns, a level estimated to be of very late thirteenth or very early fourteenth century date. Three jugs in Humber Ware were also included, and again these are not likely to have been made much earlier than the end of the thirteenth century, though it must be admitted that the precise date at

<sup>1</sup> *The King's Works*, vol. II, p. 688.

<sup>2</sup> *Y.A.J.*, Vol. xxxvi, 1944, p. 200.

<sup>3</sup> G. T. Clark, *Mediaeval Military Architecture*, vol. ii, p. 175.

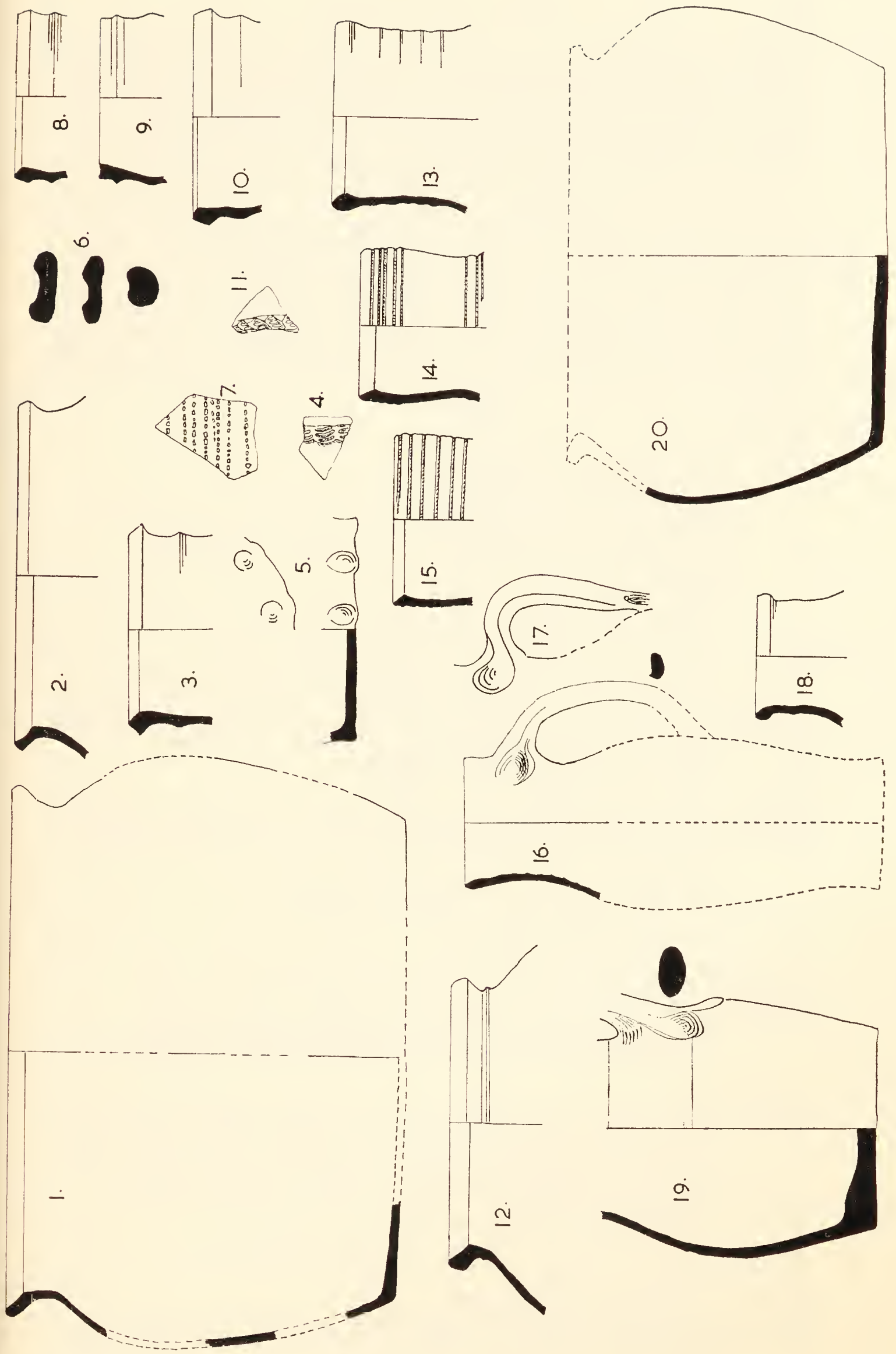


FIG. 6. Scale  $\frac{1}{4}$



which the manufacture of the type of pottery began is still a matter for conjecture. These jug rims were not made at Cowick; the nearest known analogies were found at Pontefract Priory; but it seems that each group of potters stuck to their traditional forms over very long periods, and there may well have been potters making Humber Ware in the vicinity of Knaresborough. If this group is compared as a whole with that illustrated by Mr. Waterman and believed to have been associated with King John's work on the castle ditches, it is obvious that the sallyport group belongs to a considerably later date.

The pottery from the pit has few features in common with that from the sallyport fill. It contained three *Skipton-on-Swale* type jugs which have already been discussed; part of a jug (no. 23) with a bung-hole near the base and cooking pot sherds with a typical Humber Ware rim form. All these shapes were found together in a Cowick kiln level of late fourteenth century date, but the jug with the bung-hole and the cooking pot sherds are in a glazed fabric (East Pennine gritty ware) probably made in or near the town. Taking the group as a whole, an early fifteenth century date seems most appropriate for the pottery from the pit.

#### DESCRIPTION

##### *A. Contemporary with building of sallyport*

##### *Fabric 1. Gritty, local manufacture*

1. Cooking pot, grey core, red surfaces, patchy yellowish-green glaze.
2. Similar; outer surface grey.
3. Jug rim with darker green glaze than 1 and 2. Buff surface.
4. From a jug with grey body, light green glaze, applied strip in dark brown.
5. Jug base with finger-printing on side and base (Group 3, J. G. Hurst, *Med. Arch.* vi-vii. 1962-3, p. 295-6).
6. Sections of three jug handles in this group and fabric.
7. From a jug; buff inner surface, grey core, continuous rouletting over green glaze; rather more micacious than the rest of the group.

*Fabric 2.* Humber ware not from any kiln so far located. It is closer to examples found at Pontefract Priory than to products of the Cowick kilns.

8. Jug rim, red, patches of mid-green glaze.
- 9, 10. Similar; spots of glaze only.

*Fabric 3.* One of the common fabrics found in the City of York during the highly decorated period, slightly sandy in texture.

11. Jug sherd, buff; self coloured strip over stamped and covered with mid-green glaze.
- Not illustrated; jug sherd similar to 7 above.

*Fabric 4.* Northern gritty ware, twelfth - thirteenth centuries.

12. Cooking pot, buff, unglazed.

##### *B. Fill of rubbish pit*

##### *Fabric 1.*

- 13-15. These jugs probably represent a later form of the local ware. They are completely oxidised. 14 has a good clear green glaze applied with precision to reach exactly to the top of the fifth corrugation.

##### *Fabric 2.*

- 16-18. Pieces from 3 jugs, *Skipton-on-Swale* type. Made in quantity at Cowick where their earliest date seems to come a little before the date of the last coin in the *Skipton-on-Swale* coin hoard (1399). These may be from a local kiln making Humber ware. All unglazed.

19. Jug with yellowish glaze confined to upper part only.

20. Cooking pot with light brown glaze over interior.

##### *Fabric 3.*

21. Buff, light grey inside, cucumber green glaze outside.

##### *Fabric 5.* East Pennine gritty ware.

22. Jug, mid grey, partial dark green glaze.

23. Jug sherd with bung hole. This feature has not yet been found earlier than the fourteenth century in Yorkshire.

24. Similar, unglazed.  
 25. Jug sherd with much bolder rouletting than no. 7 above.  
 26. From a large vessel with all-over external glaze in shades of green and brown.  
 27. Typical fifteenth century cooking pot rim made in a variety of fabrics in the county.

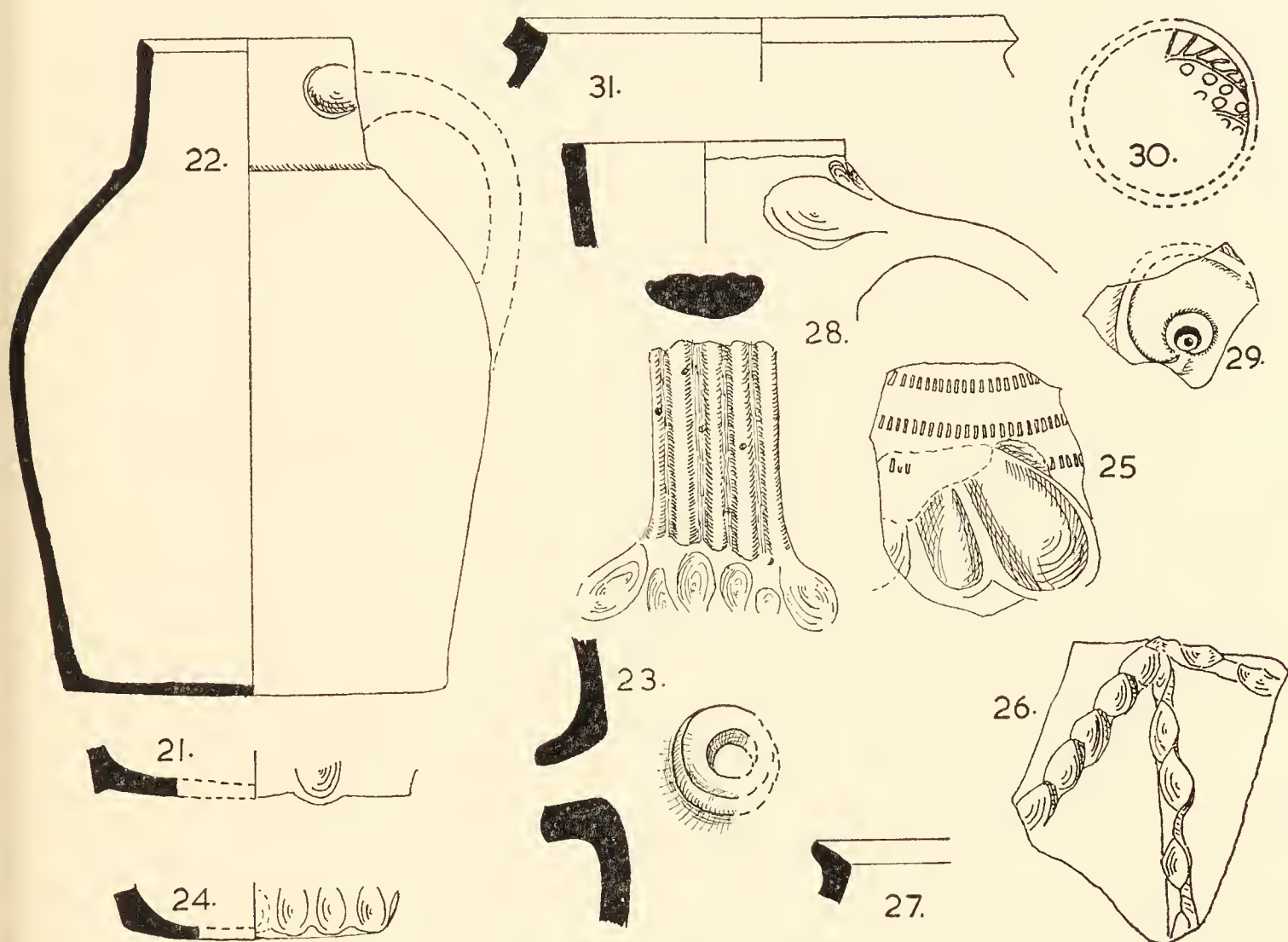


FIG. 7. Scale  $\frac{1}{4}$ .

*C. From late tipping at north end of site*

*Fabric 2.*

28. These broad handles with ribs and stabbing were made in Humber Ware from the beginning of the fourteenth to the middle of the sixteenth century. Multiple thumbing of the base develops towards the end of the fourteenth century.

*D. Unstratified*

*Fabric 2.*

29. Slip trailing with pellet work. Self-coloured slip, green glaze. The Cowick date for this decoration is early fourteenth century.

*Fabric 3.*

30. Fragment from a York seal jug. (Petergate Excavation, report forthcoming.)

*Fabric 4.*

31. A typical angular rimmed cooking pot which may be a twelfth century stray.

COIN. One coin was found in Pit I, a silver halfpenny of Edward III London mint, second coinage (1335–1343). North no. 1102. (Report from Mr. M. Dolley.)



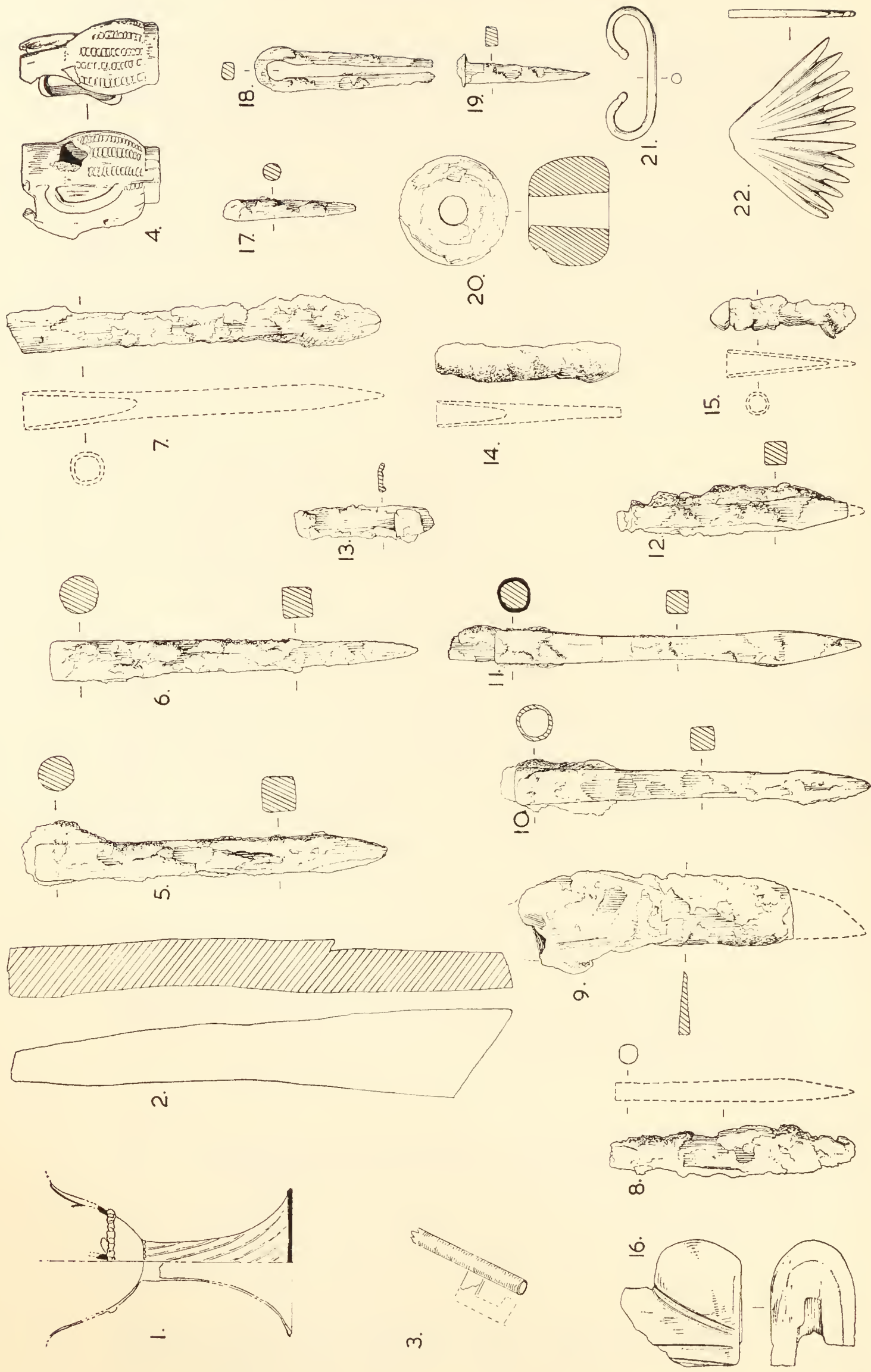


FIG. 8. Nos. 4, 16, 20, 21, 22,  $1\frac{1}{2}$ ; remainder  $\frac{1}{4}$

## SMALL FINDS:

*Glass* (Report by Dr. D. B. Harden)

1. Fragments of a stemmed 'chalice' (Fig. 8, no. 1), yellow, with trails of similar and of dark blue glass: some dulling of surface, but no weathering. Top of body and handles (if any) missing. Rim probably outplayed to same diameter as base. Faint slightly wrythen corrugation (formed by pre-moulding the stem by blowing into a cylindrical mould) on stem and foot. On body a thick nicked trail of similar glass horizontally, joining which is some unnicked trailing of dark blue glass above and below: a trail of the same dark blue on edge of base. Vessel made of two gatherings, the stem and body being blown and fashioned separately and later joined together. The pontil mark now visible under the junction of stem and body is the one used when the body was being finished and its trails added. After this the already partly finished stem with its cylindrical open end was attached to the body leaving this pontil-mark untouched and then it, in its turn, was finished by manipulation. An almost exactly similar fragmentary chalice is in the Salisbury Museum, from Old Sarum.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps a date for both the Knaresborough and Old Sarum chalices should be c. 1400. Both may well be imports from Venetian glass works.

2. (Not. illus.) Fragment of body or stem, yellow, with vertical blue trail. It seems to come from a similar vessel decorated with vertical trailing instead of wrythen corrugations.

3. Fragment of rim (not illus.) with blue trailing in a spiral band.

4. Another with similar spiral trailing, belonging to a vessel with almost vertical sides.

5. Fragments of lamp (not illus.), greenish, with some iridescence and dulling; very bubbly with some impurities. Rim (D.  $4\frac{1}{2}$  ins.) rounded in flame, funnel neck meeting body at acute angle, rounded shoulder; below shoulder part of one handle is extant and there must originally have been at least three, if not more. This is a glass lamp of the Arabic type which exists both in the well-known enamelled examples of the 13th to early 14th century and in plain varieties contemporary therewith and continuing later: some very similar types are still made today for use in sanctuaries.<sup>2</sup> This piece is certainly not of English make and looks like soda-lime glass, such as was only made in Mediterranean countries in the Middle Ages.

*Hone.* Part of an unusually large schist hone was found in Pit 1. Professor J. H. Hemingway reports that geologically, it must originate either in the Grampians or in Brittany. (Fig. 8, no. 2.)

*Pewter Ampulla.*<sup>3</sup> (Fig. 8, no. 4.) From Pit 1. These little bottles have not generally been found even in a loosely dated context such as that provided by the early fifteenth century pit.

NOTE. This report has been supported by a subvention from the Ministry of Public Building and Works.

<sup>1</sup> *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd series xxiii, p. 514.

<sup>2</sup> *Journ. Egyptian Arch.* xvii (1931) 196ff.

<sup>3</sup> London Museum Catalogues, no. 7, p. 26.



## EXCAVATIONS AT RIPLINGHAM EAST YORKSHIRE 1956-7

By JOHN WACHER

### INTRODUCTION

The deserted Mediaeval village of Riplingham lies on the Yorkshire Wolds some nine miles west-north-west of Kingston-upon-Hull (Map Reference SE963318), at a height of nearly 500 ft. above sea level. It is one of a small group of deserted villages in this neighbourhood, which includes Weedley, Wauldby and Rowley; indeed, it now lies in the parish of Rowley, whose church has remained in use, although the village itself has ceased to exist. The disused church at Wauldby survives as a farm building, but the site of the church at Riplingham has yet to be identified.<sup>1</sup> All that remains of this village is a manor house, a grange, a farm (Riplingham House) and a group of cottages.

The present excavations by the Ministry of Works, took place in a field immediately to the west of Riplingham House (Plate I), and a total of two months' work was done on this site during November 1956 and May 1957. The primary object was to examine one house completely. Unfortunately, the first house which was selected, while providing the best visible remains on the surface, did not yield sufficient information about the earlier periods of the village; a *terminus post quem* for its first phase can be dated to the late 15th or early 16th centuries, followed by five distinct reconstructions continuing up to the middle of the 18th century. A second house was therefore selected which produced better results, having been built primarily in the 13th century, and subsequently rebuilt twice before becoming completely ruined in the late 14th century.

Two other features were also examined. One of these was a double dyke, marked on Ordnance Survey maps as running north – south down the western boundary of the field; and the other a wide flat-topped bank running approximately east – west across the southern part of the field.

Although it was not possible to date the construction of the dyke, there seems no reason to doubt its prehistoric origin. The second feature proved to be a well-made road, probably of late 18th century date.

<sup>1</sup> If a church existed, of which there is some doubt. There is no record of any old ecclesiastical structure in the parish of Rowley, other than Rowley Church itself.





PLATE I.

The excavations were in the field to the left of the central group of buildings (Riplingham House). Another part of the village also shows in the field to the right of them.

(Air Ministry photograph: Crown Copyright reserved)





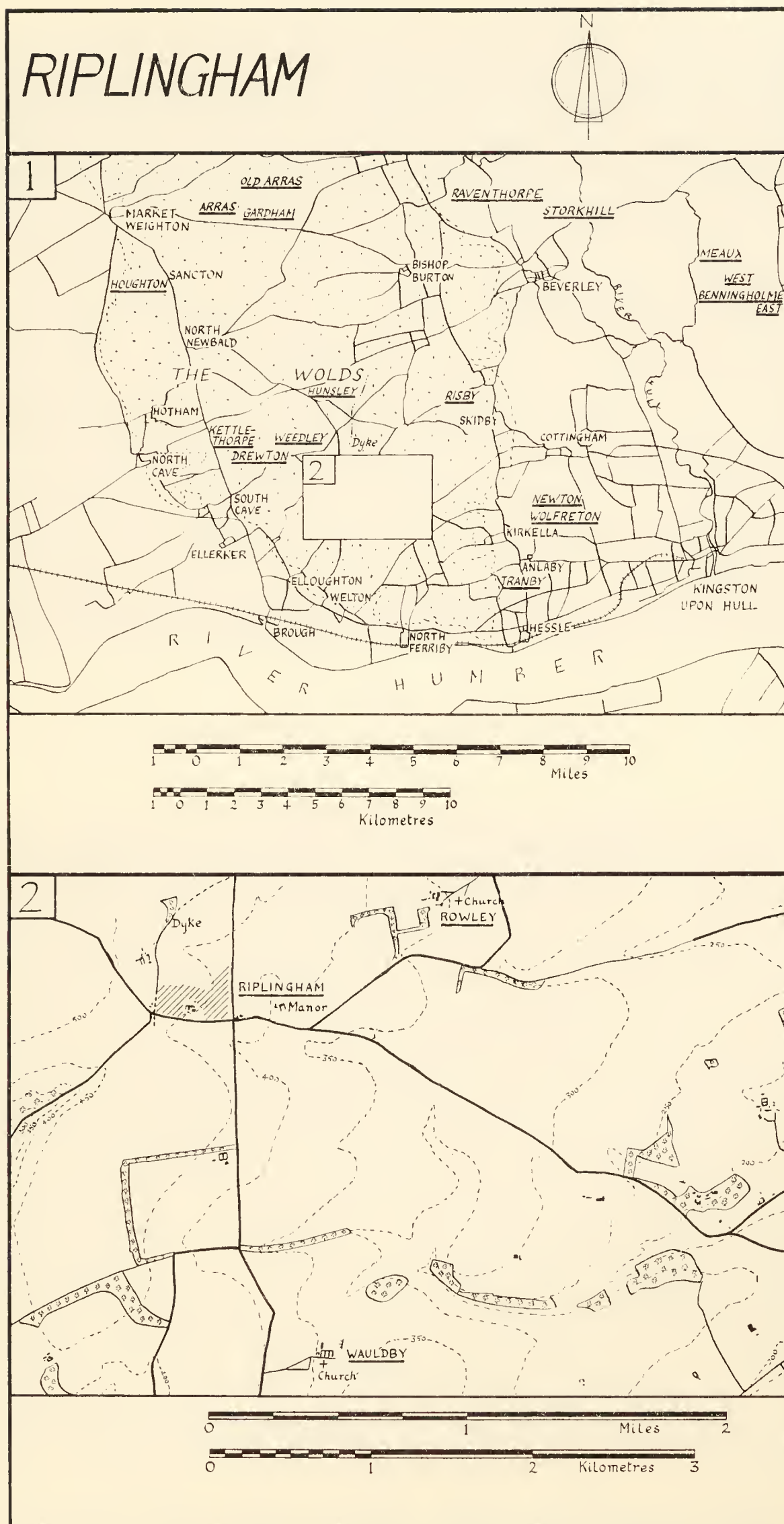
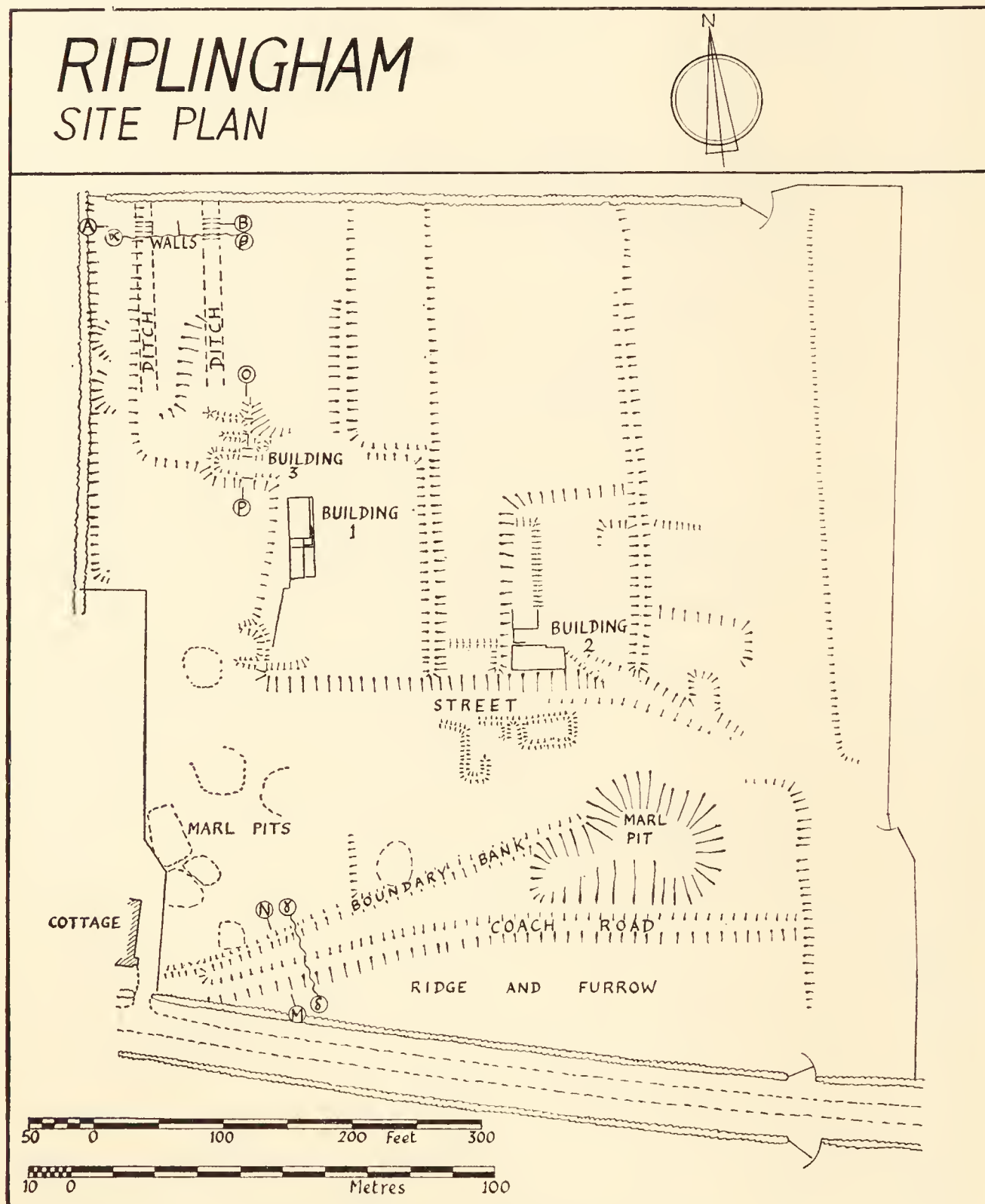


FIG. 1.  
The names underlined are D.M.V. sites. (Crown Copyright reserved)



The writer would like to thank Mr. Richard Odey for permission to dig on one of his fields; and Mr. David Brachi of the University of Hull, for help in making the preliminary surveys. The assistance of other contributors to the excavations or to this report is acknowledged at the appropriate points in the text.



[FIG. 2. (Crown Copyright reserved)]

## THE EXCAVATIONS

### THE DOUBLE DYKE (Figs. 2; 5, Section AB)

A section 8 ft. wide and 98 ft. long was cut across the dyke near the north boundary of the field. This revealed both ditches, 58 ft. apart from inner lip to inner lip, and the remains of a bank between them (layer 3). Beneath this bank there was a turf-line (layer 5)





PLATE II.  
East ditch of the double dyke, showing the smooth, worn bottom.



PLATE III.  
Ditch separating the street from Building 2.





PLATE IV.  
North end of Building 1, with the cobbled floor in Period V.



PLATE V.  
Building 1. Wall of Period III on the right, with Period IV reconstruction on the left running below the S.E. corner of Period V. Below is a wall of Periods I and II.



which contained in its surface some scraps of typical prehistoric type pottery. Although too small to be assignable to any specific period, the fabric would suggest a Late Bronze Age or Early Iron Age context. These were the only objects found associated with the dyke.

### *The Western Ditch*

This ditch was 8 ft. 6 ins. wide and about 5 ft. 4 ins. deep: it had been dug in the form of a wide V with a flat bottom, and had been cut through about a foot of gingery-brown boulder clay before the undisturbed chalk had been reached. The bottom, although flat, had remained unworn, in marked contrast to the eastern ditch.

The boulder clay covering the natural chalk had been cleared away from the ground to the west of this ditch, but it is impossible to say when this was done. It may be that it was taken to supplement the bank.

The primary silting (layer 4) consisted of highly comminuted chalk mixed with a little brown loam: its maximum thickness at the bottom was about one foot. The secondary silting consisted, in the main, of gingery-brown loam, similar to the undisturbed boulder clay, intersected by tips of small chalk rubble, the major tip starting from the east side and dipping down towards the centre.

### *The Eastern Ditch (Plate II)*

While in many respects similar to the western ditch, the profile was wider and more regular, and the bottom, which was worn completely smooth and covered with a very thin layer of sticky, puddled chalk, was nearly rectangular in section; the outcome, presumably, of the ditch having been used as a trackway.<sup>1</sup>

The depth of primary silt (layer 10), perhaps for the above reason, was less than that observed in the western ditch, but it consisted of the same type of material. The secondary silting (layer 9) was like that found in the other ditch, but with more chalk rubble.

It has been mentioned in the introduction, that there seems to be no reason why this dyke should not be of prehistoric origin; but until conclusive proof is found, there must always remain the possibility that it could be of Dark Age date.<sup>2</sup>

The further limits of the dyke are still visible in Weedley plantation, about a mile north of the present excavation, where the western ditch turns in a north-north-easterly direction, before becoming lost in the fields beyond. On the Ordnance Survey map three short sections of double dyke are marked, almost due east of the deserted Mediaeval village of Hunsley. If these sections are aligned they may represent a northward continuation of this earthwork. The southward continuation is clearly visible on aerial photographs for a distance of half a mile.

<sup>1</sup> E. C. Curwen, in *Aspects of Arch. in Britain and Beyond* (ed. W. F. Grimes) p. 93. *T.D.N.H.S.* lxxx, p. 167.

<sup>2</sup> An objection to a Dark Age date is the complete lack of mediaeval sherds in the secondary silt of the ditches, which suggests that this had formed before a mediaeval occupation had begun.



The purpose of the dyke must ultimately depend on the provision of a date. If, as seems most likely, it acted as a boundary while also giving some small degree of defence, it would seem as though it protected land to its east. It is difficult to see why the eastern ditch only should have been used as a track, unless it is considered as the inside and consequently most protected route.

Mention should also be made here of two walls, also revealed in this section across the dyke. Although they ran roughly north-south, they were not parallel and may not both belong to the same period. No dating evidence was recovered and the stratigraphy was not sufficiently clear to enable them to be put into their correct chronological sequence, although both were later than the weathered remains of the bank. Both were built of roughly dressed chalk lumps set in boulder clay, and that to the east was wider than the other, while neither stood more than two courses high. The west wall had subsided slightly over the edge of the ditch.

#### BUILDING 1. (Figs. 3; 5, Section KL)

This building, the first to be excavated, was marked on the surface of the field by high banks, a feature which prompted its selection. Unfortunately, although five distinct reconstructions were proved, representing a picture of some complexity, the earliest cannot have been built before the late 15th or early 16th centuries; all traces of earlier structures were absent. Beneath the buildings, part of a circular excavation cut into the undisturbed chalk for a depth of just over 2 ft. was exposed. The bottom of this excavation was flat and the sides sloped steeply downwards. The full extent was not revealed, but a large size is suggested by the circumference of that part uncovered. It was filled with very wet, tenacious, dark grey clay (layer 10) with which was mixed much 15th century pottery, great numbers of animal bones and other domestic refuse. If it had been a pond, it is difficult to see how water would have been retained, until some of the clay had been deposited to form a water-tight seal over the porous chalk. The clay did not exhibit any distinct stratification, whereas if it had been deposited in standing water a laminated structure<sup>1</sup> might be expected. But this lamination might not be produced if the bottom of the pond had been repeatedly disturbed, for instance by the watering of stock or other animals. The amount of moisture present was not sufficient to preserve organic matter. If this excavation was not a pond, an alternative suggestion could be found in quarrying; the quarry later being filled with domestic rubbish. The absence of sherds earlier than about 1450 or later than 1550 limits the time when it could have been open. Before building took place a thick layer of chalk rubble (layer 13) was tipped in, to bring the level back to that of the surface of the undisturbed chalk and no doubt to make a firmer base for construction. This layer subsequently formed the floor level for the first two periods of building.

<sup>1</sup> *P.S.I.A.* xxviii (I), 7. At Wattisfield, Suffolk, where a pit had been gradually filled by solid material falling into standing water. This produced a laminated stratification, caused by the more rapid settling of the larger particles.

## RIPLINGHAM. BUILDING 1

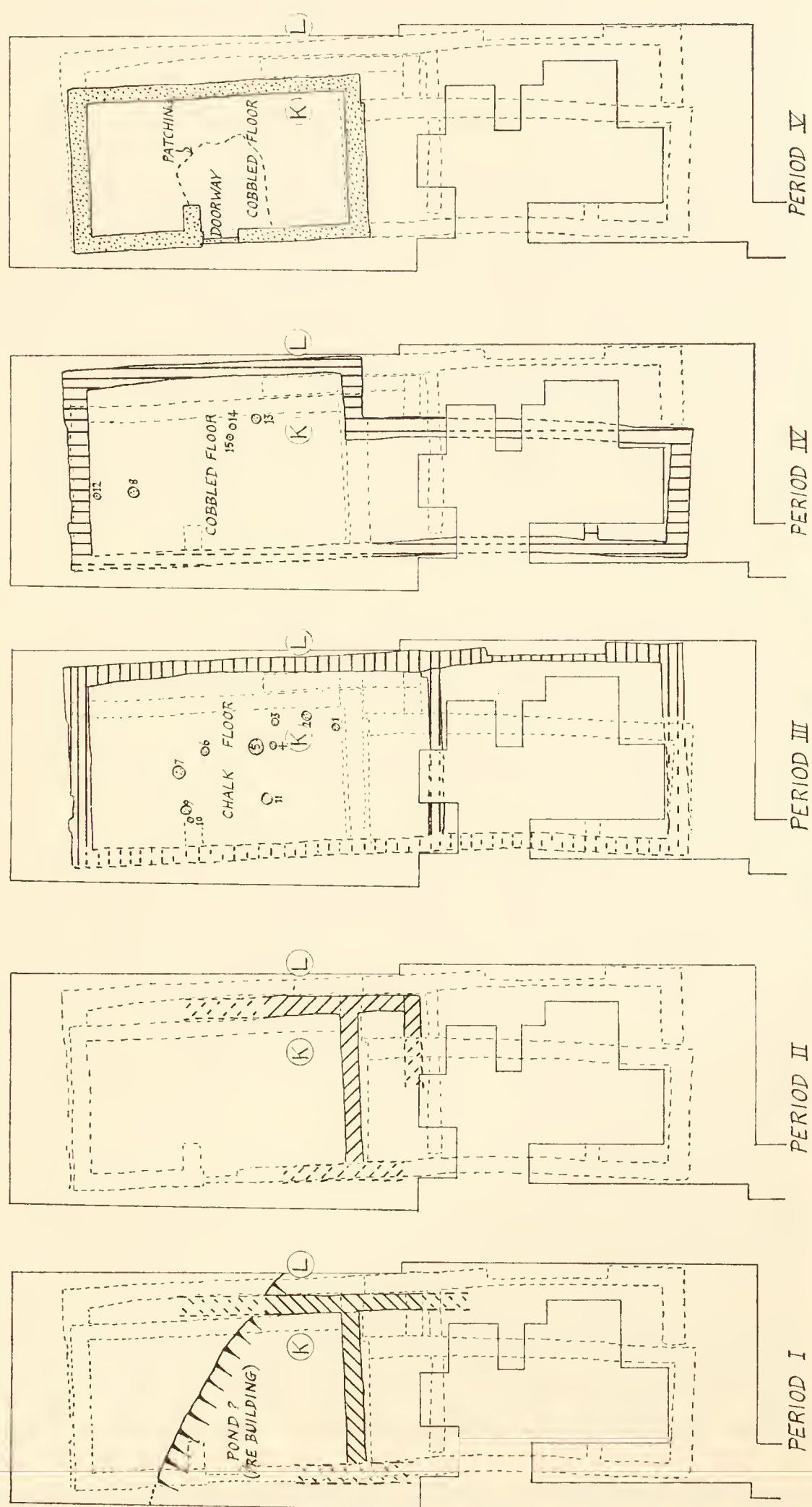


FIG. 3. Individual period plans.



*Periods I, II (Plate V)*

It is convenient to take these two periods together, since the alterations in Period II were confined to a reduction in size of the Period I house. So much had been destroyed during later reconstructions that only little of its plan could be recovered, which suggested a long rectangular building with one internal partition dividing it into two rooms. During Period II the south room was shortened by a wall built across its width, thereby reducing its probable external<sup>1</sup> dimensions to 4 ft. 6 ins. by 14 ft. In this reconstruction, the east end of the new wall overlapped the original outside wall and did not abut against it. Neither the overall length of the building nor its exact width could be determined, and the little occupation material which was associated with it produced nothing of any value for dating.

The walls were built of roughly cut chalk lumps bonded with boulder clay, and no more than one course survived. They were very unevenly constructed, the widths varying from a maximum of 2 ft. to a minimum of 1 ft. 6 ins.

*Period III (Plate V)*

In this period the complete rebuilding of the house took place on slightly different lines. As first planned it had one long room, 54 ft. 6 ins. long and 16 ft. wide, but an internal division was added later, making two rooms 32 ft. 6 ins. and 21 ft. 6 ins. long. In addition, large post-holes in the northern room would suggest some form of more rudimentary partitioning. The floor of this room was made of flat chalk lumps laid at random (layer 6).

The method and materials of construction of the walls were the same as those of Periods I and II (as occurred in all periods except V), and they exhibited the same variations and unevenness in character. An additional feature was the reduction in width of the east wall of the southern room from 2 ft. to about 9 ins. for a total length of 11 ft. 6 ins. This may represent a doorway in spite of its width; but since it is generally agreed that one half of this type of house was normally used as stabling for animals, the excessive width of the door could be explained.<sup>2</sup>

The position of the west wall must remain a matter for conjecture, but its presence is suggested by the behaviour of the north wall and the internal division wall. Neither of these projected westwards beyond the west wall of the Period V house, which was probably built on the line of its predecessor. It is of course possible that this wall was entirely of timber, any residual traces being covered by the Period V wall, which was not removed during the excavations.

Some general details of the post-holes are included. The major ones (1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7) were about 2 ft. deep, the remainder varying

<sup>1</sup> All measurements relating to buildings are internal dimensions unless otherwise stated.

<sup>2</sup> A door 6 ft. wide was found in a similar but earlier type of house at Upton, Glos. in 1960.

from about 6 ins. to 1 ft. Nos. 1, 2, 3, 6 had been packed with flints or blocks of chalk. Most of the post sockets were filled with very loose dark soil and pebbles, while some had remained empty after the timber had decayed. Only 1 had traces of decayed timber round its edge.

#### *Period IV (Plate V)*

The reconstruction that took place in Period IV resulted in the complete remodelling of the southern end of the house. The partition added during Period III was removed and the south room rebuilt, making it narrower, this reduction in width occurring on the east side. The length remained the same, and the alteration now produced two rooms of unequal width, the north being 24 ft. 6 ins. long by 16 ft. wide, and the south 24 ft. long by 10 ft. wide. A short length of wall projecting eastwards 7 ft. 6 ins. north of, and parallel to, the south wall would imply an internal partition at this point. Whether there was also a partition between the two main rooms is more difficult to determine because the line was obscured by a later wall, but if there had been a partition, a suitable base for it would have been in existence, since one of the surviving walls of Period I was on the same line.

In this period also a good cobbled floor (layer 3) was laid down in the northern room; the plan of this room's internal arrangements was also changed, as can be seen from the different pattern of the post-holes. Of these, post-holes 13, 14 and 15 varied in depth from 1 ft. 6 ins. to 2 ft. and all were packed round with flints, while 8 and 12 were comparatively shallow and did not exceed 6 ins. in depth.

#### *Period V (Plates IV, V)*

In this period the house was completely rebuilt on a more modest scale, but with greater solidity. The line of the north and presumably the west walls remained the same, but the south wall was now built where there had been the division between the two main rooms of Period IV. On the east side a new line was also chosen about 2 ft. inside the east wall of Period IV. This made a single room 24 ft. 6 ins. long by 12 ft. 6 ins. wide. A doorway 3 ft. 6 ins. wide was also constructed in the centre of the west wall, and a recess on the north side of the door was provided for a wooden sill. North of the door, a short length of wall projected inwards for a distance of 2 ft. 6 ins., but it had been built only one course high, while the outside walls of the house rose to as many as six courses in some places.

A difference in construction was also noticed, and for the first time building-stones other than chalk were used, to include yellow sandstone and large blocks of chert. Another departure from previous practice was the use of a poor-quality sandy yellow mortar for bonding the stones.

The cobbled floor of Period IV, by now much worn in the centre of the room, was however re-used, and the worn parts patched with flat slabs of sandstone, chalk and large cobbles.



It is not clear whether the short length of wall north of the door was part of an internal partition, dividing the house into two rooms, a practice which was normal in the earlier periods; there were no visible traces continuing across to the opposite wall.

The following features are coupled with this period in date and will be mentioned here. A shallow pit or scoop had been dug outside the east wall and this had disturbed some of the earlier levels: it contained much early 18th century pottery. Another larger and deeper excavation had been dug against the outside face of the south wall of the building and had penetrated the undisturbed chalk. The walls of earlier periods had been respected on the east and west sides, while the edges had been cut vertically and the bottom was flat. The total depth reached was about 2 ft. below the base of the south wall of the house. It seems reasonable to suppose that this was an attempt, rendered abortive for some unexplained reason, to dig a cellar similar to that found in Building 3.

### *Date of Building 1*

While dating evidence for each individual period is extremely scanty, in some cases even non-existent, it is possible to suggest the chronological period into which these successive buildings can be fitted, with reasonable accuracy. A large group of pottery stratigraphically earlier than Period I provides a *terminus post quem* of between 1450–1550 for the commencement of building activity on this site. In the destruction and other layers sealing the walls of Period V there was much pottery which can be dated to the first half of the 18th century. It seems unlikely therefore that the house of Period V can have survived beyond 1750.

It is, unfortunately, not possible to be so definite about the intervening periods, but the main points can be summarised briefly.

Beneath the cobbled floor of Period IV were a number of sherds which can be dated to the early 18th century, and this implies that the building of this period can have survived only for a very short time before being replaced by Period V in order to allow for the final dissolution *c.* 1750. In the cavity of P.H.9, which is coeval with the destruction of Period III and reconstruction of Period IV, was a sherd which could be as late as the very early 18th century. This would require the date of Period IV to be not a great deal earlier.

There was, in the packing material of P.H.6, a small group of sherds which supplied the whole of the dating evidence for Period III and which can only be approximately dated to the 15th or 16th centuries.

There is no direct evidence for Period II, while Period I has already been considered.

### BUILDING 2 (Figs. 4; 5, Sections CD – HJ)

This house lay about 57 yds. south-east of Building 1 and its south side fronted one of the streets of the village. The surface

## RIPLINGHAM. BUILDING 2

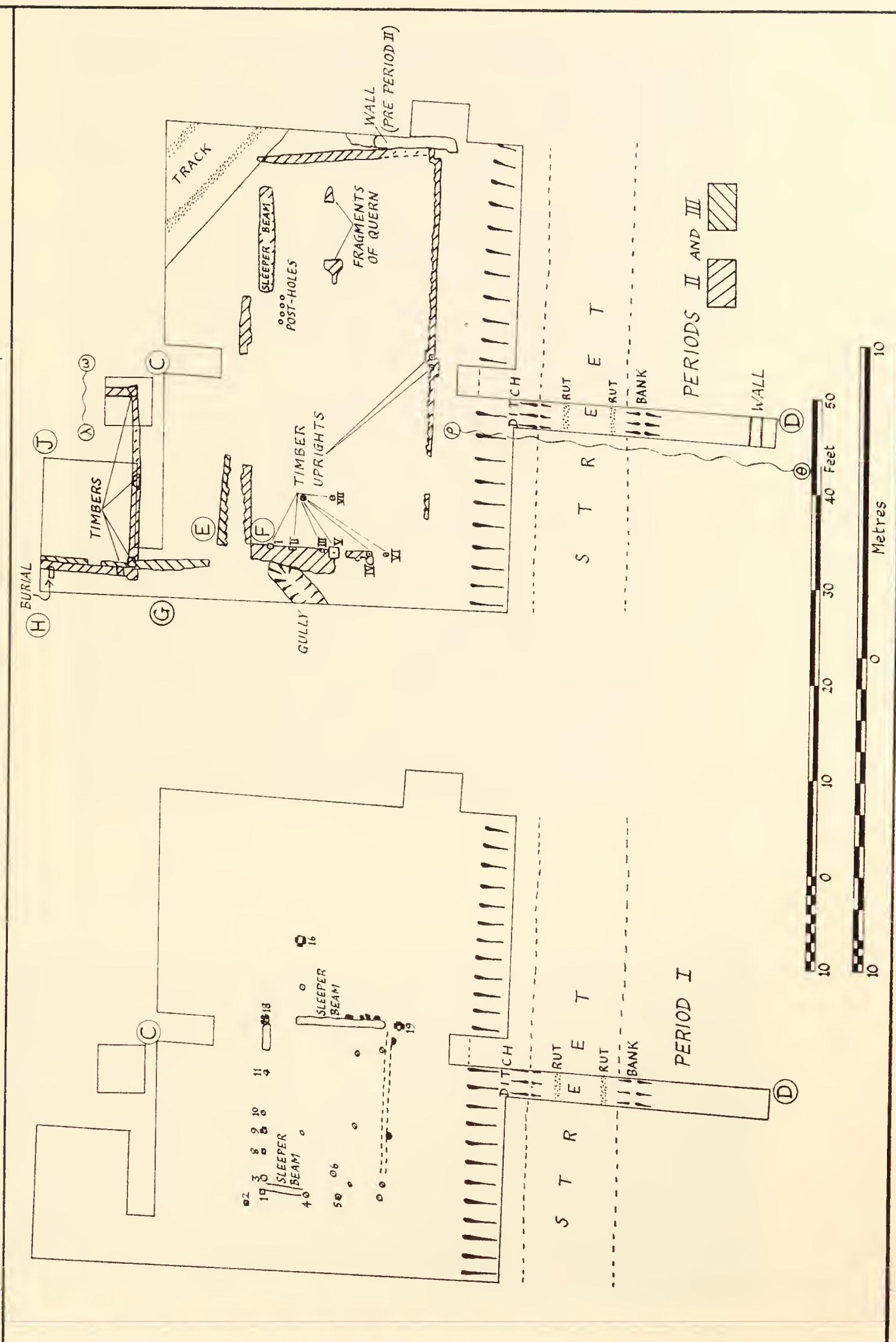


FIG. 4. Individual period plans.



indications were well pronounced, and here it was hoped to find evidence of the earlier occupations, which had been so conspicuously lacking in Building 1. While some success was achieved in this respect, there was still a complete absence of any evidence for a building earlier than about 1250; although to the south of the street a group of sherds was found, which can be dated to the early 13th century.

Building 2 showed three distinct periods of construction; and here it should be noted that, although different building methods had been employed in different parts of the house, there was nothing to suggest that this was due to alterations or repairs, other than those observed in the three periods.

*Period I (Plates VI, VIII).*

This house, which was built entirely of wood, can have been little more than a hovel. There was a suggestion, however, that it may have extended further to the east than the evidence will allow. If this extension is excluded, it consisted of a single rectangular room 12 ft. 6 ins. wide by 18 ft. long. Both single upright posts and sleeper beams were used in its construction. The north, east and west sides were clearly defined, but on the south side there was only a suggestion for what had existed.

The west wall was framed round four single posts, spaced from 3 ft. 6 ins. to 4 ft. apart. Between the two northernmost posts was a short length of sleeper beam about 8 ins. wide, and the manner in which small pieces of chalk had been carefully packed against the edge of this beam, forming small ramps on either side of it, would suggest that this served as a sill for a door just under 4 ft. wide; the depth of the sill was 2 ins.

The north wall was also constructed of single posts with a short length of sleeper beam near the north-east corner. This was 2 ft. 6 ins. long, 10 ins. wide and not more than 2 ins. deep. The posts were less evenly spaced than those in the west wall and some were closer together.

The east wall was based almost entirely on a sleeper beam 9 ft. 6 ins. long by 9 ins. wide, with a maximum depth of *c.* 6 ins. The shape of this beam was more distinctly preserved than the others and it appeared to have been semicircular in cross section. Several large chert pebbles, used as packing stones on the outside of the house, were found in the slot, into which they had fallen presumably when the beam was removed. Both the north-east and south-east angles had corner posts, packed round with stones.

The evidence for the south wall is slight and is largely conjectural. Two large pebbles, similar to those associated with the east wall, were found on a line joining the terminal posts at the south ends of the east and west walls. There was also a single post 1 ft. 6 ins. east of the south end of the west wall; and another post near the south-east corner, but this was not in the same straight line. There was no sign of a slot cut for the insertion of a sleeper beam, but in





PLATE VI.  
Building 2. Posts of Period I at N.E. corner.



PLATE VII.  
Building 2. Masonry and inset posts in N.W. corner of Period II.





PLATE VIII.

Building 2. Masonry and inset posts of the west wall in Period II, with, on the right, the posts of Period I.



PLATE IX.

Building 2; north wing. Recesses for posts in S.W. corner.



view of the positions of two possible packing stones, it may be suggested that a sleeper beam had here been laid on, and not in, the chalk.

There are two possible lines for internal partitions. One of these is represented by two posts forming a line not quite parallel with the west wall and about 7 ft. to the east of it; the other by three posts parallel with the suggested line of the south wall and 3 ft. north of it. This last would seem to be discounted because of the narrowness of the resulting room, but it does raise an alternative possibility for the position of the south wall. If it be supposed that these three posts represent the true line of the south wall of that part of the house used for living quarters, the narrow 'room' outside it could be interpreted as a stall for animals which could be left open or partly open on the south side. This would have provided at least some degree of shelter for stock.

Three other post holes outside the presumed limits of the building must be mentioned, one about 2 ft. to the north-west of the door; and in particular two in a line at right angles to the east wall. It was these last two posts which prompted the suggestion that the house may have extended further east. It seems unlikely that these can be linked with a short section of wall uncovered on the very eastern edge of the site, but not perhaps impossible.

Some details of the individual posts are added here. Both circular and rectangular sectioned timbers were used, nos. 1, 2, 5, 8, and 11 having square or rectangular dimensions varying from 2 ins. by 4 ins. up to 6 ins. by 7 ins. with the majority being about 6 ins. by 6 ins. The circular posts nos. 3, 4, 6, 9, 10, 18 and 19, had diameters varying from 5 ins. to 7 ins. With the exception of nos. 5, 11, 18 and 19, which were only 6 to 8 ins. deep, the remainder were between 10 ins. and 1 ft. 3 ins. deep. No. 4 was deeper, penetrating to 1 ft. 5 ins.; the greater depth might be explained if this post had been used as a door jamb, which would place a greater strain upon it. The majority of the posts had been well packed with flints or chalk blocks.

It was not possible, by normal methods of excavation, to distinguish between the occupation (layer 16) on the floor of this building and material which could have accumulated between its destruction and the erection of the Period II house, assuming that a period of time did elapse between the two events; but this may not have been the case.

### *Period II (Plates VII-X)*

More advanced techniques were employed in the construction of this house, which followed that of Period I.<sup>1</sup> Instead of walls framed round individual posts sunk directly in the ground, or on sleeper beams laid on or in the ground, low dry-stone walls were first built to act as foundations for these beams. With the exception of a short length on the north side, which was built in the old style, this new method was used on the south and east sides of the house. On

<sup>1</sup> As happened at Wharram Percy at about the same time, when a change from wooden to stone foundations took place.



the west side, and in particular at the north-west corner, circumstances required this technique to be modified. To complete the house, this corner required recessing into a bank, and retaining walls of chalk blocks, up to seven courses high, were built to keep this bank in place. These walls were associated with timber uprights set within the inside face of the west wall, and directly in the ground. One of these posts, placed nearly in the centre of the wall, was larger than the remainder and appeared to be one of the main structural supports for the roof.

These posts had the following dimensions:—

P.H.I.	5 ins. by 6 ins. by 1 ft. 5 ins. deep.
P.H.II.	3 ins. by 5 ins. by 5 ins. deep.
P.H.III.	3 ins. by 4 ins. by 7 ins. deep.
P.H.IV.	3 ins. by 6 ins. by 1 ft. deep.
P.H.V.	11 ins. by 9 ins. by 1 ft. 11 ins. deep.
P.H.VI.	4 ins. by 6 ins. by 1 ft. deep.

They were all surrounded with vertically placed slabs of chalk, the holes dug in the undisturbed chalk to receive them being conical in shape; the diameters of the holes for the minor posts were *c.* 1 ft. 6 ins. and that for the major 2 ft. 2 ins. After the posts had been planted, the walls were built round them.

In conjunction with the main post (P.H.V.) in this wall, two other features were observed to be on the same median line but nearer the east end of the building. They were the large fragments of two querns, one set about 4 ft. and the other about 10 ft. out from the east wall. There seems to be little doubt that these two flat slabs of stone were the base plates for large posts supporting part of the roof. A smaller post nearer to the west end, and in the same line, does not appear to be sufficiently substantial for this purpose, but may nevertheless have acted as a subsidiary member. The posts along the west wall are probably part of the framework to which the wattle and daub was fixed. It is unusual, where this particular method of building is used, to find posts of this type sunk into the ground and not standing on base plates. Two more posts, closer together, were also set in the centre of the south wall.

The position of the door cannot be fixed with certainty, but the sleeper beam in the north wall might be explained as a sill. It might also explain the setting back of this beam from the main line of the wall.

It is equally difficult to fix the positions of any internal divisions, and there appear to be two possibilities; either across the west end, where there are two posts in line; or else longitudinally down the centre. There was little indication of the inside fittings, but one point deserves description. A row of four small posts, each about 4 ins. in diameter and set about 9 ins. apart, was observed near the north wall. Their purpose is not easy to explain, and if it were not that by this date horizontal weaving frames were normal, one suggestion would be for a vertical frame.

There was no sign of hearths, and although the most westerly of the two quern stones had been heavily burnt, this had not occurred while it was in this position.

# RIPLINGHAM. SECTIONS

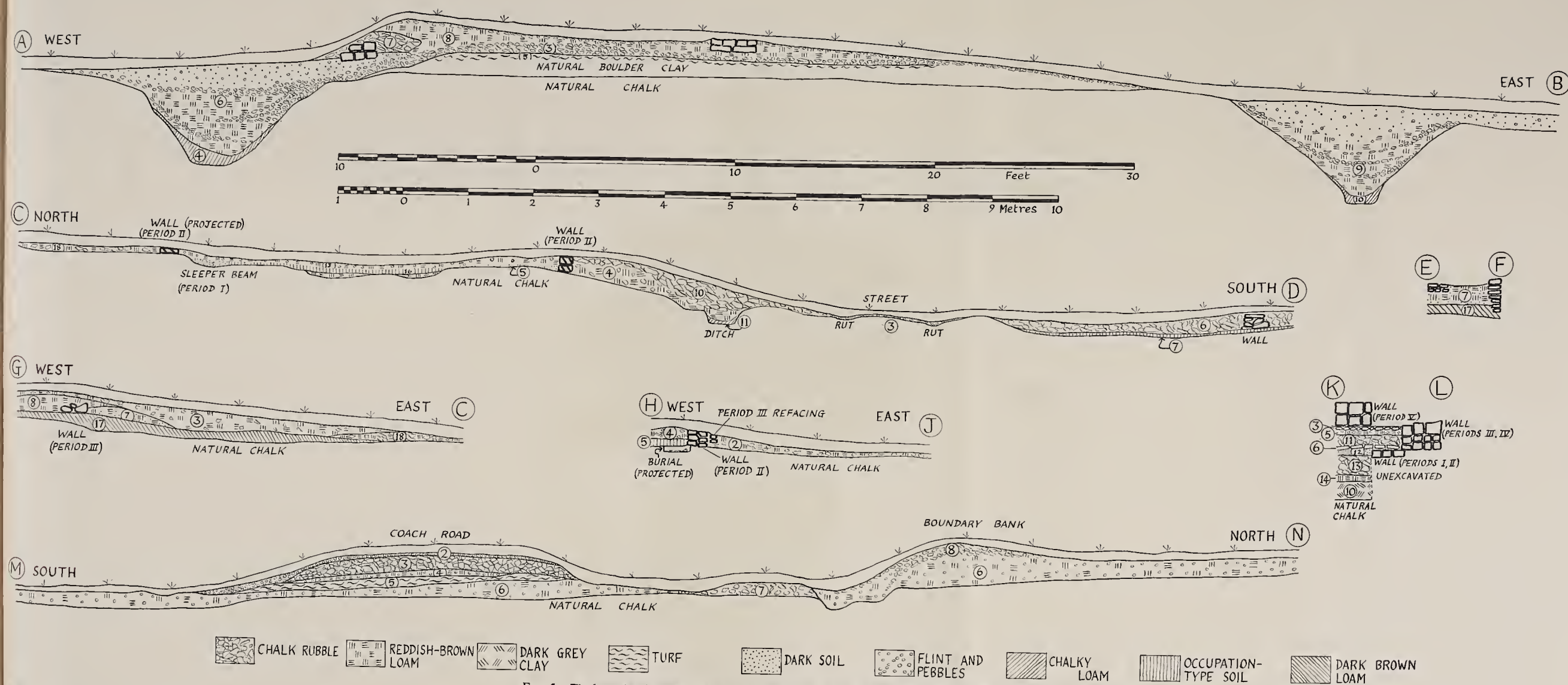


FIG. 5. The letters at the ends of each section refer to the letters on the plans, Figs. 2, 3, and 4.





North of this house there was built at about the same time another building, of which only the south end was excavated. It was probably part of the same complex and for that reason it is included under the same general heading of Building 2, particularly since during Period III they appeared to have been united.

The walls of this part were built of chalk lumps to a height of three courses, with the exception of the south wall (Plate X) which included an additional course where it passed over a pocket of softer boulder clay. At the south-west corner there were two recesses in the thickness of the wall for timber uprights which were at least 9 ins. square (Plate IX). A massive block of sandstone at the south-east corner, and another in the centre of the south wall, also suggest bases for large posts.

### *Period III (Plate X)*

There were no major alterations in Period III, when the only changes were the addition of another room (?) between the two buildings of Period II, which seems to have made necessary the partial reconstruction of the north wing.

The west wall of this new room was founded on a single course of large chert pebbles mixed with some blocks of chalk. This probably acted as the foundation for a beam and where, at its north end, it abutted the south wall of the north wing, a space had been cut to allow this beam to extend through into the thickness of the existing wall. At the same time the west wall of this north wing was refaced on the inside, possibly to bring it into line with the new addition. The double upright of Period II at the south-west corner was also replaced by a single post.

This additional room did not have the north wall of the existing house as its southern boundary but instead, a new wall based on two courses of chalk lumps, was built parallel to, and about 3 ft. north of it. The floor of this room would have been on a higher level than that of its neighbour to the south and two points not revealed were the means of communication between the rooms, or the east wall of the new room, if indeed both or either of these ever existed.

It was not possible to distinguish between the different occupation levels associated with Periods II and III and therefore only tentative dates can be put forward for the latter.

### *Date of Building 2*

Nothing was found on the site of this building which was earlier than *c.* 1250, and therefore Period I cannot be earlier than this date; but it could, to give it its widest limits, have survived until *c.* 1300.

The reconstruction in Period II appears to have occurred between *c.* 1300 and 1350, and since it is not possible to assign a date for the Period III alterations, it must suffice to say that the final destruction of this house seems to have taken place between 1350-1400. In the



complete absence of coins and of the imperfect knowledge of the local Mediaeval pottery in this area, it is impossible to fix the dates of this building any closer than the rather wide brackets suggested.

### *The Infant Burial*

Just outside the west wall of the north wing of Building 2, a small rectangular grave had been cut, 1 ft. 3 ins. long by 7 ins. wide. It penetrated the undisturbed chalk to a depth of 5 ins., and it had been partly dug beneath the wall of the building. Lying in the bottom were a number of bones belonging to a baby's skeleton, with the skull fragments lying at the east end. (see p. 668).

There were no dateable finds associated with this burial, but the grave filling was sealed by layer 5, which implies that the remains were probably deposited before the early part of the 14th century. But it is not possible to say whether this was done before or after the building was erected.

### THE STREET AND THE BUILDING TO ITS SOUTH (Plates III, XI)

The street, which ran along the south side of Building 2, was separated from it by a 5 ft.-wide space of slightly sloping ground. Between this space and the street itself appeared a flat-bottomed ditch with a minimum width of 1 ft. 4 ins., cut into the undisturbed chalk. A slight rise in the surface of the chalk separated the ditch from the street, and a similar rise was noted on the south side, as though the processes which would create a hollow way had started but had not progressed to an advanced stage. A single ditch in such a position would carry away water running off the higher ground to the north and would prevent the street from becoming flooded. There was also a slight rise in the centre of the street between two ruts, which were 5 ft. apart, measured from their centres. These ruts were each about 1 ft. wide and they did not show the depth of wear which would be expected from long use.

A wall was encountered about 13 ft. to the south of the street, but there was no time to excavate the whole house. The dating evidence obtained from layers associated with this wall would suggest that it could not have been built before *c.* 1200 and did not survive beyond *c.* 1400.

### THE TRACK

A track, close to the north-east corner of Building 2, ran in a north-westerly direction. Two George III halfpennies were found lying on its surface, and it is possible that this track originally led towards the group of houses including Buildings 1 and 3, which were almost certainly in existence up to *c.* 1750.

### BUILDING 3 (Fig. 2)

About five yards north-west of Building 1 there was a large mound, with a maximum height of about 8 ft. above the surrounding field. Its irregular shape suggested that it concealed a building of some size, and to test it a single trench (OP on Fig. 2) was cut through it from north to south, in order to see if it was worth additional work.





PLATE X.  
Building 2; north wing. Wall refaced in Period III.



PLATE XI.  
Street surface with ruts, south of Building 2.





PLATE XII.  
The coach road.



PLATE XIII.  
Section through the coach road.



The results were disappointing. At the south end the trench revealed a single room of a house (Period II) with a small cellar to the north of it; but apart from this and some poorly-built walls of an earlier building (Period I), the main body of the mound was composed of a mixture of sterile chalk rubble and boulder clay.

The Period I house was represented by a wall built of chalk blocks running down the centre of the trench with a corner at its north end, where it turned to the west. Its south end had been removed by the excavation for the cellar of Period II. The little evidence that there was would suggest that this building was occupied during the 15th or 16th centuries.

The Period II house seemed to consist of a single room, 45 ft. long, as measured from the mounds covering the walls, and 14 ft. wide, this dimension being determined by excavation. The walls were well built of local sandstone and the inside face of the south wall was rendered with plaster. Puddled chalk with a thin layer of plaster over it had been used for the floor.

The cellar was 5 ft. 6 ins. across, although the excavation for it had been made nearly 3 ft. wider. The floor, of bricks laid in yellow sand, was about 3 ft. lower than the floor of the room to the south. The length was not determined and it was impossible to gain this information from the surface indications.

This house was stratigraphically later than that of Period I, but it is not possible to fix the exact date of its building although the structural methods employed suggest a late date. It cannot, however, have survived beyond the end of the 18th century.

#### THE COACH ROAD AND BOUNDARY BANK (Figs. 2; 5, Section MN; Plates XII, XIII)

A section was cut across the two banks in the southern half of the field near the south-west corner, where they were only 4 yards apart; further to the east they diverged considerably.

The broader of the two banks was that to the south and it can be seen in Plate XII that its top was almost flat. It proved on excavation to be a well-made road, built up of a layer of rammed chalk *c.* 10 ins. thick, and finished with a cambered surface of crushed flints and pebbles (Plate XIII). Beneath the chalk a distinct turf-line was visible, and a small scrap of pottery recovered from it would imply that the road could not have been made before the late 18th century.

The bank to the north of the road was about 2 ft. high and was made up of small weathered chalk rubble mixed with reddish-brown loam. Immediately to its south there was a shallow gully about a foot wide and 8 ins. deep.

This bank probably represents the southern boundary of the village, since there are apparently no buildings south of it, where the surface of the field shows uninterrupted ridge and furrow cultivation strips.



## CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

Although the scope of the excavations was, of necessity, limited, certain general conclusions and inferences may be drawn from them, relating to the village as a whole. If the present position of the Manor House is a guide,<sup>1</sup> then the excavated part must have lain on the extreme edge of the village; the present parish boundary still has as its line the hedge to the west of the field in which the excavations took place.

The position of Building 2, with its lack of pottery earlier than *c.* 1250, might be close to the limit of western expansion in the village during the peak period of the 13th century. The occupation of this building, possibly lasting until the middle of the 14th century, implies that here at least the decline and consequent contraction in the size of the village probably did not take place until *c.* 1350. In view of this, it is tempting to associate this contraction with the Black Death of 1348–9, but it is of course unwise to take the evidence provided by only one house and apply it to the whole western end of the village. One point, however, does emerge: this house with its successive reconstructions and improvements during the first half of the 14th century does not seem to have been affected by the processes of decline and decay normally attributed to this period.

On the sites of Buildings 1 and 3, the succession of houses dating from the late 15th or early 16th centuries, and continuing up to or beyond the middle of the 18th century, shows that the village was never completely deserted, and the few isolated houses and cottages still surviving bear witness to this.<sup>2</sup> The sudden emergence, *c.* 1500, of renewed building activity at the extreme west end of the village is interesting and gives cause for speculation, since it took place at least one hundred years after the apparent abandonment of this area. It carries with it a suggestion that here an attempt was being made to rehouse part of the population away from the centre of the village and on the extreme edge of the manorial land. There can be little doubt that in this part of the country the major depopulations were brought about by the extension of sheep-farming and the enclosing of land which this produced; although at Riplingham and the neighbouring Little Weighton, this does not occur before 1801,<sup>3</sup> when the act of this date refers to only 46 acres of old enclosure. The construction of these houses (Buildings 1 and 3), therefore, could possibly provide a date, if not for the main enclosing, then for a change in the property-structure of Riplingham, with the transference of some of the population to another part of the village. A date between the late 15th and early 16th centuries is normal in

<sup>1</sup> It is not suggested that the present site of the Manor necessarily represents the original position. At Wharram Percy, J. G. Hurst found that the Manor House was moved away to the north when the village expanded in the 13th century. A similar movement may well have occurred here.

<sup>2</sup> So does the documentary evidence. *cf.* p. 625.

<sup>3</sup> *cf.* p. 625.

villages in other parts of the country,<sup>1</sup> depopulated by the extension of sheep-farming;<sup>2</sup> but here at least it appears to have been only a token enclosure of some 46 acres out of a total of nearly 1500 acres.<sup>3</sup>

#### DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

Mr. A. Harris, of the Department of Geography at the University of Hull, has kindly supplied the following notes on the related documentary evidence:

There is little early evidence which can be used. An enclosure Act<sup>4</sup> was passed in 1801 for Riplingham and Little Weighton and an Award<sup>5</sup> was made in 1803. In the Act, Riplingham is described as a hamlet with certain open fields, viz.: Tillage fields of about 750 acres known as Riplingham Fields; several Sheep Walks, and a common known as Riplingham Common, totalling together 650 acres. The Award (usually the more accurate for acreages) gives the total unenclosed area of the village as 1412 acres, 3 roods, 28 perches, and there were also 46 acres of old enclosure.

There is no doubt that a set of open fields existed here until the early 19th century. The Minute Book<sup>6</sup> gives details of the cropping on these c. 1800 and a full list of the proprietors. Claims at enclosure are listed and the messuages and cottages for which each claim is made are mentioned. Claims for some half-dozen large holdings varying from 6 to 30 oxgangs accounted for the greater part of the open fields. Some examples can be quoted:—

R. C. Broadley. 18 oxgangs, 2 messuages or cottages or their sites and 5 acres of old enclosure.

William Wilberforce. 30 oxgangs, 5 messuages or cottages or their sites and 6 acres of old enclosure.

Claims were also advanced c. 1800 in respect of 13 messuages or cottages, but three of these are clearly stated to be 'Scites'. This is interesting, because it suggests that any shrinkage other than that represented by these three must have been ancient enough to have broken the link between house and land or house and common right.

Riplingham was obviously small in 1800 (in Little Weighton the Minute Book shows that there were twice as many buildings and sites), but there appears to have been post-enclosure shrinkage. Greenwood's map of Yorkshire (1815-17) shows about a dozen houses in and near the cross-roads.

<sup>1</sup> Although M. W. Beresford has suggested that this occurred earlier in the East Riding, *Y.A.J.*, xxxviii, 44.

<sup>2</sup> J. G. Hurst, in *Recent Archaeological Excavations in Great Britain* (Ed. R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford) p.263.

<sup>3</sup> See below.

<sup>4</sup> For some remarks on the enclosure of the Wolds see: *Agricultural History Review* VI, Part II (1958). The Lost Village and the Landscape of the Yorkshire Wolds.

<sup>5</sup> Registry of Deeds, Beverley, 25th July 1803.

<sup>6</sup> Enclosure Commissioners' Minute Book. East Riding Record Office (not numbered) Award Plan (1802). Reference Library of the City of Hull.



THE POTTERY <sup>1</sup>

A great deal of pottery, most of it very fragmentary, was found during the present excavations. It covered the period from the early thirteenth century to the late eighteenth century.

This large quantity of pottery has made it preferable to arrange the sherds in groups of types, rather than layers, the sherds within each group being arranged as far as possible in a chronological sequence. All sherds which are large enough or show decoration have been illustrated, including residual material; where this occurs, an additional note is appended to show the circumstances, but since it is not always easy to distinguish residual sherds from others, they are only marked so when it is beyond doubt. This course has been adopted to implement the scanty knowledge of East Yorkshire mediaeval pottery. No systematic study has yet been published, although the large groups from Staxton and Flixton,<sup>2</sup> published by Mr. Brewster, are of interest. Unfortunately, the types represented at Riplingham have only remote resemblances to them. Closer parallels to the Riplingham sherds are found in the small group from Anlaby, near Hull,<sup>3</sup> which included fragments of polychrome jugs, dating the group to between 1275–1320. The excavations at Wharram Percy will no doubt help in time to fill this gap, and Mr. J. G. Hurst, F.S.A., has given great assistance in the examination of the Riplingham pottery, which has more affinities with that from Wharram Percy than from the sites further north. Mrs. Anna Wachter is to be thanked for drawing and classifying the pottery.

All the sherds illustrated below are given, for ease of reference, a unique number, while a full concordance of these numbers serves to relate each sherd to its context, so in turn providing the necessary dating evidence for the buildings.

Most of the pottery falls into one of four main categories: Jugs, Cooking-Pots, Dishes and Bowls. It is not always possible to distinguish between Cooking-Pots and Bowls when only rims are available; where this happens they are classed as Cooking-Pots. Some general remarks on fabric and shape are included to precede the detailed descriptions in each group.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE FOR THE POTTERY  
(*Residual sherd numbers are in italics*)

<i>Level</i>	<i>Relationship of Level to Building</i>	<i>Terminal Date</i>	<i>Sherds</i>
BUILDING I B I 2	Post-Period V	Not later than 1750	10, 11, 12, 13, 91, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 141, 142, 144, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 158, 338, 339, 340, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 358, 359
B I 8	Post-Period V	Early 18th century	122, 127, 139, 157, 344, 345
B I 9	Contemporary with, or later than Period V	Late 17th century	42, 160
B I P.H. VIII	Destruction of Period IV	Early 18th century	Not illustrated

<sup>1</sup> A general discussion of the pottery and its regional nature will be included in: Hurst and Le Patourel, *D.M.V. at Wawne* (forthcoming).

<sup>2</sup> T. C. M. Brewster. *Two Mediaeval Habitation Sites in the Vale of Pickering*. (Yorkshire Museum 1952).

<sup>3</sup> *Y.A.J.*, xxxix, p. 67.

<i>Level</i>	<i>Relationship of Level to Building</i>	<i>Terminal Date</i>	<i>Sherds</i>
B I P.H. IX	Destruction of Period IV	17th-18th centuries	Not illustrated
B I 5	Pre-Period IV	Early 18th century	43, 121
B I Packing of P.H. VI	Construction of Period III	15th-16th centuries	Not illustrated
B I 10	Pre-Period I	Late 15th-early 16th centuries	34, 35, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 61, 81, 82, 83, 86, 87, 90, 92, 98, 111, 146, 161, 162
BUILDING II			
C I 2 } C II 2 }	Post-Period III	Second half of 14th century	32, 59, 60, 108, 109, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 272, 273, 274, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314
C I 3	Post-Period III	Not later than 1350	5, 29, 30, 58, 66, 103, 104, 115, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 264, 265, 286, 300, 301, 302, 303
C I 6	Post-Period III	Second half of 14th century	332
C I 8 } C I 12 }	Post-Period III	Mid 14th cent.	7, 8, 76, 113, 119, 210, 211, 266, 304, 305, 306, 307, 330
C I 9 } C I 9a }	Post-Period III	14th century	102, 233, 234, 235, 236, 280, 317, 356
C II 5	Post-Period III	Mid 14th cent.	28, 97, 212, 267, 308
C II 7	Post-Period III	Second half of 14th century	315
C II 14	Post-Period III	Mid-14th cent.	89, 268, 269, 270
C III 2	Post-Period III	14th century	33, 67, 78, 79, 107, 237, 238
C I P.H. V	Post-Period III	14th century	Not illustrated
C I 7	Post-, or contemporary with Period III	Second half of 14th century	24, 38, 39, 69, 73, 74, 75, 93, 228, 229, 230, 275, 276, 277, 316, 333, 334, 335
C III 4	Post-Period II, cannot be related to Period III	Late 13th-early 14th centuries	23, 85, 173
C III 5	Post-, or contemporary with construction of Period II. Cannot be related to Period III	Early 14th cent.	199, 200, 258, 343
C I 18 } C II 6 }	Post construction of Period II	Up to mid-14th century	2, 3, 36, 37, 62, 100, 117, 163, 164, 165, 166, 254, 255, 285, 326
C I 5	Occupation of Periods II & III	Up to mid-14th century	20, 21, 22, 53, 114, 204, 271, 309
C I 13	Occupation of Periods II & III	Not before 1250	4, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 106, 171, 172, 261, 262, 287, 354



<i>Level</i>	<i>Relationship of Level to Building</i>	<i>Terminal Date</i>	<i>Sherds</i>
BUILDING II —continued			
C II 4	Occupation of Periods II & III	1250–1350	27, 54, 55, 71, 72, 94, 95, 96, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 257, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 327, 328, 329
C II 10	Occupation of Periods II & III	Early 14th century	201, 295
C II 12	Pre-construction of Period II	Early 14th century	41, 88, 112, 202, 203, 296
C I 15	Pre-Period II	Late 13th cent.	265
C I P.H. 4	Pre-Period II	Late 13th cent.	Not illustrated
C I P.H. 17	Pre-Period II	13th century	Not illustrated
C I 17	Pre-Period II, not possible to connect with Period I	Late 13th cent.	1, 14, 99, 116, 174, 175, 176, 177, 198, 288
C I 16	Occupation and destruction of Period I	1250–early 14th century	167, 168, 289, 355
C I West Wall (IV)	Period III (?)	15th century	Not illustrated
C I North Wall (III)	Construction of Period II	c. 1300	118, 297, 298, 299
C I South Wall (II) of room between north and south wings	Construction of Period III	c. 1300	342
BUILDING III			
B II 4	Post-Period III	Late 18th cent.	145
B II 5	Filling of cellar: Destruction of Period III	Mid 18th cent.	140, 143, 159, 341, 357
B II 7	Contemporary with Period I (?)	15th–16th centuries	Not illustrated
MISCELLANEOUS LAYERS			
C I 10	Upper filling of ditch beside street	Second half of 14th century	31, 40, 278
C II 9	Ditto	Early 14th cent.	25
C I 11	Primary silt in ditch beside street	Early 14th cent.	Not illustrated
C II Pit I	Small Pit to south of Building II	Second half of 14th century	77
C I 14 } C I 19 }	Gully to the west of Building II	Late 13th–early 14th centuries	56, 63, 169, 170
C II 3	On pebble floor to east of Building II	Mid 14th cent.	26, 70, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 331
C II 15	Shallow scoop to north of Building II	15th century	253
C I Ext. I, 2	Later than Building to south of street	Late 14th cent.	Not illustrated
C I Ext. I, 2	Ditto	Late 13th cent.	231, 232, 279, 318
C I Ext. I, 7	Earlier than Building to south of street	Early 13th century	Not illustrated
D I 5	Turf-line beneath coach-road	Late 18th cent.	325

<i>Level</i>	<i>Relationship of Level to Building</i>	<i>Terminal Date</i>	<i>Sherds</i>
MISCELLANEOUS LAYERS — <i>continued</i> C I 4 } C II 8 }	Outside Building 2 on south and west sides	Late 13th—early 15th centuries	6, 9, 57, 64, 65, 68, 73, 101, 105, 128, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 259, 260, 281, 282, 283, 284, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 336, 337
C I 20	Outside Building 2 on west side	Mid-14th cent.	263
C II 16	Slot to east of Building 2		324
C III 1	Topsoil	18th century	110, 120, 360
A I 2	Material overlying natural chalk west of double dyke	Late 15th—early 16th centuries	84
Unstratified		Late 15th—early 16th centuries	44, 80

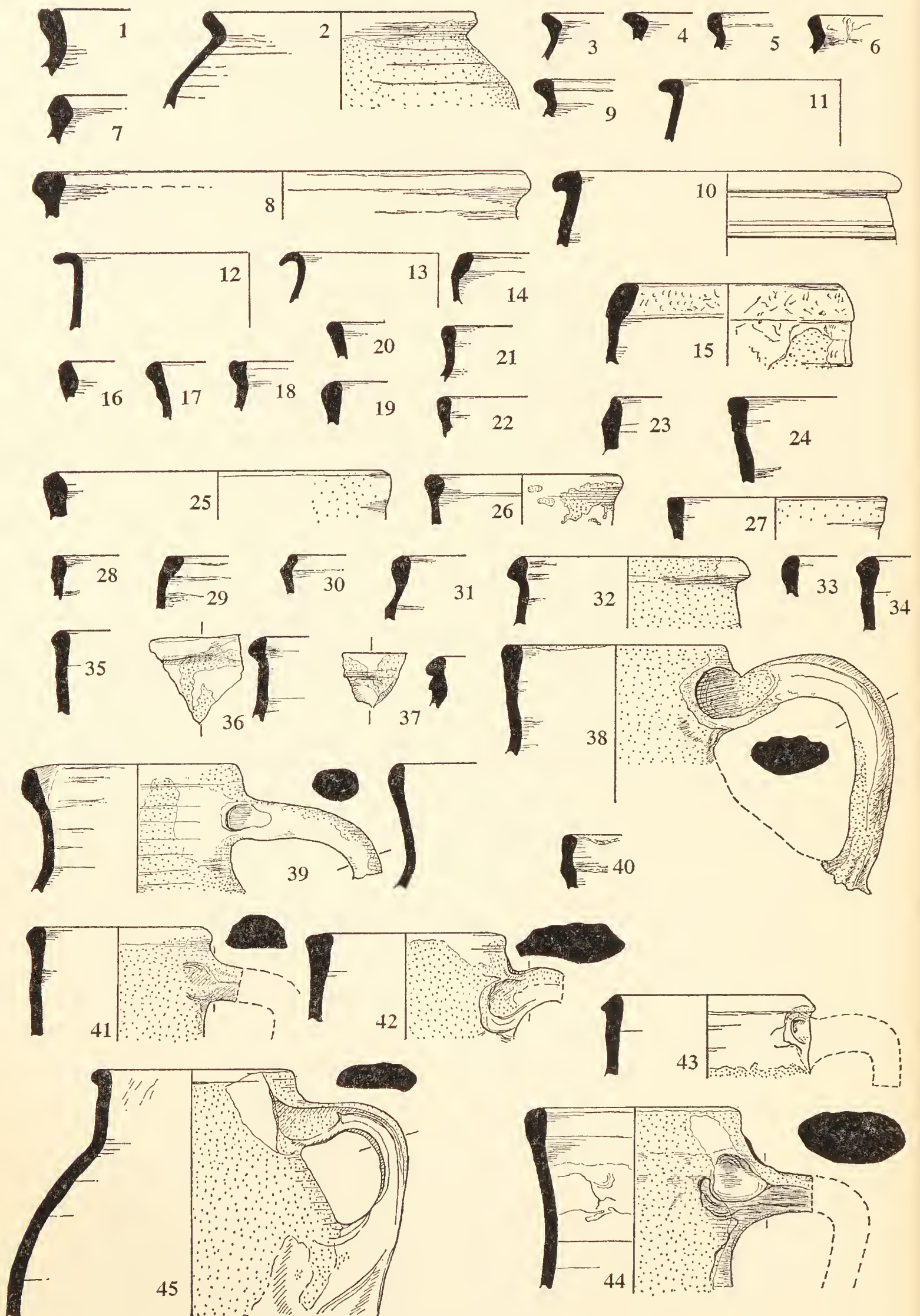
*Group A.* Miscellaneous rims. (Fig. 6)

1. Residual rim and neck in fine pinkish-buff ware, thick, with a few grits. C I 17.
2. Rim and shoulder of short-necked round-bellied vessel in sandy orange-buff ware; external mottled green and yellow-brown glaze up to neck, but not over rim. C I 18.
3. Small rim in orange-red ware; burnt patch. Patch of glaze on top of rim. C I 18.
4. Small rim in hard orange-red ware; no glaze visible. C I 13.
5. Small rim in smooth red-orange ware; narrow grooves just below lip inside. C I 3.
6. Small rim in orange-red ware. Trace of glaze, mottled green and brown, outside. C I 4.
7. Rim in hard orange-red ware, grey core; external pale green glaze. C I 8.
8. Rim similar to 7, larger. C I 8.
9. Rim in hard red-orange ware. Traces of possible white slip on top of rim. C II 8.
10. Rim in grey ware, external grooves below lip; all-over thick green glaze. B I 2.
11. Rim in hard reddish-orange ware; hard lustrous black glaze all over. B I 2.
12. Rim similar to 11. B I 2.
13. Rim similar to 11. B I 2.

**JUGS**

*Fabric.* In the few early examples represented, mostly residual sherds, the fabric is coarse and soft, often containing calcite grit; it is fired red or reddish-brown in colour, usually with a grey core. In the later 13th century the fabric improves, becoming harder and closer in texture. Two types can now be distinguished: a well-fired fabric, either red or grey, containing a good deal of sand backing, harsh to the touch; and a slightly softer, smoother variety without sand, invariably fired red. In the late 14th and 15th centuries the fabric improves still further, becoming uniformly sandy and well-fired, both red and grey. Thereafter the only improvement to be noted is the change to a hard, smooth ware with little or no sand incorporated.



FIG. 6. ( $\frac{1}{4}$ )

*Glaze and Slip.* No glazing can be detected on any jugs before about the middle of the 13th century. At all times up to the 17th and 18th centuries the glazing is usually applied unevenly, so that much of the pot remains uncovered. Before this time also, few examples of intended internal glazing can be identified. The majority of colours are varieties and mixtures of greens, browns and yellows, although a purplish-black is also used on later jugs. To begin with, attempts at glazing result in thin, patchy applications; later, the glaze becomes thicker and more lustrous, although remaining uneven. Some instances are recorded of white slip decoration used both without, and in conjunction with, glazing.

*Form.* Many of the fragments are so small that it is impossible to be certain of the shape of the rest of the pot. In general they seem to belong to fat-bellied jugs with short necks and simple upright or slightly everted, thickened rims. In the earlier examples and up to the 16th century the bases sag, being pressed down at intervals with thumb or finger for stability. A few examples occur where this becomes a decorative frilling all round the base, a type not represented at Anlaby and probably later.

Handles are mostly circular or elliptical, with multiple ribbing or grooving of the outer surface. Stabbing and piercing is not a feature of their manufacture. The deep thumb-print to be observed on either side of some where they join the neck is paralleled in the Anlaby jugs.

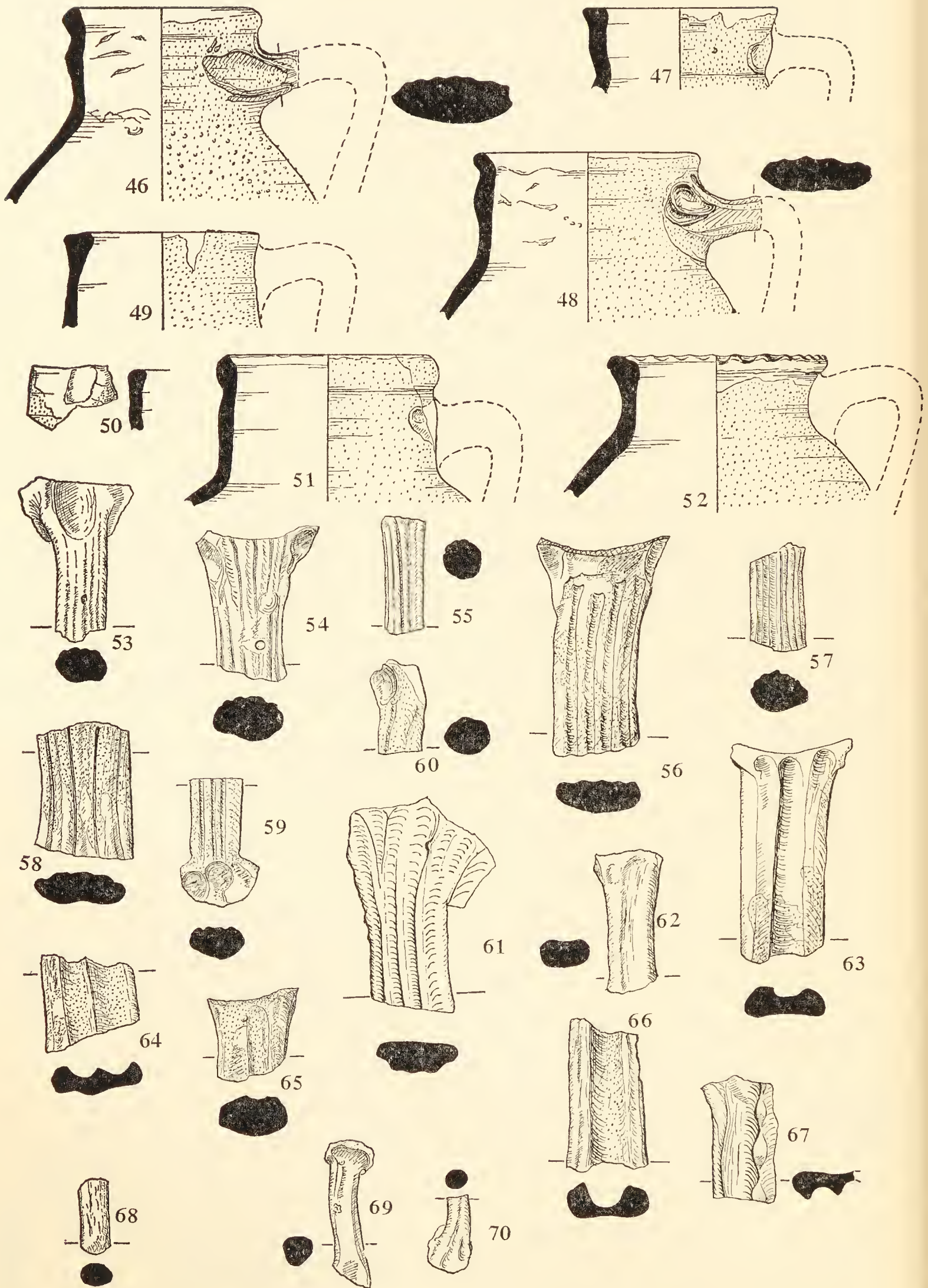
Spouts, where they occur, are normally pinched out from the lip.

*Decoration.* Little decoration is used. In general it is restricted to a series of thumb or finger prints on rim (52) or handle. More elaborate types of decoration are represented by 93-111, where they are confined to patterns of incised lines or trails of white or black slip. Applied scales and pellets of clay sometimes feature as in 94, 100, 102-7 and 110-11, but these are rare. Neck cordons and carinations also appear on some jugs. Rouletting occurs on one sherd only, 108.

*Group B.* Jugs with tall upright necks, thickened rims, either rounded or flattened, and well-developed shoulders. No evidence for spout or handle. (Fig. 6).

14. Rim in hard orange-red ware; grey core; buff inner surface. Bevelled rim and carination. Splashes of glaze on top of rim. C I 17.
15. Large rim in hard orange-buff ware, grey core; scratched outside. External brown uneven glaze. C I 13.
16. Small unglazed rim in orange-red ware. C I 13.
17. Small rim in orange-red ware, low cordon below it outside. Uneven external green glaze. C I 13.
18. Small rim in orange-buff ware; groove round top. No visible glaze. C I 13.
19. Rim in pinkish-buff ware, grey core. External light brown glaze. C I 13.
20. Small rim in sandy orange-buff ware, grey core. Splash of glaze outside. C I 5.
21. Rim similar to 20, but with rounded profile. External decayed greenish glaze. C I 5.
22. Small unglazed rim in orange-red ware. C I 5.
23. Small rim in grey-buff ware, with cavities. Green glaze mottled yellow outside and just trickling inside. C III 4.
24. Rim in hard orange-buff ware, greyish core; grooved below rim. Light green uneven external glaze. C I 7.
25. Rim in orange-red ware. Traces of decayed external greenish-yellow glaze. C II 9.
26. Rim in orange-red ware. Dark green external glaze, uneven and chipped. C II 3.
27. Rim in orange-red ware. Decayed glaze outside, possibly brown. C II 4.
28. Rim in orange-red ware; trace of decayed external glaze. C II 5.
29. Inturned rim in smooth pale orange-buff ware, grey core. C I 3.
30. Small rim in hard orange-buff ware. Trace of brown glaze. Low carination below rim. C I 3.



FIG. 7. ( $\frac{1}{4}$ )

31. Rim in hard red-orange ware. Trace of brownish glaze. C I 10.
32. Rim in hard orange-red ware; brownish uneven glaze outside. C I 2.
33. Small rim in hard orange-red ware. Brownish glaze trickling unevenly outside. C III 2.
34. Fragment of rim in red-buff ware. Internal rilling. Mottled green-brown glaze outside. B I 10.
35. Rim similar to 34. B I 10.

*Group C.* Jugs, similar to B, but with evidence for spout and/or handle. (Figs. 6, 7).

36. Rim and part of pinched spout, the latter a simple V-shape; in hard orange-red ware, rilled inside. External thick uneven brown glaze. C I 18.
37. Rim and neck, with thumb-print from top of handle, in orange-red ware, rather roughly made. External yellow-green glaze, rather uneven. May be part of same vessel as 36. C I 18.
38. Rim and part of large handle in hard orange-buff ware, grey core; thumb-prints either side of handle. Smooth pale green external glaze, flowing unevenly. C I 7.
39. Rim with pinched spout and part of handle, in hard orange-buff ware, pale grey core; finger-prints either side of oval handle. Uneven decayed dark brown external glaze. C I 7.
40. Rim (part of spout) in red-orange ware. Trace of green glaze outside. C I 10.
41. Rim and handle in coarse hard pink-buff ware; thumb-prints either side of handle. Glaze is uneven, mottled green-yellow. C II 12.
42. Residual rim and handle in hard sandy grey ware, red on the outside; thumb-print on either side of the plain irregular handle. Patchy green-brown external glaze. B I 9.
43. Residual rim in orange-red ware, turning to grey inside. Edge of handle-scar. External khaki glaze, rather uneven, on handle (?) and below neck. B I 5.
44. Rim and part of large oval handle, in hard pinkish-buff ware; the core is grey in patches. Handle is thumb-printed either side, and has deep double finger-print in the centre. Thick lustrous uneven green glaze, mottled brown and yellow, outside. Unstratified.
45. Handle and rim in red-buff ware, with patchy grey core. Internal rilling. Plain handle with thumb-prints on either side, at top and bottom. Irregular mottled green-brown glaze outside. B I 10.
46. Rim and part of handle in reddish-orange ware, grey core and inside surface. Oval handle with deep thumb-print on either side; grooved surface. Dark green external glaze, roughly finished. B I 10.
47. Rim from jug similar to 46, but with smoother glaze. B I 10.
48. Rim and part of handle in dark brownish-red ware; dark grey core and inside. Handle has 2 overlapping deep thumb-tip impressions on each side, and 3 more over top; four shallow grooves down outer surface. Mottled green glaze outside, rather patchy round handle. B I 10.
49. Rim in ware similar to 48; slight ridge round neck. Yellow-green glaze outside. B I 10.
50. Rim with beginning of pinched spout, in ware similar to 48. Shallow groove round neck. Greenish-yellow glaze, brownish round the edges, applied unevenly on the outside. B I 10.
51. Rim and bulging neck in dark grey ware; the edge of the thumb-printing of the handle just visible. Smooth green glaze outside. B I 10.
52. Rim and neck in orange-red ware, black inside. The rim has finger-tip 'pie-crust' decoration, and there seems to be no spout. Smooth green glaze outside. B I 10.

*Group D.* Handles, elliptical and sometimes circular in section, with multiple vertical ribbing, and the underside occasionally flattened. (Fig. 7).

53. Base of handle in sandy orange-red ware; traces of decayed pale green-yellow glaze. C I 5.
54. Hard orange-red ware, greyish core. Yellow-green uneven glaze. C II 4.
55. Similar to 54; decayed glaze, possibly green. C II 4.



56. Large handle in hard orange-red ware; uneven mottled glaze, splashed and trickled. C I 14.
57. Part of oval handle in hard orange-buff ware; dark green glaze outside. C I 4.
58. Hard buff-red ware, grey core. Uneven greenish glaze. C I 3.
59. Red-orange ware, decayed green-yellow glaze. C II 2.
60. Red-orange ware; uneven greenish-brown glaze on upper surface. C II 2.
61. Bottom half of a handle in red-orange ware, dark grey on underside. Rather uneven mottled greenish glaze on outer surface. B I 10.

*Group E.* Handles similar to D, but with single or double wide grooves. (Fig. 7).

62. Rather coarse sandy buff-orange ware, grey core; burnt in places. Unglazed. C I 18.
63. Hard orange-red ware; uneven mottled glaze, splashed and trickled. C I 14.
64. Strap-handle in orange-red ware, grey core; uneven green glaze on outer surface. C I 4.
65. Top of large handle in hard orange-buff ware, grey core. Mottled greenish uneven glaze on outer surface. C I 4.
66. Hard orange-red ware, grey core; uneven greenish glaze on outer surface. C I 3.
67. Part of handle in hard red-orange ware, grey core. 'Pie-crust' finger-tip impressions down the central (?) ridge. Irregular khaki glaze on outer surface. C III 2.

*Group F.* Handles; small, plain, circular-sectioned. (Fig. 7).

68. Part of small unglazed handle in orange-red ware. C I 4.
69. Small handle in hard orange-red ware, uneven brownish glaze. C I 7.
70. Lower part of small handle in pink/grey ware, slightly dimpled at base. Mottled green-brown all-over glaze. C II 3.

*Group G.* Bases: sagging bases with thumbing. (Fig. 8).

71. Hard orange-red ware, orange-buff inside; rough exterior finish, pressed down at one or more points. C II 4.
72. Base very similar to 71; grey core; traces of glaze. C II 4.
73. Hard orange-buff ware, grey core. Mottled green uneven glaze outside, splashed and trickled on the inside, which is heavily rilled. Base pressed down at one or more points. C I 4 and C I 7.
74. Sagging base, pressed down at one or more points, in hard orange-red ware, blackish core; uneven green external glaze, splashed and trickled on bottom inside. C I 7.
75. Sagging base, pressed down at one or more points, in coarse orange-buff ware; very rough and irregular outside; many flaws and cavities. C I 7.
76. Large part of wall just above thumbed base, in hard rough orange-red ware, rilled both sides. External brown glaze to just below shoulder, with scales of manganese slip decoration; two vertical uneven bands of black glaze lower down. C I 12.
77. Hard pale orange ware with thin buff slip outside; grey core. Rilled both sides; single finger-print and edge of another. C II Pit I.
78. Frilled sagging base in hard pink-orange ware, grey inside; one finger-print visible. C III 2.
79. Base in buff ware, with orange-buff core. Here, the frilling is formed by groups of finger-prints, five in this case. C III 2.
80. Base very similar to 79, in hard pink-orange ware, grey inside. Unstratified.

*Group H.* Bases with flat bottoms. (Figs. 8, 9).

81. Probably base of 92; dark brownish-red ware, grey core; unglazed, thick white deposit inside. B I 10.
82. Very similar to 81; a splash of glaze has trickled underneath and formed a ridge where it rested on the pot beneath during firing. B I 10.

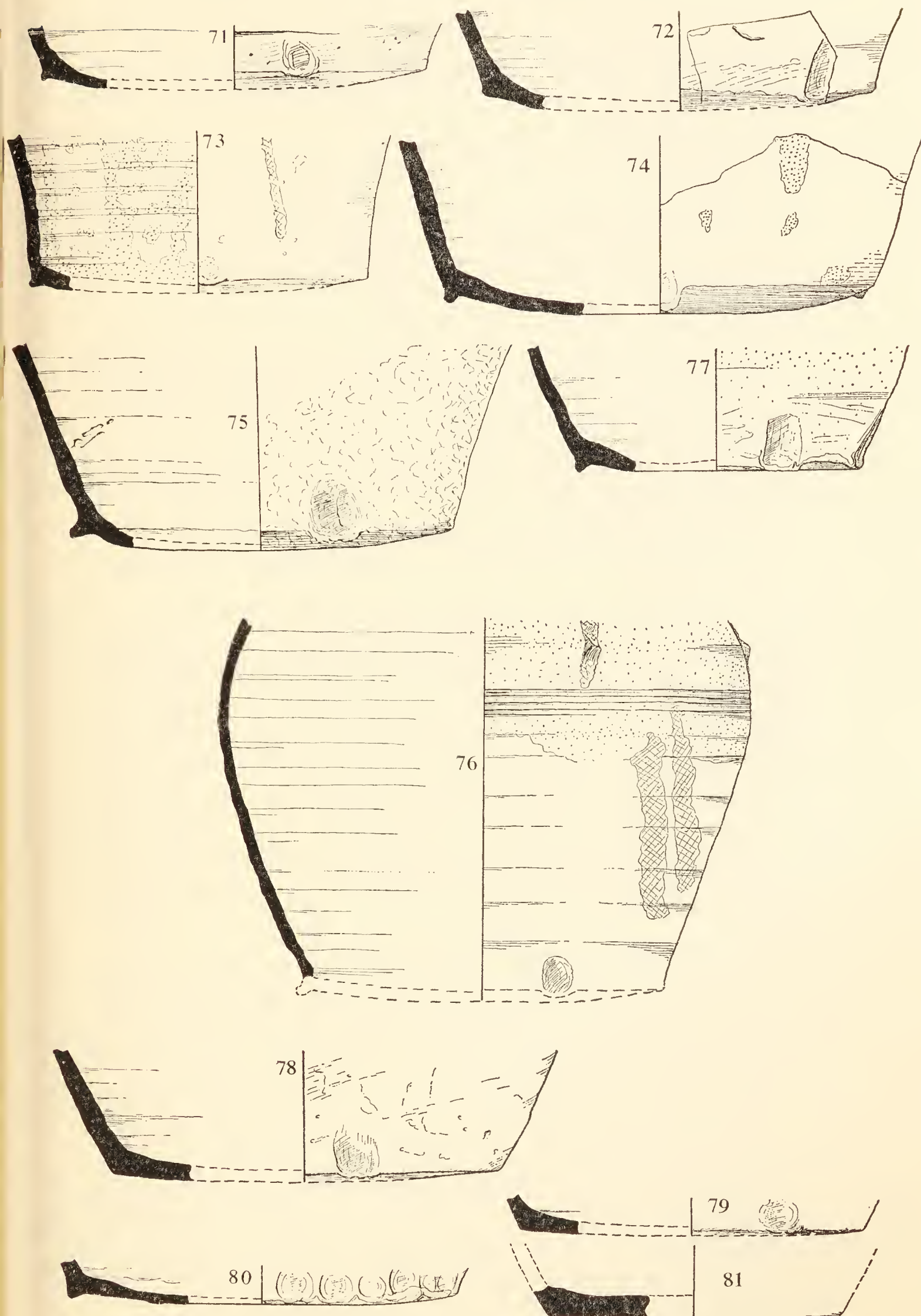


FIG. 8. (1/4)



83. Probably same pot as 50; pale grey inside; glaze has trickled unevenly down to base. B I 10.
84. Hard orange-red ware, turning to grey where fabric is thinner; pale, thick, lustrous, green glaze both sides, mottled slightly with orange. A I 2.

*Group J.* Sagging bases without thumbing. (Fig. 9).

85. Hard pink-orange ware, buff inside; pressed down at one or more points. C III 4.
86. Dark brownish-red ware, dark grey inside; internal rilling. Splash of glaze has trickled underneath to form ridge, as with 82. B I 10.
87. Reddish-buff ware with patchy grey core; internal rilling; possibly knife-trimmed. Few small splashes of glaze. B I 10.

*Group L.* Miscellaneous handles. (Fig. 9).

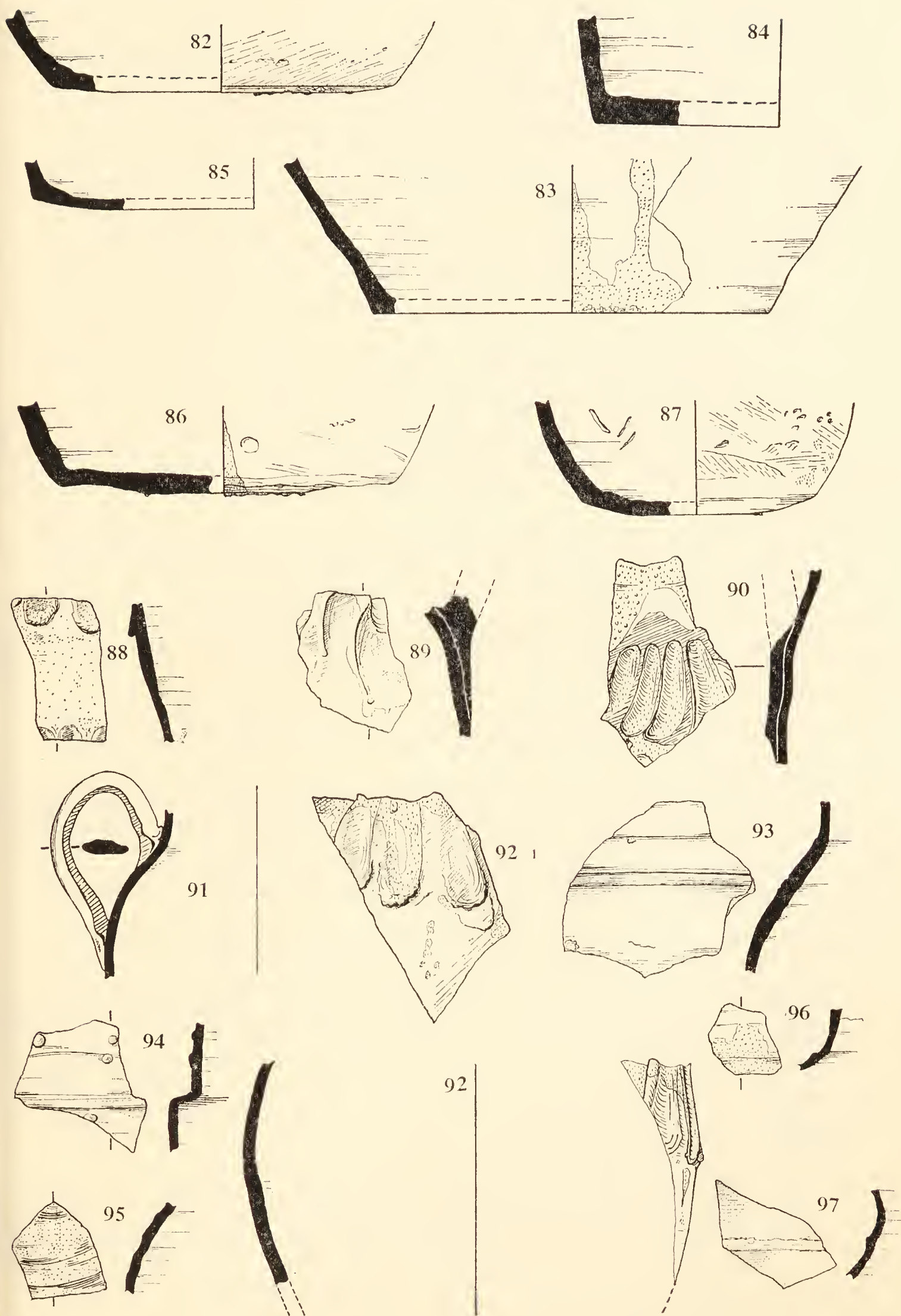
88. Body-sherd showing base of handle, thumbled, and top of base apparently pressed down all round. In pinkish-buff ware, grey core, stained whitish inside. Uneven and much decayed mottled green glaze. C II 12.
89. Shoulder-sherd with base of handle in coarse buff-pink sandy ware, fawn inside; grey core. Unglazed. C II 14.
90. Body-sherd in grey ware, with bottom of handle in orange-red ware. Dark brown lustrous glaze outside. B I 10.
91. Handle and shoulder, in hard reddish-orange ware; hard black glaze both outside and in. B I 2.
92. (two drawings). Body-sherd, probably from 81, and base of handle, in hard dark red ware with grey core. Thin uneven trickles of mottled green glaze. B I 10.

*Group M.* Unclassified neck and shoulder sherds. (Figs. 9, 10).

93. Shoulder and neck in hard orange-buff ware, grey core. Double groove on shoulder; low ridge at base of neck, possibly another at top of sherd; external pale green glaze. C I 7.
94. Shoulder and neck with sharp carination, in grey ware. Chipped pale green glaze outside. Decorated with applied pellets. C II 4.
95. Shoulder-sherd in pink-orange ware, grey core; rilled. Mottled green external glaze. Decorated with combed curving lines. C II 4.
96. Neck sherd in hard pink-orange ware. Cordon at base of neck. Uneven yellow-green glaze. C II 4.
97. Neck sherd in grey-pink ware, grey core; a well-defined cordon round base of neck. Greenish-brown external glaze. C II 5.
98. Shoulder-sherd in dark brownish-red ware, dark grey inside. Yellowish-green glaze outside. B I 10.

*Group N.* Unclassified decorated body-sherds. (Fig. 10).

99. Hard orange-red ware, grey core, slightly sandy; decorated with narrow horizontal parallel grooves, with sharply incised irregular curved vertical lines and stabbing. External pale green mottled glaze. C I 17.
100. Hard sandy pinkish-grey ware; decorated with a band of scales between raised bands. External pale green glaze. C I 18.
101. Pinkish-grey ware, grey core. Thick band of applied white slip. External mottled pale green glaze. C II 8.
102. Hard smooth grey-buff ware. Rows of contiguous fish-scale impressions, possibly made with small stick. Green-yellow external glaze. C I 9.
103. Hard pink-buff ware, grey core. Decorated with shallow parallel horizontal grooves, and two stamped bosses, pressed out from inside jug; also several sharp incised vertical irregular lines. External greenish-yellow glaze. C I 3.
104. Greyish ware; decorated with white slip, over raised band impressed with overlapping scales. Traces of dark green glaze, much decayed. C I 3.
105. Orange-red ware; decorated with two parallel raised vertical bands, enclosing a row of scales. Mottled greenish-khaki glaze outside. C I 4.

FIG. 9. ( $\frac{1}{4}$ )



106. Similar in ware and glaze to 103; similar boss, flanked in this case by two low cordons. C I 13.
107. Hard grey-buff ware, pink-buff inside. Irregular and slightly rilled. Applied hard white slip decoration of parallel lines and pellets; external dark, vivid, green glaze. C III 2.
108. Hard dark-grey ware; rouletted sub-triangular decoration, in horizontal bands. Pale green external glaze. C II 2.
109. Body-sherd in orange/grey ware. Uneven, rilled inside; irregular and decaying external pale green glaze. Two pellets of manganese slip. C II 2.
110. Residual sherd, similar to 107; mottled pale green/brown glaze outside. C III 1.
111. Dark red ware, dark grey inside; irregular purplish-brown glaze outside. Decorated with a band of shallow oblique strokes. B I 10.

*Group O.* Rims with spout and handle. Probably the same as Group C. (Fig. 10).

112. Hard pink-orange ware, grey core. Edge of handle-scar. External thick dark green glaze. C II 12.
113. Spout in hard orange-red ware. No glaze visible. C I 8.
114. Small pinch-spouted rim in thin gritted orange-red ware. Trace of decayed greenish glaze outside. C I 5.
115. Rim and part of spout in hard orange-buff ware. Uneven yellow glaze, external but trickled a little inside. C I 3.

#### BOWLS

*Fabric.* The fabric of the majority of bowls is like that of the cooking-pots of the same periods, up to the 17th century; thereafter it becomes similar to that of the jugs, with the addition of stone-ware examples.

*Glaze.* Only one example (120) of the pre-16th century bowls is glazed. After this date the inside of the vessel is invariably glazed and often the outside as well. The same variations in colour and quality already noted for the jugs occur here.

*Form.* In the 13th and 14th centuries they seem to be restricted to large, deep forms with straight, sloping sides and heavy, square, moulded rims. Handles are unknown.

With the replacement of cooking-pots by deep bowls in the 17th and 18th centuries, they become vertical-sided with heavy moulded rims and handles (Group F). It is perhaps better to call these vessels casseroles, although there is no sign of a recess for a lid, and it must remain doubtful whether they were used for cooking. Horizontal and vertical handles were used, but both had one common feature in the 'waisted' effect produced by pinching the handle where it joined the body of the vessel.

*Decoration.* In the early varieties this was restricted to thumb or finger impressions on the rim, with an occasional incised wavy line (120).

The later vessels are frequently decorated with bands of horizontal grooves, sometimes, as in 149, with a heavily imprinted applied band of clay below the rim.

*Group A.* Wide-mouthed bowls with sloping sides and rims similar to cooking-pots B. (Fig. 10).

116. Rim and part of wall of large bowl, burnt outside; in coarse reddish-buff ware; grey core. C I 17.
117. Rim very similar to 116. C I 18.
118. Rim in sandy orange-buff ware; grey core. C I Wall III.
119. Large heavy rim in coarse sandy buff-orange ware; grey core. C I 8.
120. Residual rim and wall in hard orange-buff ware, grey core; an irregular wavy line on top of rim. Pale green-yellow glaze inside and covering rim. C III 1.
121. Rim in pale, reddish-buff ware, with some flaws. Internal yellowish glaze, blistered near the rim, which is not covered. B I 5.
122. Rim in red-orange ware. Thin pale green glaze inside, splashed on to outside and banded with brown round rim. B I 2 and 8.

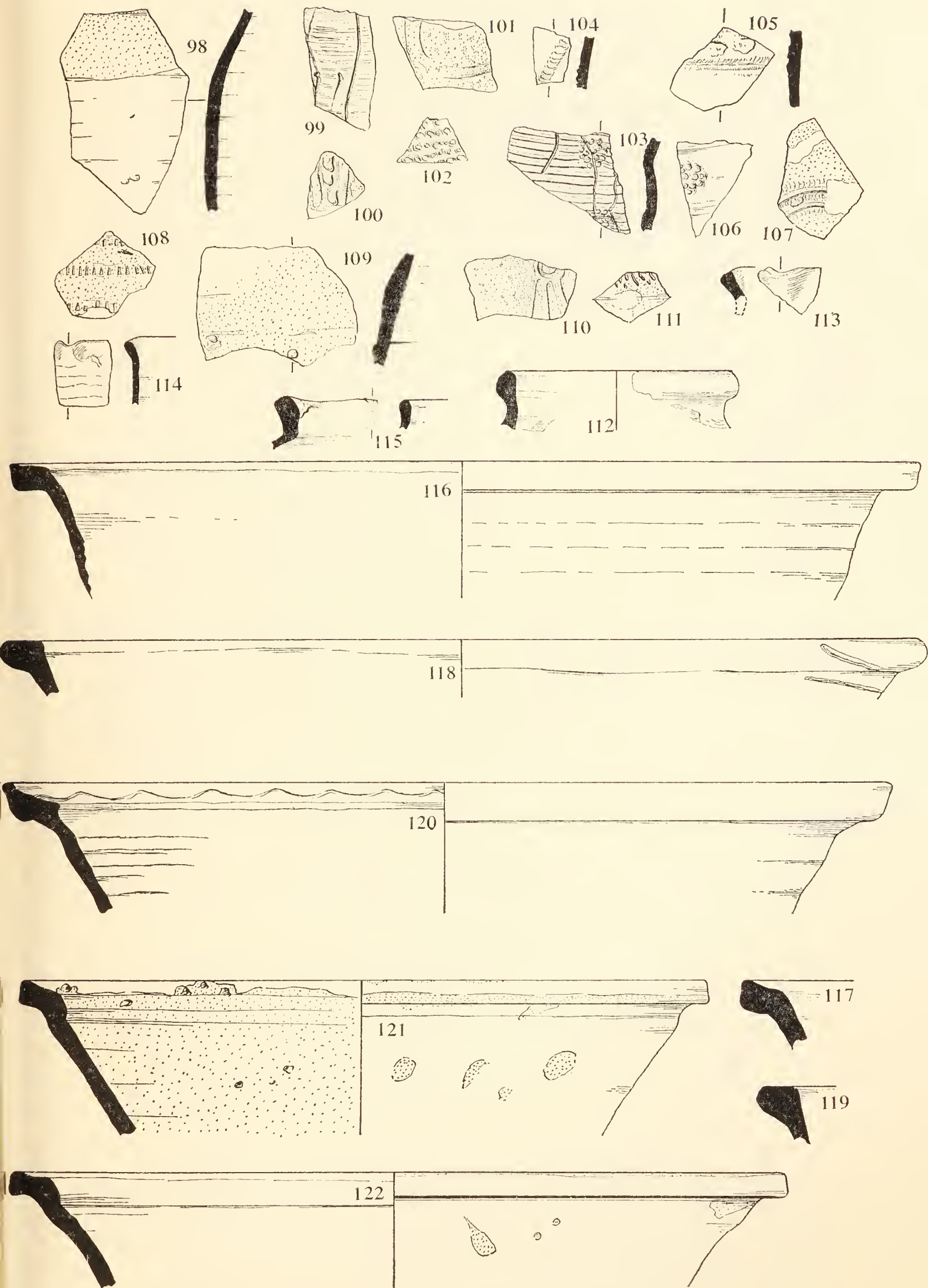


FIG. 10. ( $\frac{1}{4}$ ).



*Group B.* Wide-mouthed bowls with plain, moulded, thickened rims. (Figs. 11, 12).

- 123. Rim in coarse red-orange ware. Dark brown glaze inside and over rim. B I 2.
- 124. Rim in red-orange ware; green glaze inside and over rim, with band of white slip on top of rim. B I 2.
- 125. Rim in red-orange ware; brown glaze inside with band of white slip on inner edge of rim. B I 2.
- 126. Rim similar to 123, in orange-red/grey ware with yellow glaze inside. B I 2.
- 127. Rim in thick reddish-buff ware; very roughly finished, with scratches and uneven rilling. Internal greenish-yellow glaze, splashed on to outside. B I 8.

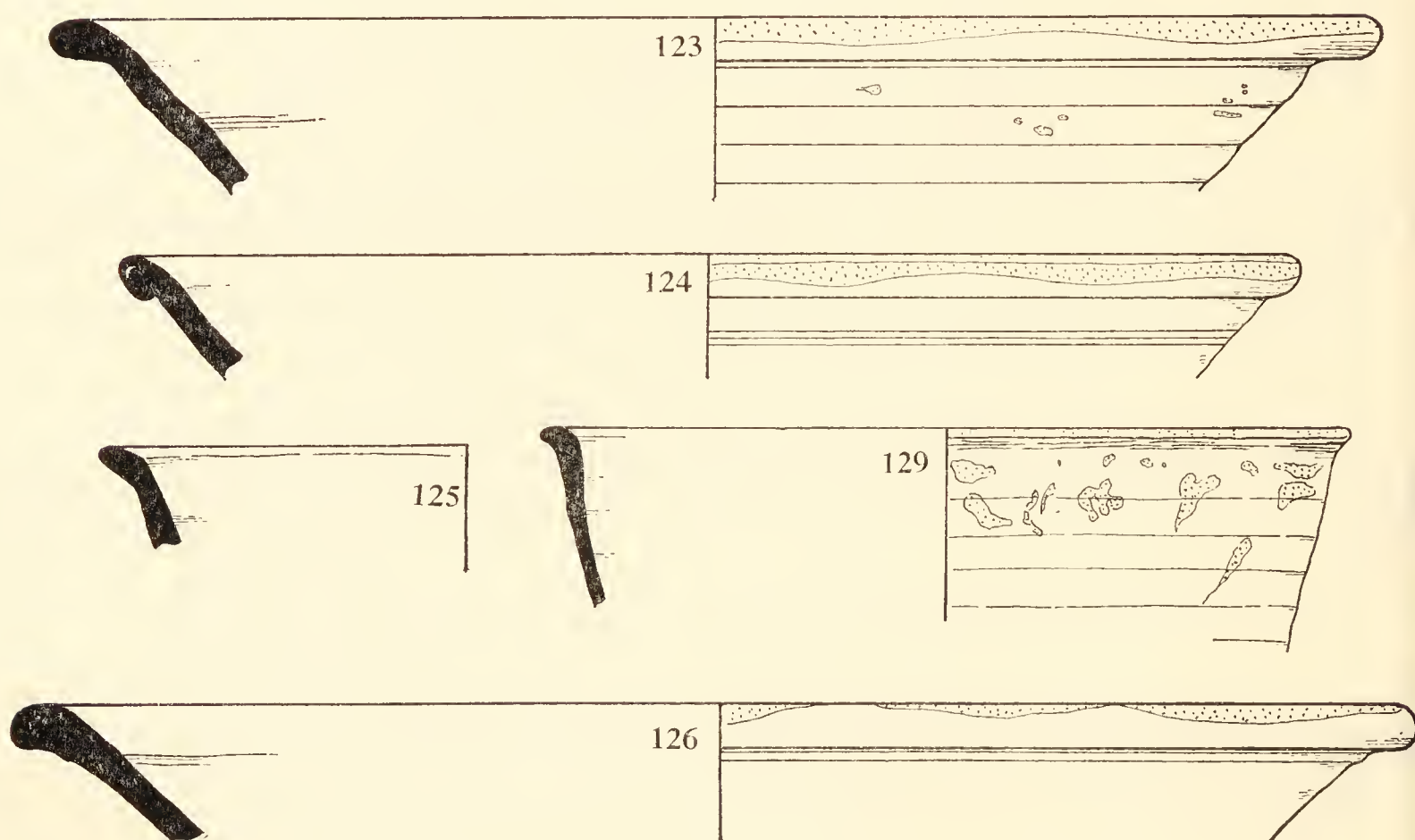


FIG. 11. ( $\frac{1}{4}$ ).

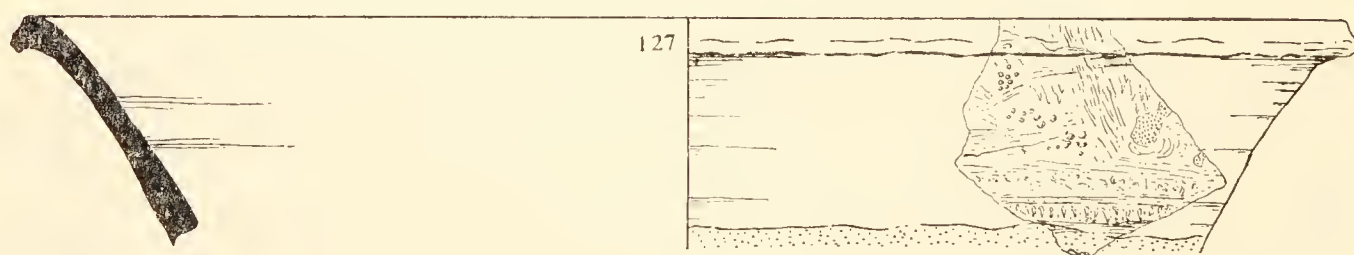


FIG. 12. ( $\frac{1}{6}$ ).

*Group C.* Bowls similar to B, but with sides less sharply sloping. (Figs. 11, 13).

- 128. Rim in coarse hard red-orange ware. Traces of internal brown glaze, much abraded. Probably rectangular vessel. C II 8.
- 129. Rim in pale, orange-red ware. Glazed greenish-yellow inside, splashed a little on outside. B I 2.
- 130. Rim in hard reddish-orange ware. Hard brownish-black glaze all over the inside and flowing unevenly below the rim outside. B I 2.

*Group D.* Wide-mouthed bowls with turned-down rims, sometimes under-cut. (Fig. 13).

131. Rim in hard red-orange ware. Hard brownish-black glaze all over inside and flowing unevenly below rim outside. B I 2.
132. Rim in thick pale orange-red ware; pale green glaze inside and over rim. B I 2.
133. Rim similar to 132; yellow glaze inside, stopping just below rim. B I 2.
134. Rim in ware similar to 132; dark yellow glaze inside, trickling over rim and on to outside. B I 2.
135. Rim in red-orange ware; thin green glaze inside, with band of white slip on top of rim. B I 2.

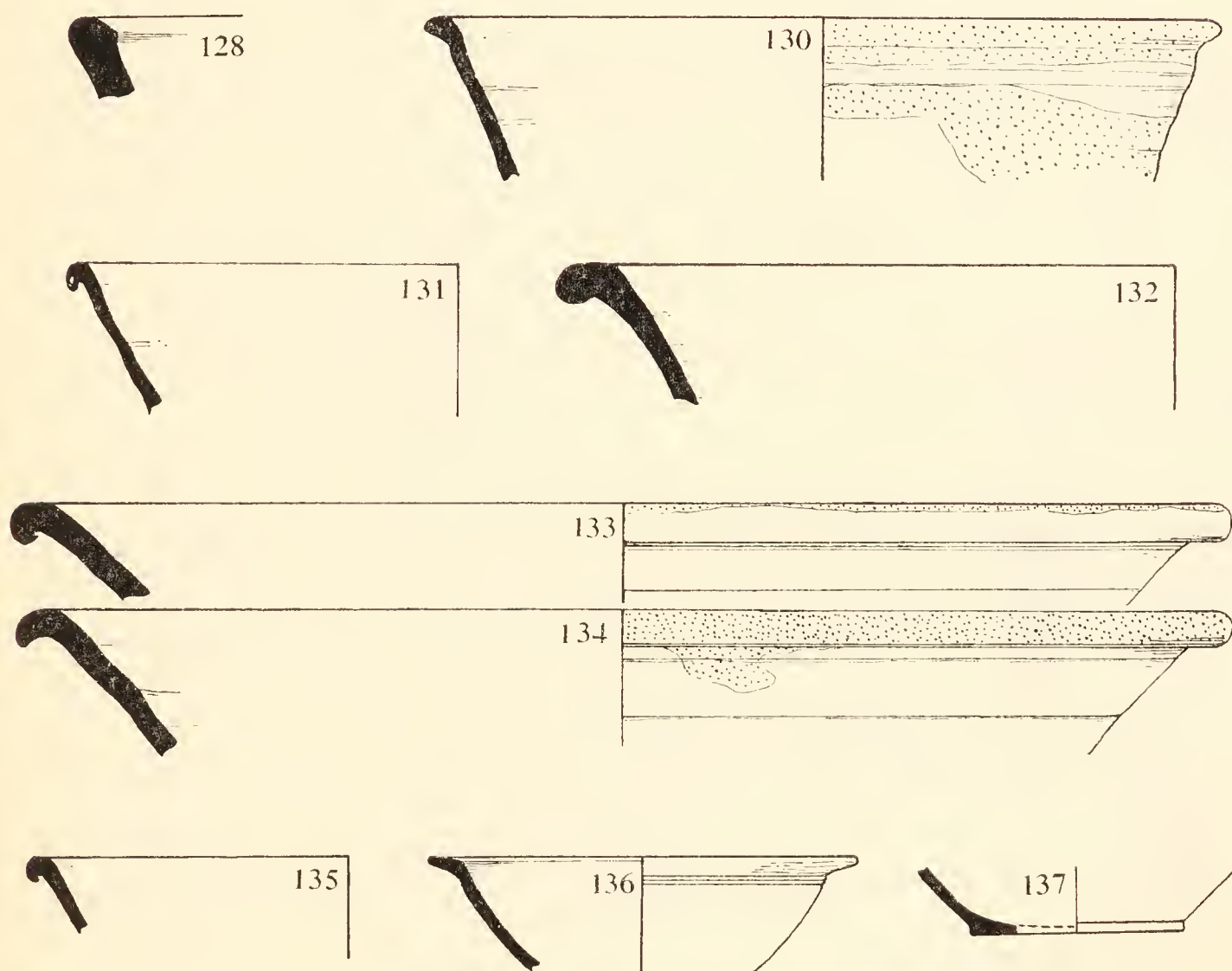
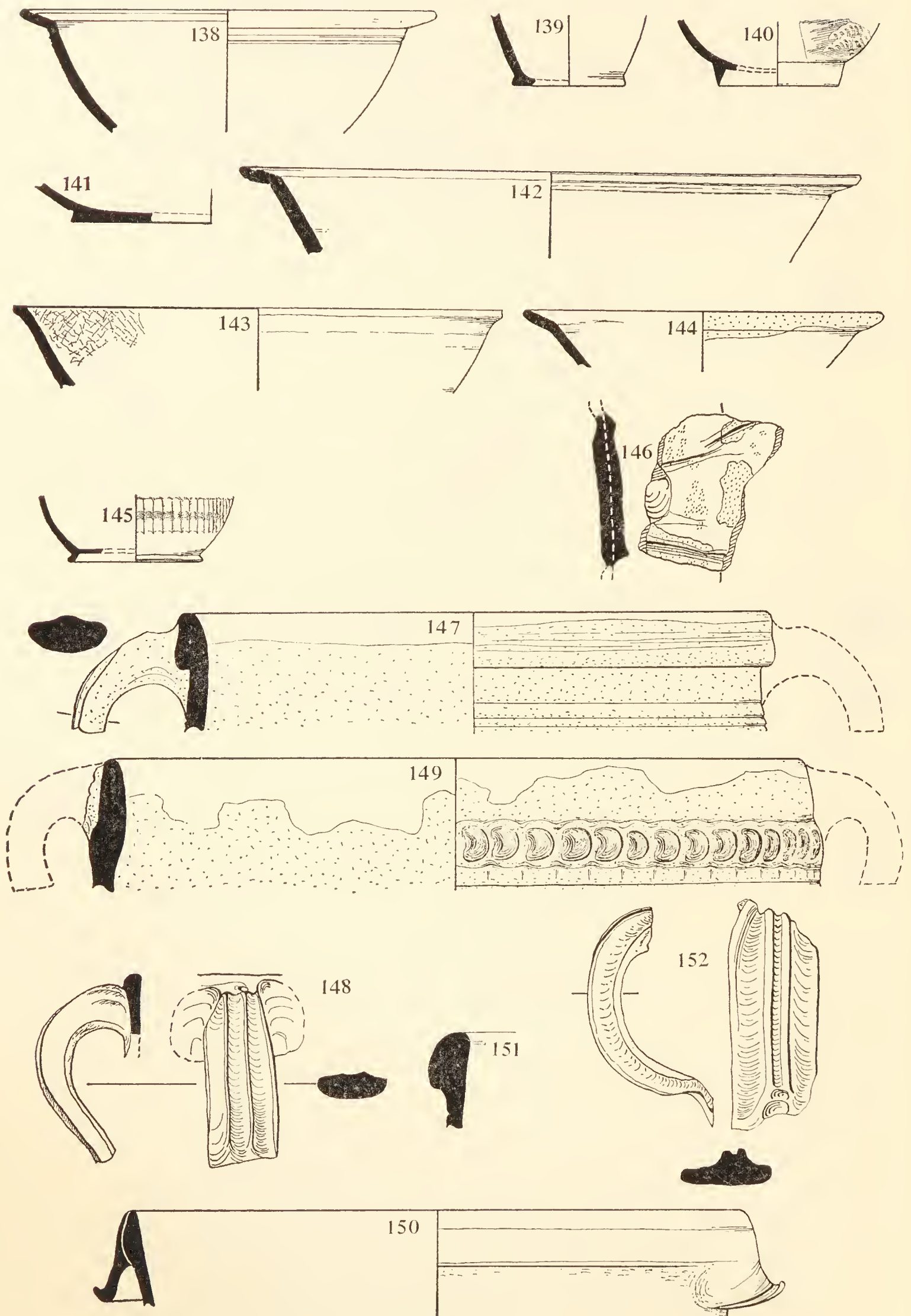


FIG. 13. ( $\frac{1}{4}$ ).

*Group E.* Wide-mouthed hemispherical bowls, with everted and flattened rims. (Figs. 13, 14).

136. Rim in hard dark-grey stoneware with brownish-black shiny surface. B I 2.
137. Base in ware similar to 136. B I 2.
138. Rim similar to 136. B I 2.
139. Base in fine grey stoneware; mottled brown surfaces. B I 8.
140. Base of small willow-pattern bowl, in fine white china, with footstand. Pale blue glaze both sides, with darker blue design. B II 5.
141. Base in hard dark-grey stoneware, brownish-black shiny surface. B I 2.
142. Rim in ware similar to 141. B I 2.
143. Rim and almost complete wall of shallow bowl in hard fine dark red ware. Very black (burnt?) outside. Creamy-white slip inside, mottled with brown, and covered with thick clear glaze. B II 5.
144. Rim of shallow bowl in thin red-orange ware. Yellow glaze inside and over rim, with white slip round centre of rim. B I 2.



FIG. 14. ( $\frac{1}{4}$ ).

145. Base of small Wedgwood bowl in black Jasper ware, with low beaded foot-stand. Decorated with shallow vertical incised Vs, crossed with a band of 7 or 8 diminutive parallel wavy raised lines. B II 4.

*Group F.* Large and heavy vertical-sided bowls or casseroles, usually with thickened, moulded rims, and two handles, either vertical or horizontal. (Figs. 14, 15).

146. Part of a horizontal handle of large bowl, in red-orange ware with grey core; rilled and with thumb-print at junction inside. Uneven green glaze inside, splashed on to outside. B I 10.
147. Rim and neck with scars of attachment of handle, in red/grey ware; glazed all over, except at extreme top of rim, in mottled greenish-yellow. B I 2.
148. Rim and handle in ware similar to 147; glaze is dark yellow. B I 2.
149. Rim with scars of attachment of handle of very large bowl, in coarse red-orange ware. External decoration of an applied band with deep finger-tip impressions, above a groove. Uneven over-all brown glaze. B I 2.
150. Rim and part of flanged finger-grip, in red-orange ware; flange is applied, and drawn-out to form thickening of rim. Dark green all-over glaze. B I 2.
151. Rim similar to 147. Probably a waster; badly overfired. Glaze may have been dark green. B I 2.
152. Handle in reddish-buff coarse ware; uneven brown glaze. B I 2.
153. Rim and neck very similar to 147. B I 2.

*Group G.* Miscellaneous bases. (Fig. 15).

154. Hard reddish-orange ware, slight rilling both sides. Greenish-brown glaze inside. B I 2.
155. Similar to 154; paler ware. B I 2.
156. Coarse uneven red-orange ware; glazed greenish-yellow all over inside, and outside to within an inch or so of the base. Internal rilling. B I 2.
157. Thick orange-red ware, some cavities. Blackened outside. Rilled both sides. Internal yellow-brown glaze. B I 8.
158. Coarse orange ware. Internal glaze, which seems to be greenish at top and bottom, fading to dark buff in the middle. B I 2.
159. Hard orange-red ware, with some flaws. Thick lustrous light brown glaze inside, a few odd splashes here and there outside. B II 5.

#### COOKING POTS

*Fabric.* The earliest examples are invariably coarse, calcite-gritted vessels, poorly fired, with a soft and friable texture.

Like the corresponding development in the jugs, the fabric improves in the middle and later 13th century to become harder, with less grit and more sand, although a little fine calcite material is used in some vessels up to the 14th century. The pots of this period are characteristically harsh and rough to the touch, although a very few do lack this feature. In general those of the 14th century are also better fired than those of the 13th century. Almost all colours ranging from red to brown, buff and grey occur; a common type at Riplingham having a hard, very sandy fabric, fired pale buff with a thin orange or pink suffusion on parts of both surfaces. Both bowls and cooking-pots were made in this material, and it seems to be the product of one kiln, or group of kilns.

*Form.* Like the jugs, there was rarely enough to reconstruct the shape of the whole pot. The early examples appear to have heavy square-sectioned, flat or nearly flat rims, which in the course of time tend to be pulled upwards, so as to provide a concave or bevelled inner surface for seating a lid. Simple everted rims, frequently thickening into a finely moulded lip, also occur; although the chronological development of these is less easy to trace. A return to the heavy rims of the earlier forms occurs in the 15th and 16th centuries, although the rims are more triangular than square in section.

The necks are usually short, although longer examples do occur, while in the very late types, they have disappeared entirely. Shoulders are weak and



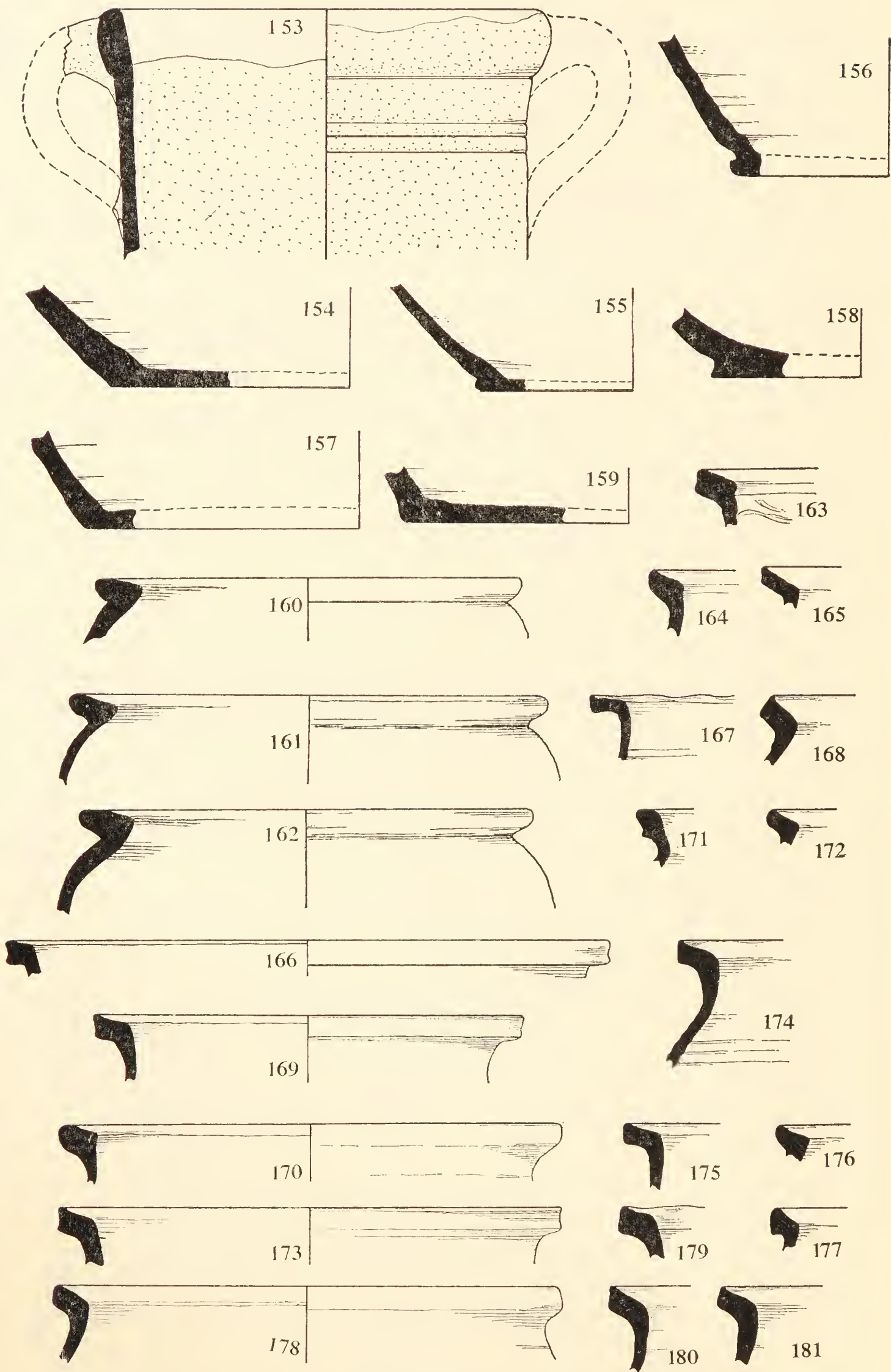


FIG. 15. ( $\frac{1}{4}$ ).

sloping, and bases invariably sag. Wide-mouthed, shallow pots with no shoulders and insloping sides are also represented. In these the basal angle is acute.

*Decoration.* Decoration is confined almost entirely to finger- and thumb-printing on top of, or outside, the rim. This appears to have no diagnostic importance, since it occurs in all periods.

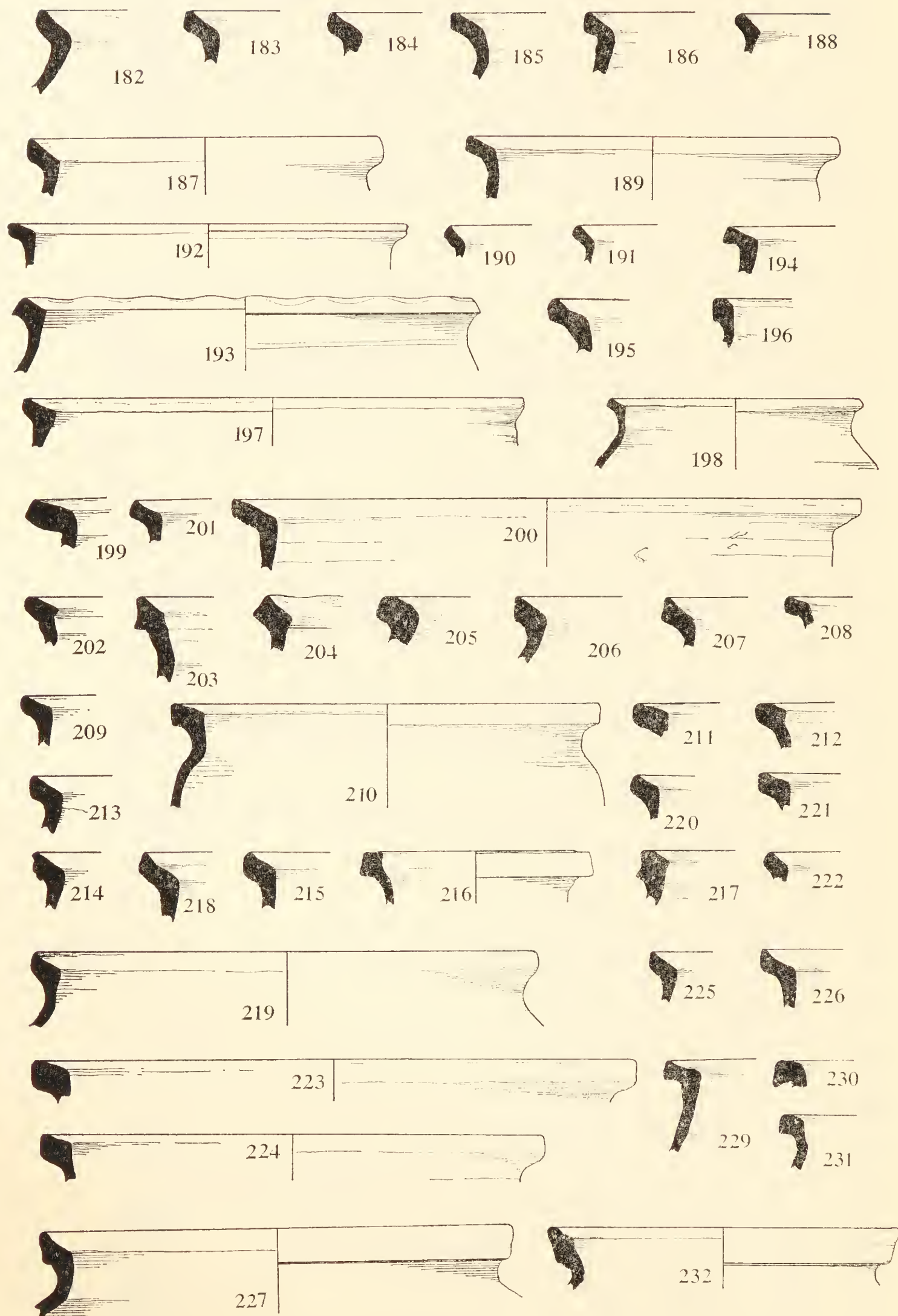
*Group A.* Heavy, strongly-everted, rounded rims, with a sharp angle at the external junction of rim and shoulder. The inside of the rim is flattened and slightly bevelled. (Fig. 15).

- 160. Residual rim in gritty reddish ware, grey core. B I 9.
- 161. Rim similar to 160. B I 10.
- 162. Rim similar to 160; darker, harder ware; distorted, almost a waster. B I 20.

*Group B.* Everted rims, squarish in section. Usually bevelled inside, sometimes with a very slight concavity; occasionally completely flattened as 167; well-developed necks. (Figs. 15, 16, 17).

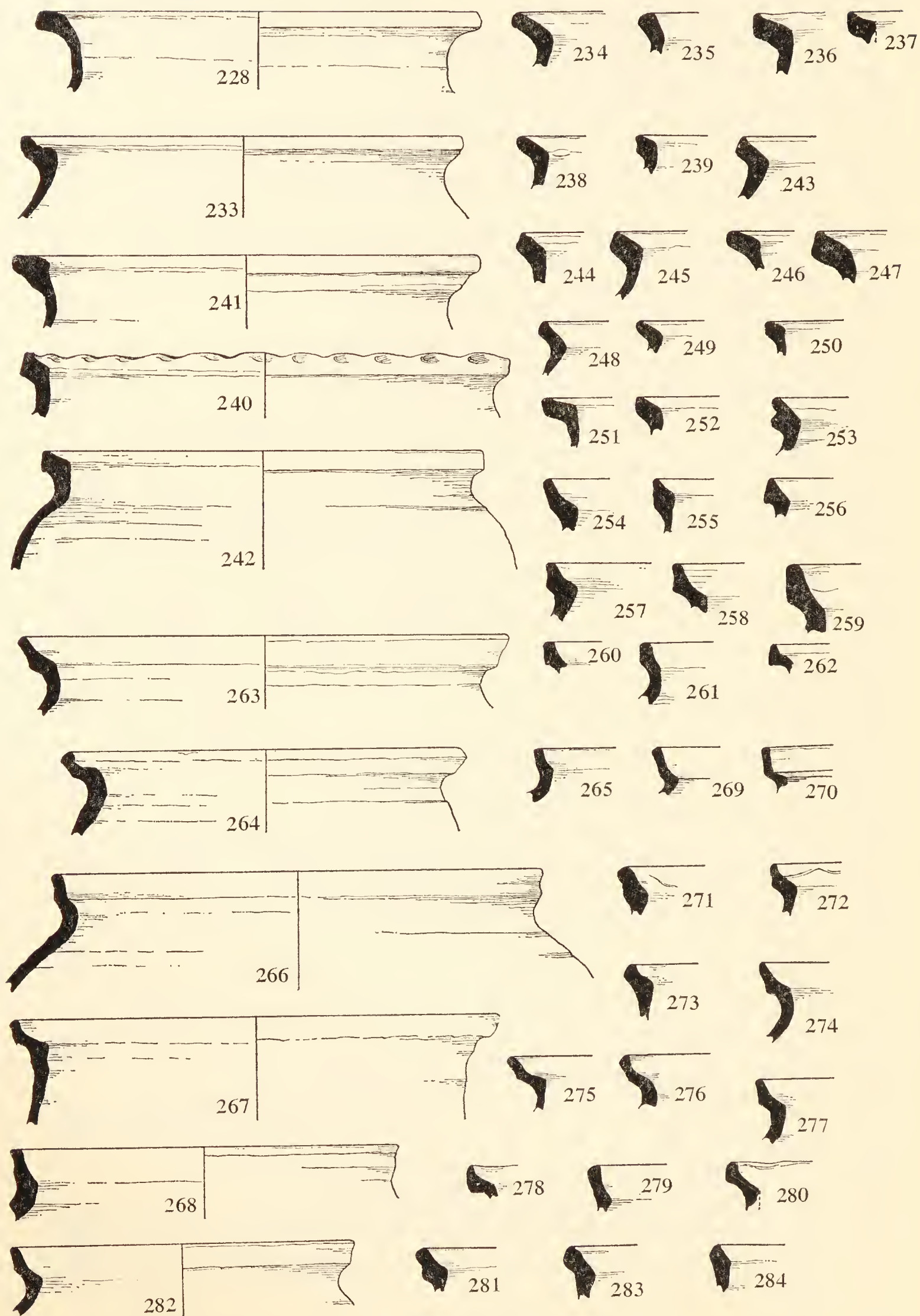
- 163. Large rim in sandy orange-buff ware, dark grey core; incised wavy line inside neck. C I 18.
- 164. Rim in sandy buff ware. C I 18.
- 165. Thin rim in sandy buff ware, grey core; orange outer surface. C I 18.
- 166. Rim in hard sandy orange ware. C II 6.
- 167. Thin rim in sandy orange-buff ware, grey core, little calcite grit. Thumbled round outside of rim. C I 16.
- 168. Rim in coarse sandy orange-buff ware, grey core; burnt outside. C I 16.
- 169. Rim in sandy buff ware, grey core, orange-red outside. C I 14.
- 170. Rim in sandy orange-buff ware, burnt outside. C I 14.
- 171. Rim in sandy orange-buff ware, brownish outside, grey-black core. C I 13.
- 172. Rim in orange-red ware. C I 13.
- 173. Rim in coarse, sandy, pale orange ware; buff inside; grey core. C III 4.
- 174. Rim and shoulder in sandy pinkish-buff ware; rilled inside below neck. C I 17.
- 175. Rim in sandy grey-buff ware. C I 17.
- 176. Rim in hard smooth orange-red ware; fine paste, no grits. Burnt round outside edge of rim. C I 17.
- 177. Rim in soft sandy pale buff ware. C I 17.
- 178. Rim in coarse sandy orange ware, grey core. C II 4.
- 179. Rim similar to 178. C II 4.
- 180. Rim similar to 178, in pinkish-buff ware. C II 4.
- 181. Rim similar to 180. C II 4.
- 182. Rim in coarse sandy pink-buff ware, grey core. C II 4.
- 183. Rim similar to 182. C II 4.
- 184. Rim similar to 182. C II 4.
- 185. Rim similar to 182, pink-buff ware. C II 4.
- 186. Rim similar to 182. C II 4.
- 187. Rim similar to 182. C II 4.
- 188. Rim in sandy reddish-buff ware; grey core. C II 4.
- 189. Rim similar to 188. C II 4.
- 190. Rim in hard thin red-orange ware. C II 4.
- 191. Rim similar to 190, but with splash of brown glaze on neck. C II 4.
- 192. Small rim in hard thin orange-buff ware, burnt in places. C II 4.
- 193. Rim in hard orange-red ware. C II 4.
- 194. Rim in hard orange-buff ware, burnt in places. C II 4.
- 195. Rim in coarse sandy grey ware. C II 4.
- 196. Small rim in coarse dark grey ware. C II 4.
- 197. Rim in hard red-orange ware. C II 4.
- 198. Rim and shoulder of small pot in thin hard orange-red ware, slightly sandy. Concave rim, short neck, weak shoulder. C I 17.



FIG. 16. ( $\frac{1}{4}$ ).

199. Rim in coarse sandy grey ware, with some larger grits; orange-buff outside, darkened on outside of body. Irregular and roughly finished, some accidental finger-marks. C III 5.
200. Rim in coarse sandy buff ware. C III 5.
201. Thin rim in coarse grey sandy ware; pinkish-buff outside. C II 10.
202. Rim in sandy buff ware, grey core. C II 12.
203. Rim in sandy pinkish-brown ware, fading to buff inside; grey core. C II 12.
204. Large rim in sandy pinkish-fawn ware, greyish outside. C I 5.
205. Residual rim in very coarse soft brown-grey ware, heavily calcite-gritted. C I 3.
206. Rim in sandy fawn ware; orange below rim outside; grey core. C I 3.
207. Rim in reddish-brown sandy ware; dark grey core. C I 3.
208. Rim in hard fine red-orange ware. C I 3.
209. Residual rim in sandy buff ware. C I 3.
210. Rim and shoulder in greyish sandy ware. C I 8.
211. Rim in coarse sandy grey-buff ware, with calcite grits. C I 8.
212. Rim in pinkish-buff sandy ware. C II 5.
213. Rim in granular reddish-buff ware; grey core. C II 3.
214. Rim in sandy buff ware, grey core. C II 3.
215. Rim in sandy pinkish-orange ware, blackened outside, fading to buff inside; grey core. C II 3.
216. Rim in smooth hard reddish-buff ware. C II 3.
217. Rim in hard sandy red-orange ware. C II 3.
218. Large rim in sandy pinkish-buff ware, pale grey core. C I 2.
219. Rim in sandy orange-red ware outside, dark grey core and inner surface. C I 2.
220. Rim in sandy orange-buff ware; grey-black core. C I 2.
221. Rim in sandy yellowish-buff ware, greyish core. C I 2.
222. Small rim, ware similar to 220. C I 2.
223. Rim in coarse gritty pink-buff ware, grey core. C II 2.
224. Rim similar to 223. C II 2.
225. Rim similar to 223. C II 2.
226. Rim similar to 223. C II 2.
227. Rim in ware similar to 223, but not quite so gritty. C II 2.
228. Rim in hard sandy buff ware, grey core; burnt rim. C I 7.
229. Rim in hard, slightly gritty, orange-buff ware. C I 7.
230. Rim in hard pinkish-buff ware, greyish core. C I 7.
231. Rim in hard sandy buff-orange ware, burnt outside. C I Ext. I, 6.
232. Rim in hard sandy buff ware, burnt black in patches. C I Ext. I, 6.
233. Rim in coarse sandy grey-buff ware. C I 9.
234. Rim in granular buff ware, fired red-orange outside. C I 9.
235. Rim in sandy fawn ware, pink outside. Similar to 234. C I 9a.
236. Residual rim in coarse soft red-brown ware, many large calcite grits. C I 9a.
237. Small rim in coarse soft reddish-buff ware, with many cavities and flaws. C III 2.
238. Small rim in coarse gritty dark-grey ware with cavities; buff-coloured exterior; very irregular. C III 2.
239. Small thin rim in sandy orange-buff ware; pale grey core. C I 4.
240. Rim in coarse gritted grey-buff ware; dark grey core. C I 4.
241. Rim in hard sandy orange-buff ware, burnt outside; grey core. C I 4.
242. Rim and shoulder in coarse sandy calcite-gritted buff ware, burnt outside; grey core. C I 4.
243. Rim in sandy grey-buff ware, very black inside; grey core. C I 4.
244. Rim in sandy buff ware, orange-red inside; grey core. C I 4.
245. Rim in sandy orange-buff ware; grey core. C I 4.
246. Rim in sandy calcite-gritted orange-buff ware, burnt black in places; dark grey core. C I 4.
247. Large rim, much abraded, in dark sandy orange-buff ware, grey core. C I 4.
248. Thin rim in sandy orange-buff ware, grey core. C I 4.
249. Small rim in sandy buff ware, slightly orange outside, grey core. C I 4.



FIG. 17. ( $\frac{1}{4}$ ).

- 250. Small rim in burnt sandy orange-buff ware. C I 4.
- 251. Rim in sandy orange-buff ware; grey core. C I 4.
- 252. Small rim in sandy orange-red ware; grey core. C I 4.
- 253. Rim in hard sandy buff ware, grey core. C II 15.

*Group C.* Similar to B, but with rims more finely moulded; often tapering upwards and with more marked concavity on the inside edge. (Fig. 17).

- 254. Rim in buff sandy ware, dark grey core. C I 18.
- 255. Rim in sandy dark grey ware. C I 18.
- 256. Rim in pinkish creamy-white ware; fine paste. C I 15.
- 257. Rim in hard orange-buff ware. C II 4.
- 258. Rim in coarse grey sandy ware, pinkish-buff outside. C III 5.
- 259. Rim in coarse pink-buff ware, grey core. C II 8.
- 260. Rim in sandy pinkish-buff ware, grey core. C II 8.
- 261. Rim in sandy buff ware, grey core. C I 13.
- 262. Small rim in sandy grey-buff ware. C I 13.
- 263. Rim in sandy buff ware, grey core. C I 20.
- 264. Rim in hard, sandy, pink-buff ware, dark grey core; burnt in places. Rilled inside. C I 3.
- 265. Rim in sandy fawn ware; dark grey core. C I 3.
- 266. Rim and shoulder in thin grey sandy ware, blackish core; slightly rilled both sides. C I 8.
- 267. Rim in buff-orange sandy ware; grey core. C II 5.
- 268. Rim in hard dark grey-brown sandy ware. C II 14.
- 269. Small rim in sandy buff-grey ware. C II 14.
- 270. Small rim in blackish sandy ware; grey core. C II 14.
- 271. Rim in coarse sandy buff-grey ware; dark grey core. C I 5.
- 272. Rim, decorated with incised wavy line on upper surface, in orange-buff sandy ware, burnt outside; grey core. C I 2.
- 273. Rim with finger imprints, in coarse sandy fawn ware; grey core. C I 2.
- 274. Thin residual rim in sandy orange-buff ware; dark grey core. C I 2.
- 275. Rim in thin sandy grey ware, buff outside. C I 7.
- 276. Rim in pinkish-buff sandy ware, grey core. C I 7.
- 277. Rim in greyish sandy ware, black core. C I 7.
- 278. Small finger-printed rim in greyish-buff ware. C I 10.
- 279. Residual rim in sandy orange-red ware, grey-black core. C I Ext. I, 6.
- 280. Rim in thin sandy red-buff ware; thumb-printed. C I 9.
- 281. Rim in coarse sandy pale buff ware, dark grey core. C I 4.
- 282. Rim in thin hard greyish-buff ware, grey core. C I 4.
- 283. Rim in sandy calcite-gritted buff ware, orange-red outside; grey core. C I 4.
- 284. Small rim in sandy orange-buff ware; black core. C I 4.

*Group D.* Upright, thickened, moulded rims. (Fig. 18).

- 285. Rim in hard gritted orange ware. C II 6.
- 286. Rim in coarse sandy reddish-brown ware; burnt. C I 3.

*Group E.* Rims, almost vertical or only slightly everted; thinner in section with lighter moulding than B. (Fig. 18).

- 287. Rim in sandy brownish ware, black core. C I 13.
- 288. Small, finely moulded rim in sandy orange-red ware; grey core. C I 17.
- 289. Rim in coarse sandy pinkish-buff ware, grey core; burnt outside. C I 16.
- 290. Rim in thinnish sandy black ware, red-buff outside. C II 4.
- 291. Rim in sandy red-buff ware. C II 4.
- 292. Part of rim in sandy red-buff ware, grey core. C II 4.
- 293. Rim in very sandy orange-red ware, dark grey core. C II 4.
- 294. Rim in coarse sandy dark grey ware. C II 4.
- 295. Rim in hard, slightly sandy red-orange ware. C II 10.
- 296. Rim in granular buff-grey ware. C II 12.
- 297. Rim in brownish-grey sandy ware. C I Wall III.
- 298. Small rim in sandy orange-red ware. C I Wall III.
- 299. Small rim in sandy dark grey ware. C I Wall III.



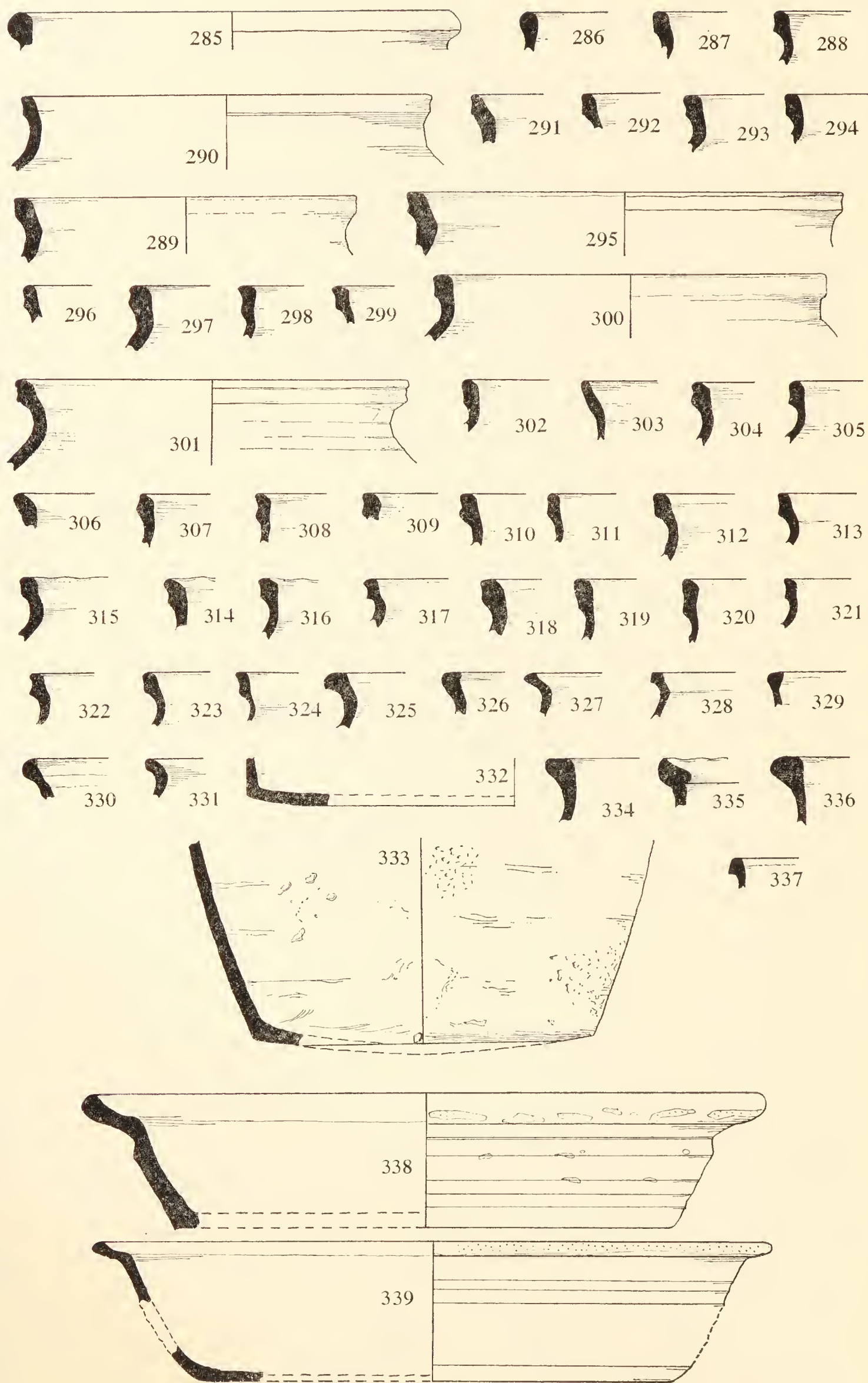


FIG. 18. ( $\frac{1}{4}$ ).

- 300. Rim in sandy red-orange ware, grey core. C I 3.
- 301. Rim in sandy brownish-grey ware. C I 3.
- 302. Rim in sandy blackish ware. C I 3.
- 303. Rim in hard sandy orange-buff ware, grey core. C I 3.
- 304. Rim in sandy orange-red ware; grey core and inner surface. C I 8.
- 305. Thin rim in sandy blackish ware; orange-red inner surface. C I 8.
- 306. Small residual rim in soft buff ware; grey core. C I 8.
- 307. Thin rim in harsh gritty black ware. C I 12.
- 308. Rim in sandy pinkish-buff ware, dark grey core. C II 5.
- 309. Small rim in coarse sandy orange-red ware; dark grey core and inner surface. C I 5.
- 310. Small residual rim in sandy orange-buff ware; grey-black core. C I 2.
- 311. Residual rim similar to 310. C I 2.
- 312. Small residual rim in blackish gritty ware; orange-red outer surface. C I 2.
- 313. Residual rim in thin sandy orange-buff ware, grey core. C II 2.
- 314. Rim in ware similar to 313; decoration of finger-tip dents round flattened lip. C II 2.
- 315. Rim in coarse hard granular brownish-red ware, grey core. Top of rim is thumb-printed. C II 7.
- 316. Rim in thin sandy grey ware, buff outside. C I 7.
- 317. Rim in thin sandy buff-orange ware, burnt black around rim; grey-black core. C I 9.
- 318. Rim in hard sandy pale buff ware; grey-black core and inner surface. C I Ext. I, 6.
- 319. Rim in hard orange-buff ware. C I 4.
- 320. Small rim in orange-red ware. C I 4.
- 321. Small thin rim in sandy orange-buff ware, black core. C I 4.
- 322. Rim similar to 321. C I 4.
- 323. Small rim in sandy orange-red ware; grey core. C I 4.
- 324. Thin rim in dark brown granular ware. C II 16.

*Group F. Miscellaneous rims and bases. (Fig. 18).*

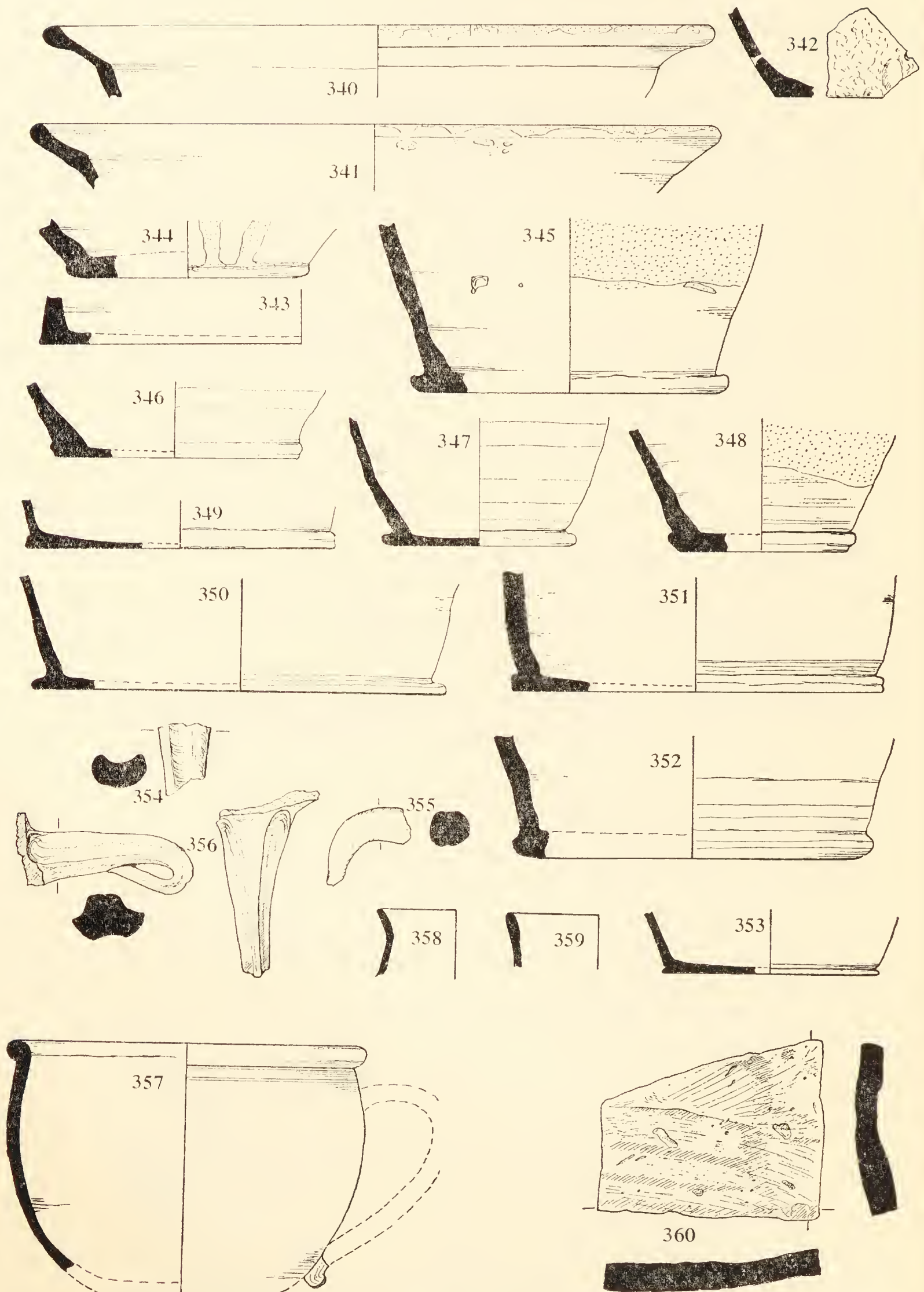
- 325. Residual rim in soft orange ware, greyish core; much abraided. D I 5.
- 326. Rim in slightly sandy brown-orange ware, dark grey core. C I 18.
- 327. Small rim in hard thin red-orange ware. External dark brown glaze. C II 4.
- 328. Small rim in thin hard orange-buff ware. C II 4.
- 329. Rim in ware similar to 328. C II 4.
- 330. Thin rim in orange-red ware. C I 8.
- 331. Rim in sandy reddish-buff ware, grey core; very small and thin. C II 3.
- 332. Base with almost vertical side, in gritty grey-buff ware. C I 6.
- 333. Sagging base in hard sandy pink-buff ware, grey core. Burnt outside and rilled. C I 7.
- 334. Rim in buff, slightly sandy ware, burnt to dark grey in patches. C I 7.
- 335. Rim in fawn sandy ware, dark grey core. Finger-tip impressions on outside edge of rim. C I 7.
- 336. Rim in sandy grey-buff ware, grey core. C I 4.
- 337. Small fine rim in sandy pinkish-buff ware; burnt grey outside. C I 4.

*DISHES. (Figs. 18, 19).*

These have moulded, everted rims, with a slight concavity in the upper surface.

- 338. Complete profile of a deep dish in red-orange ware with some flaws and cavities in the fabric. Sloping sides. Internal glazing in yellowish-brown, splashed slightly on to the outside. B I 2.
- 339. Base and rim (two sherds) in orange-red ware; rounded basal angle. Thick, clear, colourless glaze over a creamy white slip containing patches of purplish brown. B I 2.
- 340. Rim very similar in ware and glazing to 338. Everted, flat rim, the outside edge of which is thickened. B I 2.
- 341. Rim in ware similar to 338, with rounded thickened edge. Glazed light brown inside, and dribbled slightly outside. B II 5.



FIG. 19. ( $\frac{1}{4}$ ).

## MISCELLANEOUS

*Bases.* Could be from jugs, bowls, or cooking-pots. (Fig. 19).

- 342. Base in very rough and irregular orange-red ware, grey core. Sagging and pressed down. A round hole in the wall just above the angle. C I Wall II.
- 343. Acute-angled base in coarse sandy buff-grey ware, pinkish-brown inside. Internal rilling. Probably from shallow, broad-based cooking-pot. C III 5.
- 344. Base in thick red-orange ware with some flaws. Very slightly splayed; rilled on both sides. Internal brown-yellow glaze, which appears to be outside also since it trickles down as far as the base. B I 8.
- 345. Base in thick red-buff ware, some flaws; grey at top of sherd inside. Splayed, slightly rolled up, base; rilled inside. Glazed in mottled green/orange/yellow inside, and outside to within about 2 ins. of the base. B I 8.
- 346. Base in hard reddish-orange ware; slightly splayed and thickened at angle. Hard black glaze all over inside, and flowing unevenly almost to base outside. B I 2.
- 347. Base similar to 346, but with wider splay and finer angle. B I 2.
- 348. Splayed base in orange-buff ware; slight rilling on both sides; yellow glaze all over inside and on outside unevenly to within 1-2 ins. of the base. B I 2.
- 349. Base in hard reddish-orange ware, splayed; hard brownish-black glaze all over inside and flowing unevenly outside. B I 2.
- 350. Base similar to 349, but with wider splay. B I 2.
- 351. Base in thick hard pale reddish-buff ware; slight internal rilling; splayed. Yellow glaze inside. B I 2.
- 352. Splayed base in thick orange-red ware; slight rilling on both sides. Dark brown internal glaze. B I 2.
- 353. Base in hard dark-grey stoneware; shiny brown surface. Groove just above angle. B I 2.

*Pipkin-Handles.* (Fig. 19).

- 354. Part of handle in sandy orange-red ware, burnt brown in places; grey core. Oval section, rolled at edges to form deep, wide groove. C I 13.
- 355. Horn-shaped handle in coarse sandy orange-red ware; grey core. C I 16.
- 356. Handle in hard orange-red ware, grey core. It juts at right-angles to the body, with tapering end looped down and under. Two deep grooves underneath, and a deep thumb-print on the bottom at the junction of handle and body. Uneven, good, thick, mottled greenish glaze. C I 9.

*Chamber-Pot.* (Fig. 19).

- 357. Rim and wall, with part of handle, of Pot in Nottingham stone-ware; fine grey ware, pinkish where the handle joins the body. Beaded rim with two parallel incised lines outside below it. Lustrous mid-brown outside; the inside is more grained. Applied strap-handle with curled-up end. Whitish deposit outside. B II 5.

*Mugs.* (Fig. 19).

- 358. Rim of small mug with curved side and narrowed neck, in hard pinkish ware; hard dark brown glaze on both sides. B I 2.
- 359. Small fragment of rim, probably similar to 358, in red-orange ware, with rather irregular surface. Glazed dark brown both sides. B I 2.

*Ridge-Tile.* (Fig. 19).

- 360. Part of unglazed ridge-tile in hard orange-red ware, full of cavities and air-holes. Rounded, and with one end curved up, presumably to slip over the tile below it. Quite plain, very irregular and rough; hand-made. C III 1.



FIG. 20. Iron objects. ( $\frac{1}{4}$ ).

## METAL OBJECTS

## A. Iron. (Figs. 20-27).

- 1-11. *A selection of iron nails. All have square shanks and, with the exception of 4 and 8, which have cruciform heads,<sup>1</sup> are flat-headed. No apparent distinction can be made between nails of different dates.*
12. *A large, round-headed iron nail, from C I P.H. VI. Possibly a strake nail (see no. 35 below).*
13. *A square-sectioned L-shaped iron hook or holdfast, from C II 8.*
14. *Fragment (deliberately cut off?) of round-sectioned rod, with two-thirds recessed and showing signs of (?) wear in lower portion.<sup>2</sup> From C I, Ext. I, 3.*
15. *A part of an iron strap with a circular hole  $\frac{1}{4}$ -inch in diameter near one end, from C I 13.*
16. *Fragment of perforated ?strapping-plate, (now) gently curved in section, and with tip of one end fortuitously bent double. The edges are almost certainly original, but the other end is evidently broken. There is, apart from the clear curvature across as well as along the piece, a slight but definite suggestion of convexity of the illustrated surface, all along the immediate edges; this may well have been intentional. The upper*

<sup>1</sup> L.B. cf. Seacourt, *Oxoniensia*, 1961-2, xxvi-ii, 177, Fig. 29, 18. (A.M. No. 8430).

<sup>2</sup> The comments in this and following sections, printed in italics, are by the writer. The remainder, except where indicated, have been kindly supplied by Mr. L. Biek (Ancient Monuments Laboratory), as a result of visual, X-radiographic and (where useful) microscopical examination. X-radiographs were taken by Mr. W. E. Lee (A.M. Lab.).

surface carries residues of finely divided disorganised, mineralised vegetable fibre débris. The underside shows areas similar in appearance to what is found in association with wooden residues on iron, but additional coarse striations would seem to be fortuitous. An incipient inroad made into the top edge is not likely to be intentional, i.e. part of a hole, but rather due to corrosion. *From C II 14.*

17. *Horseshoe, from C I 5.*
18. *Pony-shoe fragment with one T-shaped nail in position, from C II 9.* The lower hole in the figure clearly shows in the X-radiograph the enlarged rectangular depression to accommodate the nail-head.
19. *Fragment of a horse-shoe, from C II 9.* This also carries marks of fibrous débris similar to that on no. 16, and suggests burial among vegetable rubbish.  
*None of these shoes exhibits a pronounced wavy outline, although they are light weight. For this reason they are best ascribed to the later 13th or early 14th centuries.<sup>1</sup>*
20. *Iron arrow-head, with short hollow socket and compact small barbs. Probably type 10 in the London Museum Catalogue, belonging to the late 13th or early 14th centuries.<sup>2</sup>*  
 The X-radiograph shows the construction, with the barb applied to the socket in characteristic fashion. The tip does not appear to have been blunted by impact, but rather by corrosion. The left half of the barb, as seen in the drawing, shows curiously regular cross-striations on the surface in a certain light; there is nothing to correspond with these in the X-radiograph, and they are probably fortuitous, but the possibility of some hatching of the surface, as on a file, cannot be altogether ruled out. The state of the surface elsewhere does not permit further deductions. *From C I 4.*
21. *Fragment of hinged iron, possibly a catch or fastening, with a shank at one end for fixing in position.* There is clear and copious evidence of non-ferrous metal residues in the X-radiograph on all surfaces which are at the same time clearly outlined. There is adequate evidence for a rivet having passed through the plate as shown. The object may have been a light decorative hinge, but no evidence of the material to which it might have been attached was seen under the microscope at either end. *From D I 6.*
22. *Square-sectioned annular iron brooch, with transverse pin. A common type, which is difficult to date.<sup>3</sup>* There are indefinite indications in the X-radiograph of minute residues with greater radiopacity, indicating that the iron might conceivably have been plated with a non-ferrous metal. All the evidence of fibrous residues on the surface appears to be disorganised, and hence probably irrelevant. *From C II 2.*
23. *Small knife-blade with pronounced shoulder on backside, and whittle tang. Probably domestic and of uncertain date.* Such very small mineralised residues as remain suggest that it had a wooden handle. There would appear to have been considerable wear of the cutting edge towards the point, but it is impossible to say whether the point itself is broken. *From C I 2.*
24. *Long, slightly tapering blade of a knife.* The X-radiograph has failed to reveal any markings or non-ferrous metal. The bolster is small but firm, the blade is very long for the tang which is curled up but measures  $3\frac{3}{8}$  ins. in length. In one small area of the tang, only, meagre evidence suggests that the handle may have been of wood. *From B I 7.*
25. *Fragments of a wrought-iron bowl or cauldron.* The X-radiograph shows clearly the method of assembly, which involved lapping thin sheets by brazing, with the rim and possibly other places strengthened by folding the sheet over iron wire. Superficial examination suggests the presence of lead in the corrosion products, and there are occasional

<sup>1</sup> *L.M.C.*, no. 7, p. 115.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.*, p. 66.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.*, p. 274.



spots of green due to copper salts. In an exposed small area of metal the surface appears non-ferrous, with coppery and other interference tinges, not unlike those encountered on spelter-brazed surfaces. Little care seems to have been taken to localise the areas of brazing, or possibly the spelter was intentionally wiped over the whole surface, as noted elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> Insufficient area remains, even on the largest fragment, to suggest the size of a unit sheet; there is one riveted piece, perhaps suggesting a patch or handle. *From B I 2.*

26. *Fragment similar to no. 25, may be part of another cauldron. From B I 2.*

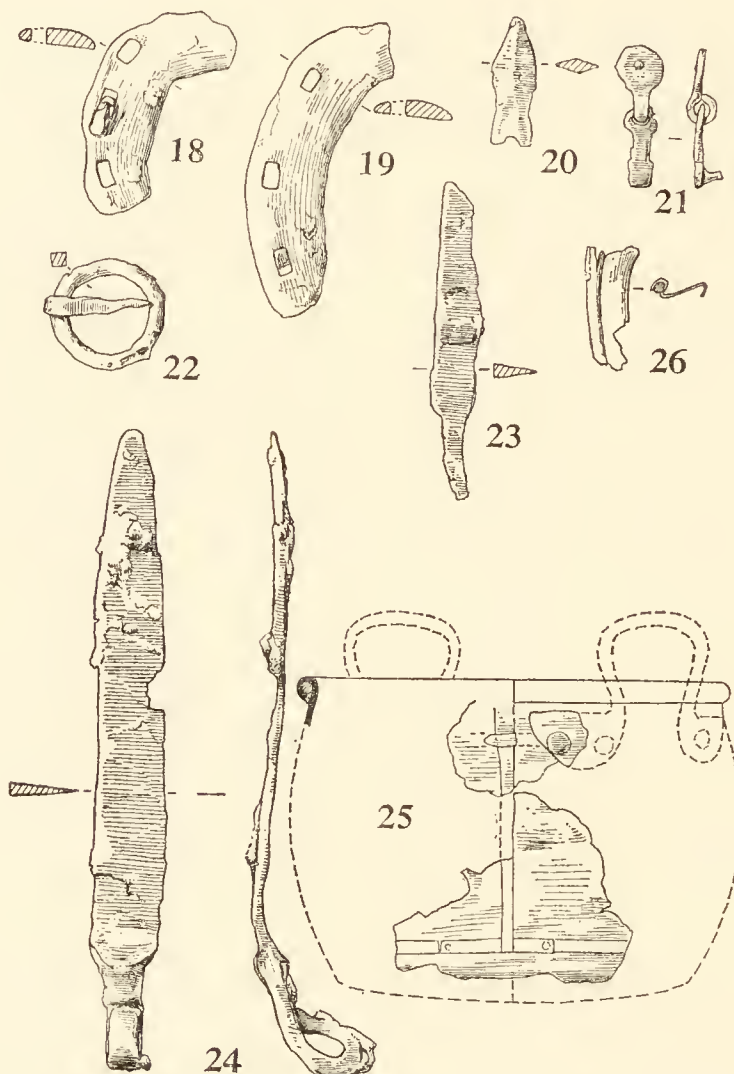


FIG. 21. Iron objects. ( $\frac{1}{4}$ ).

A variety of iron implements of comparatively recent date were found in levels B I 2 and B II 2. In addition to Mr. Biek's examination, they were also submitted to Mr. J. W. Anstee, of The Museum of English Rural Life, Reading, whose remarks are here prefaced by the initials J.W.A.

27. *Thin curved tanged blade.* Despite the appearance of a frame as it were clipped along the back and gripping the blade proper, the blade would seem to have been wrought from a single piece of metal. The back has either been left in its original thickness, possibly to give strength, or been turned back at the edge to give the double thickness; corrosion has made it difficult to be certain. Significant residues of unidentified, iron-mineralised wood grain remain on the tang. Other, superficially similar, fibrous residues appear in places along the back, but only on the surface shown in the drawing; here, the grain is random, and the evidence seems to indicate merely that the object was buried in contact with vegetable matter on one side.

<sup>1</sup> *Arch. J.*, cxvi, 81, Fig. 18, no. 4.

J.W.A.: Appears to be relatively recent, possibly 19th century. The curving cross-section and the ribbed blunt back imply that it was originally made for some agricultural operation. English-made scythe-blades have exhibited these features for a long time, but are usually at least twice as long and do not have a pointed tang in line with the blade. Some mediaeval scythe-blades are relatively short, and are more likely to have been dogged into or clamped to the thick sharply angled bottom of a wooden snead. Old scythe-blades were never wasted, and even recent practice has been to shorten them, and turn them into root-chopping knives or crude hacksaws.

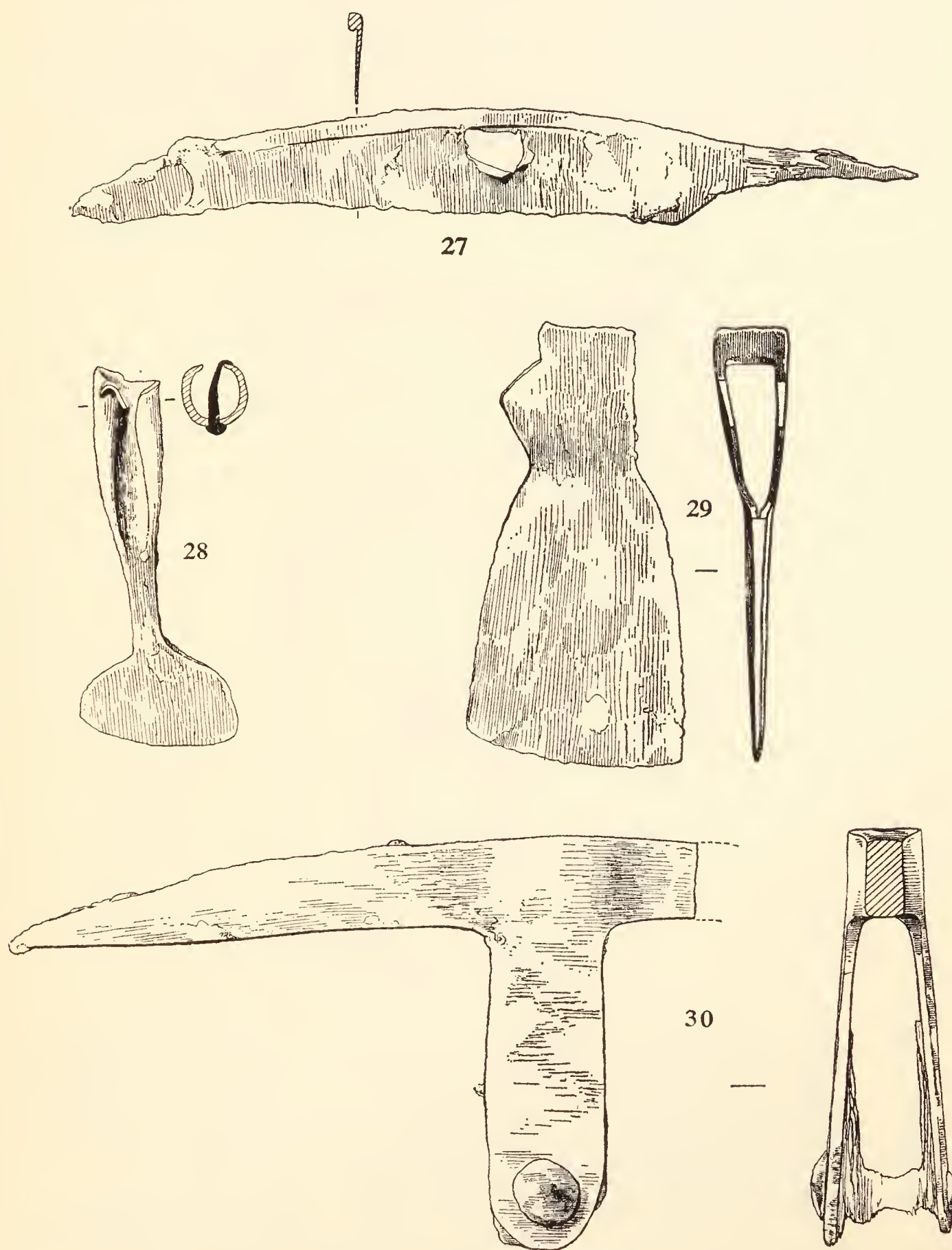


FIG. 22. Iron objects. ( $\frac{1}{4}$ ).



## 28. 'Spud'.

J.W.A.: This is a plough-spud. It would have had a short wooden handle, and have been used for scraping the mould-board clean. It was usually clipped on to one of the the plough-handles, or even to the beam.

## 29. Axe-head. Solid, expertly-wrought, well-preserved. Random fibrous residues, here slighter and calcified, rather than limonitised as in 27, are again present, but this time on both surfaces, though the one shown in the drawing carries more and coarser material. No trace of any wood remains in the socket.

J.W.A.: This is probably a 19th century example of a light trimming or lopping axe, used for a variety of purposes. The drawn-out eye extensions indicate a comparatively recent origin.

## 30. Pick. One end cleanly severed before burial. From the overall state of the surfaces, the appearance of the stump, and the condition of the vegetable residues, it would seem, with the possible exception of the cauldrons, that this object is more recent than the others examined.

J.W.A.: The form of the eye is unusual.

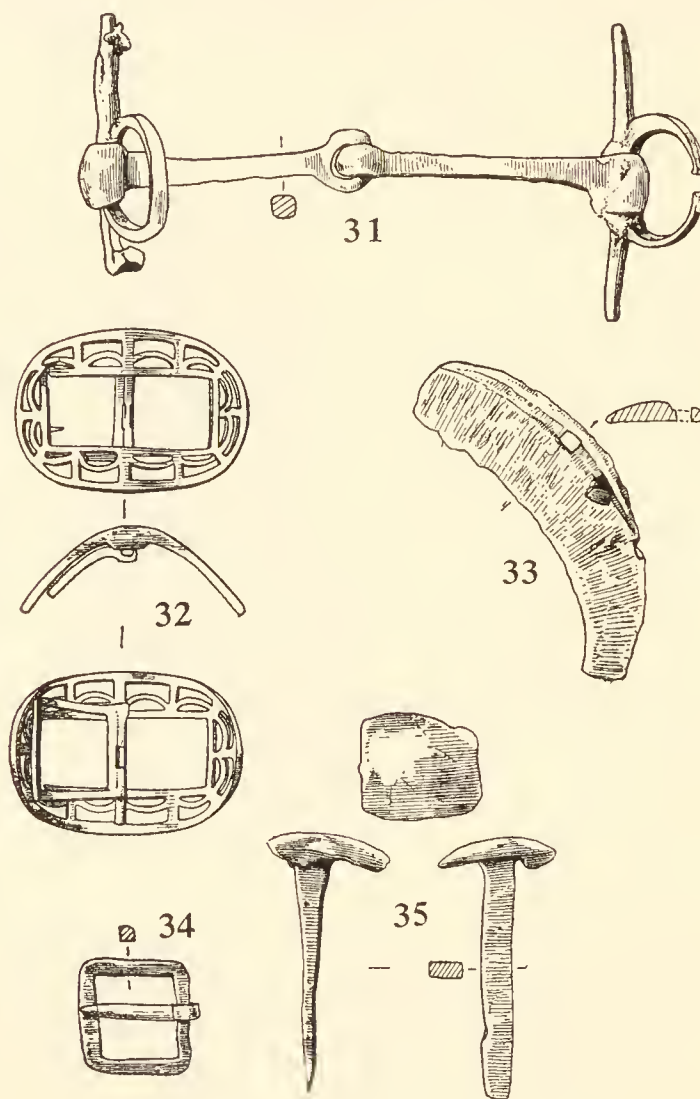


FIG. 23. Iron objects. ( $\frac{1}{4}$ ).

31. *Horse bit.* The X-radiograph shows slight but definite evidence of non-ferrous plating both on link and swivel. cursory microscopic examination suggests that this is probably of tin or tin alloy. Pseudo-fibrous residues, such as are found associated with presumed mineralised leather remains, can be seen around the swivel joints.

J.W.A.: Appears to be of a light type, suitable, perhaps, for a pony, but may have had a more specialised use.

32. *Buckle, probably 18th century shoe-buckle.* The X-radiograph shows no definite evidence of non-ferrous metal. Microscopical examination reveals small areas of pseudo-fibrous mineralised residue, such as might be present where leather had been.

## 33. Ox-shoe, fragment.

J.W.A.: Ox or cow shoes of a type commonly in use up to c. 1900.

34. Buckle. There is slight but definite evidence in places on the X-radiograph of non-ferrous metal residues, almost certainly representing the remains of a plating. Such platings are often found to be of tin or tin alloy on such buckles.<sup>1</sup> No traces of any collar remain, but the relevant side of the frame seems to be thicker and more rounded, and possibly intended to serve without a collar.

## 35. Strake nail. No significant evidence of any mineralised remains of woody fibres was seen; in one small area what might possibly have been fibrous residue appeared to be running along the length of the shank.

J.W.A.: A very distinctive type of chisel-edged nail, which must be driven in across the grain, to prevent the splitting of the wheel-felloe. It is not necessarily evidence for the use of iron tiring strakes, since some mediaeval wheel felloes were heavily studded with such nails, the large heads in effect acting as a crude tyre. But strakes were in common use at the same time. The heads of these nails eventually wear down to the tyre, but the countersunk seating found on the majority of strakes is still gripped by the slightly tapered nail shank.

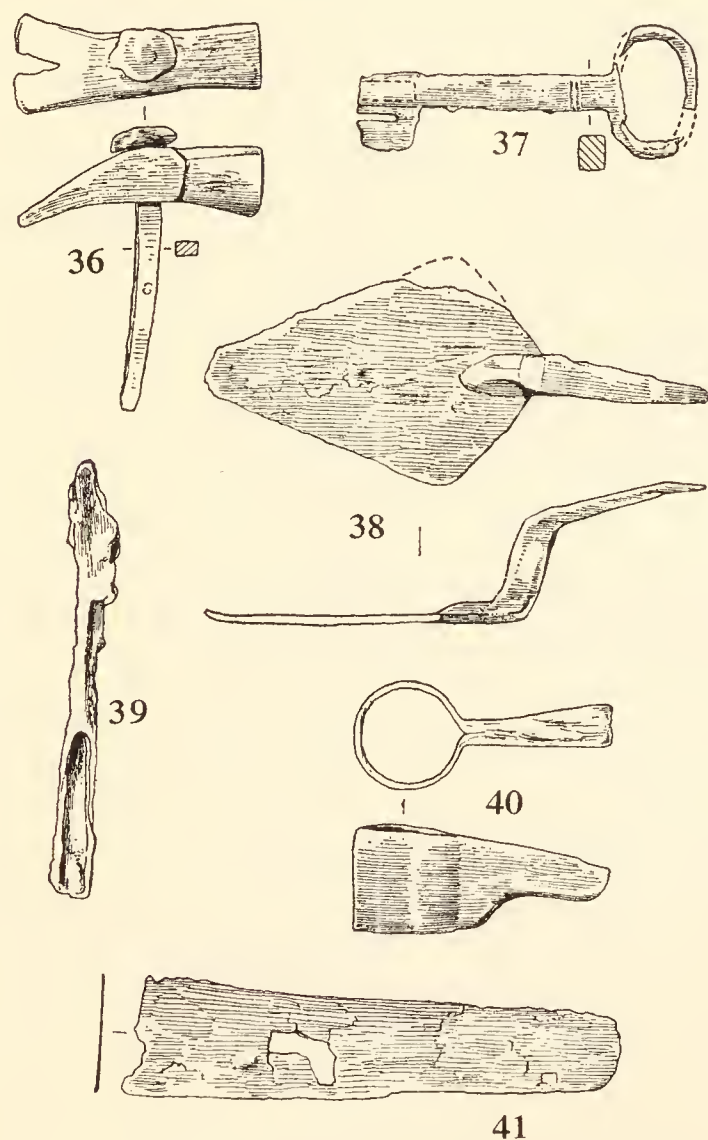


FIG. 22. Iron objects. ( $\frac{1}{4}$ ).

36. *Small hammer-head.* Received with a nail fitted through the eye in place of handle. The evidence on nail and hammer-head is consistent with the possible use of the tool with a wooden handle, into which the nail was driven or wedged. The overall condition again suggests a late date.

<sup>1</sup> cf. Humberstone, *Trans. Leics. A.H.S.*, xxxv, 17, no. 7; 18, Fig. 13.



J.W.A.: This is probably a cheap jobbing hammer, not designed for a specific purpose, and not to be regarded as a craftsman's tool. It could be of 19th century date.

37. Key. The X-radiograph shows no evidence of non-ferrous metal, such as is often, but not invariably, found with earlier keys. It indicates that the shank is hollow in the area of the bit, and also shows clearly the bifurcation into the bow.
38. *A mason's pointing trowel.*
39. J.W.A.: Carpenter's shell bit.
40. *Spud hoe. A common form, difficult to date.*
41. *Slightly tapering, rectangular iron plate.* Despite contrary appearances on superficial examination, the X-radiograph shows no remaining evidence of a deliberate hole, such as might have been expected if the object had been part of a strap-hinge plate, or similar item as it would seem to be. But the hole may have been lost by corrosion, where now a larger and irregular hole appears. There is a slight suggestion along one edge at the wider end of extra thickness, as perhaps from a turning-over to provide a groove or incipient sheath effect, but this need not be significant, and could be due to damage.

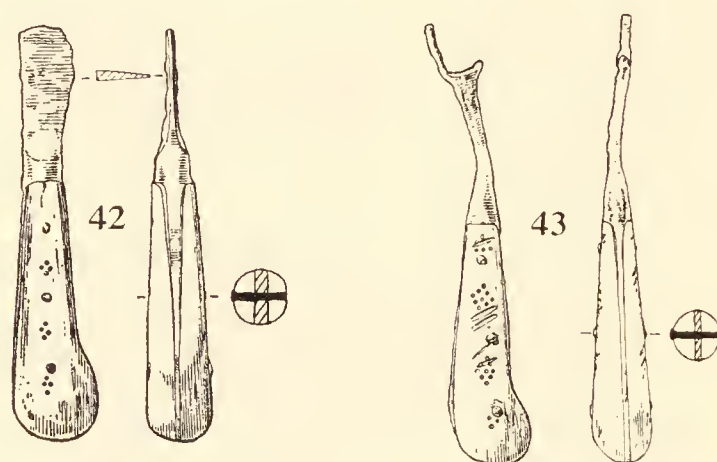


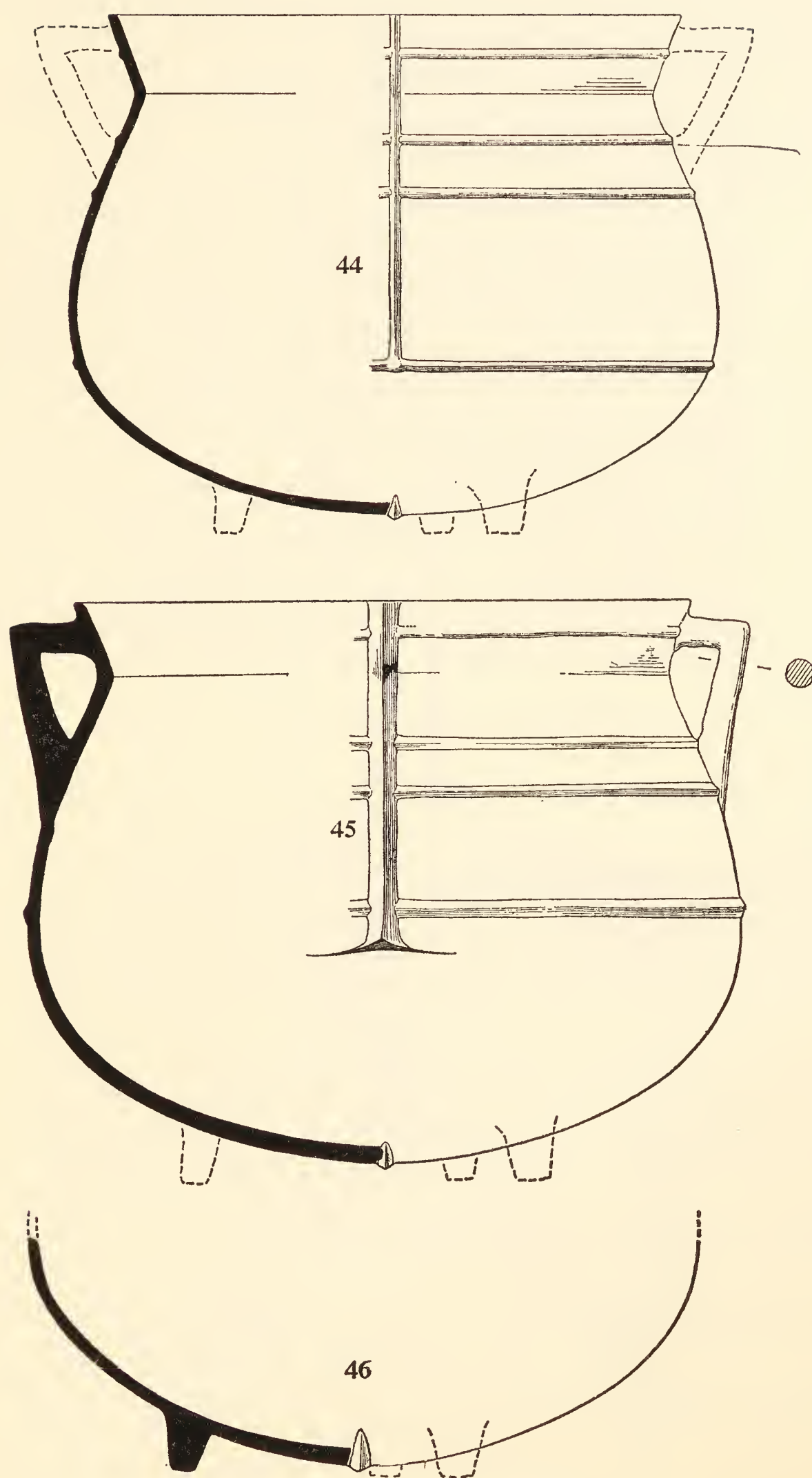
FIG. 25. Iron objects. ( $\frac{1}{4}$ ).

42. *Bone-handled knife.* The bone scales are held in the normal manner by means of three iron rivets to the tang, which is integral with the blade and tapers from a stout bolster to a thin end.
43. *Fork, with both prongs broken.* The bolster is more elegant and the polish of the bone generally lighter and higher; but despite the slightly different decoration on the handles this is essentially similar in construction to the knife 42 and the two could well belong. *From B I 9.*

J.W.A.: similar examples to this knife and fork were in use in country cottages as late as 1930, but these possibly date to the early 19th century.

44. } Ten fragments of probably at least three cast-iron cauldrons. The thick-
45. } ness varies, even on the same piece, so that it is impossible to associate
46. } the smaller and less distinctive pieces with any certainty. The variation is considerable, from  $\frac{3}{16}$  in. down to  $\frac{1}{16}$  in., and whilst it may in part have been intentional to provide thicker bases and rims and thinner bodies, this should be seen also against the background of technical difficulty described in Mr. Collins' note below. Apart from copious residues of fibrous vegetable débris inside, and the presence of areas on the outside surfaces carrying a sooty scale of carbon, no evidence for the use or any clue to the date of the fragments could be found. Fragments of such cauldrons have been found in Roman contexts,<sup>1</sup> but must, on technical grounds, be very late mediaeval, and probably even later in Britain; closely datable specimens are valuable in this connection and should be submitted to metallographic examination.

<sup>1</sup> e.g. at Brading, *Bull. Inst. Arch. (Lond.)*, I, 73. and at Rivenhall, Essex – in destruction débris of Roman building.

FIG. 26. Iron cauldrons. ( $\frac{1}{4}$ ).



J.W.A.: Taller vessels of this sort tend to be earlier than squatter examples.

A fragment belonging to the larger cauldron (44) was kindly reported on by Mr. R. W. Turner, British Cast Iron Research Association, by courtesy of the Director, as follows:

The sample, part of a cauldron, is a white cast iron containing some phosphorus, with nothing unusual about its structure and therefore nothing which will in any way date it.

Mr. H. H. Collins, of the same Association, has kindly added this general comment:

One thing which impresses me about the pieces of broken cauldron you have accumulated is the surprisingly consistent thin section. In general the cauldrons do not appear to exceed  $\frac{1}{8}$  in. in section, and I should have thought that this would have been difficult for primitive iron-founders to achieve. Even now, iron castings of this thickness are rather uncommon, and the cauldrons, to my mind, must have been very much bigger than any domestic ironware at present on the market. Some experiments on factors influencing the running of very thin plate castings conducted by this Research Association in 1956 suggested that there was no great difficulty in casting plates  $\frac{1}{8}$  in. thick, providing that the metal was sufficiently hot. A temperature of about  $1380^{\circ}\text{C}$  seems desirable. For thinner sections, commensurately higher temperatures were required and it seems unlikely that these very high temperatures would readily have been achieved in primitive iron melting furnaces. Another interesting point is that when these experimental plates were made, the very thin plates tended to turn white and often warped. It might be assumed that since the cauldrons examined were also white, there may have been a considerable amount of misruns and scrap castings produced in their production.

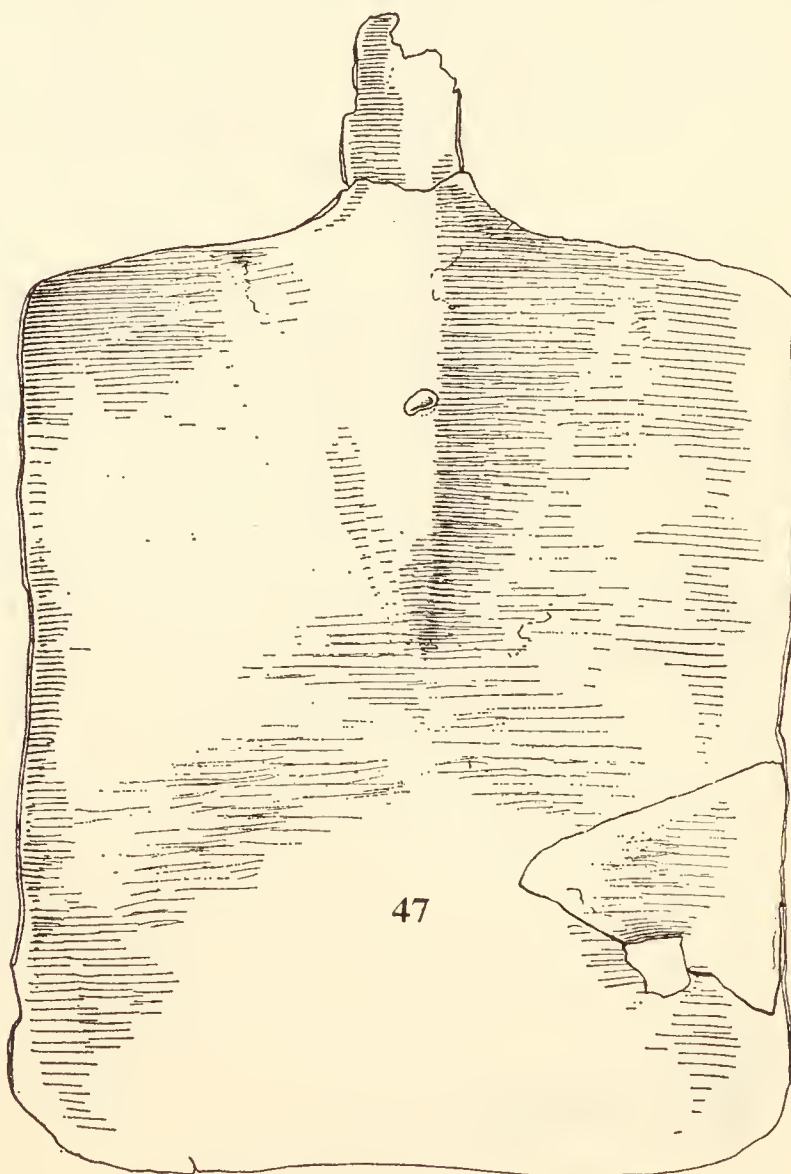


FIG. 27. Iron shovel. ( $\frac{1}{4}$ ).

47. Shovel. Shows signs of fairly uniform and gentle corrosion under calcareous conditions, lying with at least the upper part of its back in contact with vegetable material; random fibres remain in a mineralised condition different from others, almost certainly due to wood from the handle, which are darker and only found in the socket. The object has evidently been repaired at some time, by forging on a triangular patch, and subsequently perforated once more in the same place.

J.W.A.: General-purpose navvies' or builders' tool, probably late 19th century; although one-piece shovel- or spade-blades in iron appear to have been made as early as the 16th century.

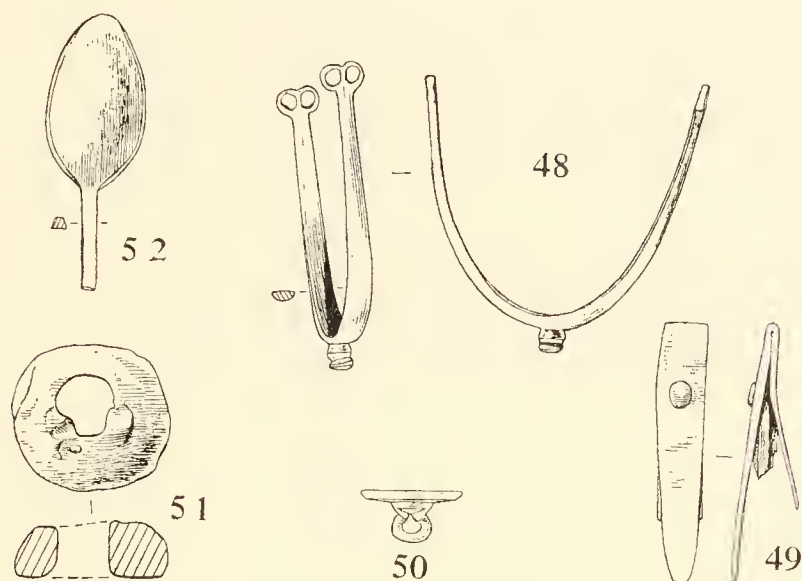


FIG. 28. Non-Ferrous Metals ( $\frac{1}{2}$ ); except 48 ( $\frac{1}{4}$ ).

*B. Non-Ferrous Metal. (Fig. 28).*

48. *Bronze prick-spur. The prick has been broken or become very worn, so that this is no use for dating. The twin-hole terminals and straight arms suggest, however, a later mediaeval date, perhaps late 13th or 14th centuries.<sup>1</sup> From general appearance of corrosion products, overall condition, and a small metallic area found exposed at one end on receipt, this would seem to be a fairly yellow alloy with some lead. The evidence at the terminals is consistent with burial while attached possibly to a leather strap by means of iron rivets. From A I 3.*
49. *Bronze and iron clip, which may be part of a spring from a small lock assembly. A riveted clip of springy copper alloy, now open at fairly wide angle, and including a fragment of iron, which appears from the X-radiograph to be a plate, and through which the rivet passes. It is very likely that the present angle is largely due to the expansion of the corroding iron. One end of the clip appears to be original, the other is clearly broken. From C II 3.*
50. *Evidently a copper alloy button, plated all over, except for the eye, with a tin rich alloy containing some lead. Probably fairly recent. From B IV 2.*
51. *A pierced, thick lead disc. The central hole is large and ragged, so it is unlikely to have been a spindle-whorl or loom-weight, although it may be a weight of some other type. From C I 16.*
52. *Part of a soft pewter spoon with an elliptical bowl. Examination revealed no stamps or decoration. From B I 3.*

<sup>1</sup> L.M.C. No. 7, 97.



## OBJECTS OF STONE. (Fig. 29).

The geological information in this section has been kindly provided by Miss H. A. H. Macdonald, of the Geological Survey and Museum.

1. A large grindstone of buff micaceous sandstone, similar to specimens of Coal Measure sandstone from the Pennines area. A square-cut hole through the stone originally accommodated the spindle. From B I 2.
2. Fragment of a whetstone of similar material to no. 1. From C II 14.
3. Fragment of a whetstone of micaceous sandstone, from the Coal Measures in the Pennines area. From C I 5.

The following objects, although described, are not illustrated.

From C II 7, a number of fragments from a very large quern. The characteristic grooving of the upper surface proclaims its original function, but at no point did an outer edge survive; consequently, no estimate of size can be made. Similar to specimens of Millstone Grit from Pennines area.

Also from C II 7, a number of fragments of a smaller quern of uncertain size. Red sandstone, similar to specimens of Coal Measure sandstone from the Pennines area.

From C I 16, a small unworked pebble of Millstone Grit.

From C II 4, marcasite nodules, limonitised. These are probably derived from the Chalk and could be picked up locally from the Drift deposits. There appears to be no evidence of attempts to extract iron.

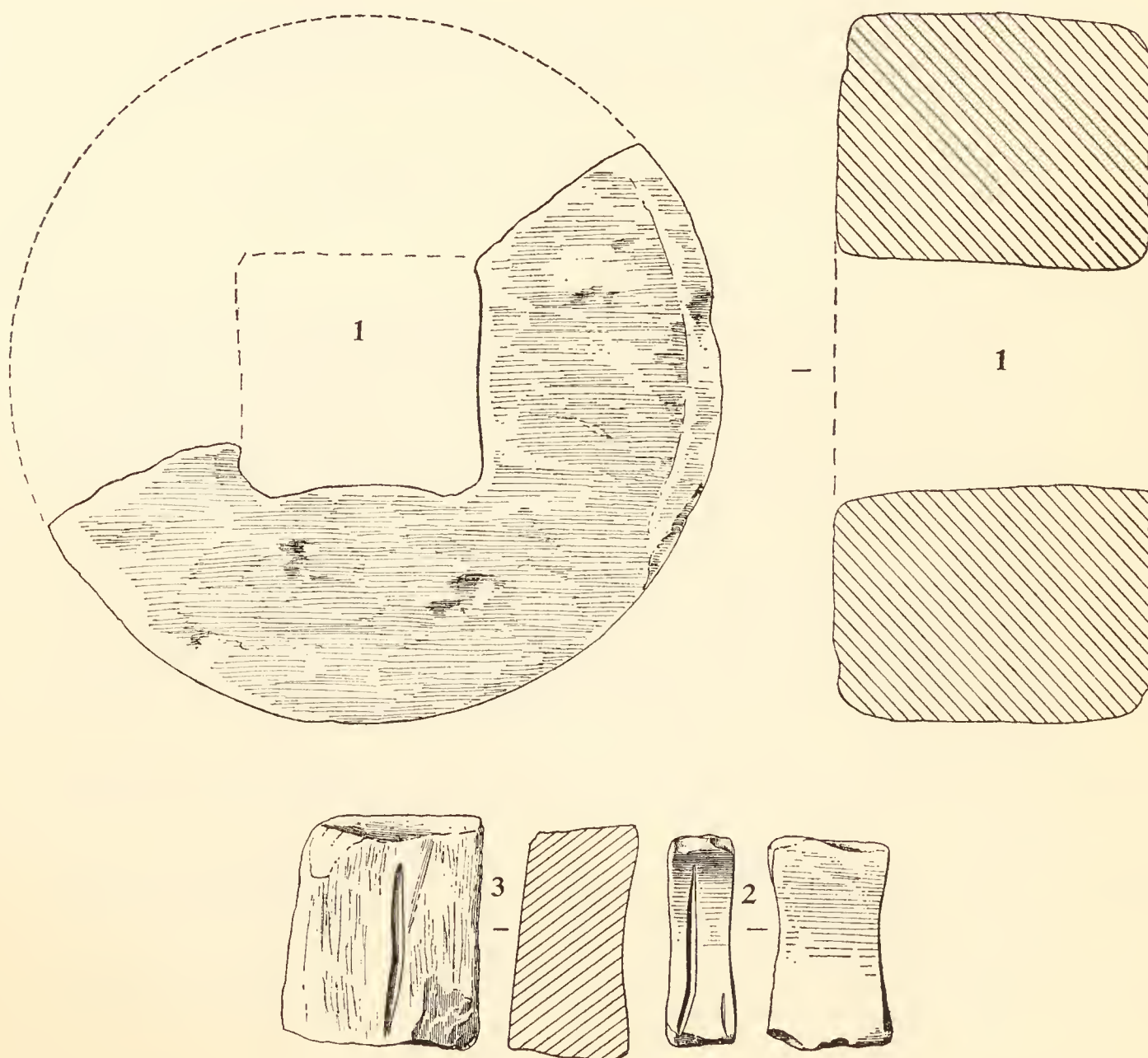
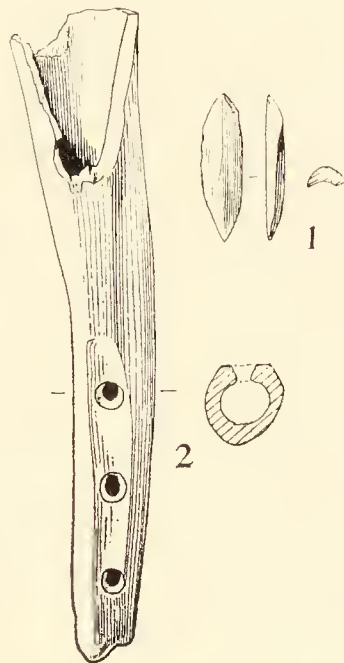


FIG. 29. Stone objects ( $\frac{1}{4}$ ).

## OBJECTS OF BONE. (Fig. 30).

1. *Small worked fragment of bone, pointed at both ends; uncertain use. From C I, Ext. I, 6.*
2. *Part of tibia, probably sheep, part of one side of which has been cut away to form a flat surface. Three countersunk holes have been bored through this flattened surface, presumably for attachment to some unknown object as a handle. From C I 17.*

FIG. 30. Bone objects. 1 ( $\frac{1}{2}$ ); 2 ( $\frac{1}{4}$ ).

## APPENDIX I

While the excavations in 1957 were in progress, the trial of a simple form of resistivity surveying was made by Mr. A. L. Pacitto. The chief advantage of this method, over that of the 'Megger', with which it is otherwise not meant to compete, is the simplicity and cheapness of the apparatus. Basically this is a normal A.C. Wheatstone Bridge circuit, working at 100 volts, between two electrodes with the null point detected by earphones. The electrodes were inserted at intervals of 3 ft. throughout these tests but the spacing may be varied to suit the conditions.

The limitations of the method would probably prevent it from distinguishing complicated structures of more than one period; but at Riplingham it was used with success on simpler features which could be checked by excavation. The results of these tests are shown in Fig. 31. Only one anomalous result was obtained and that relates to the eastern ditch of the double dyke. Here a number of tests showed the ditch 9 ft. to the east of its correct line. No satisfactory explanation for this can be advanced, but it should be noted that the crop mark, apparently showing the ditch in the field to the north of the site, was about the same distance off its proper line.

The points at which these resistance tests were made are marked on the main plans as wavy lines.

It should also be remembered that this form of testing depends mainly on the water content of the subsoil and therefore any surface feature which is likely to affect the distribution of water, or the effective depth of the sub-soil will show on the graph.



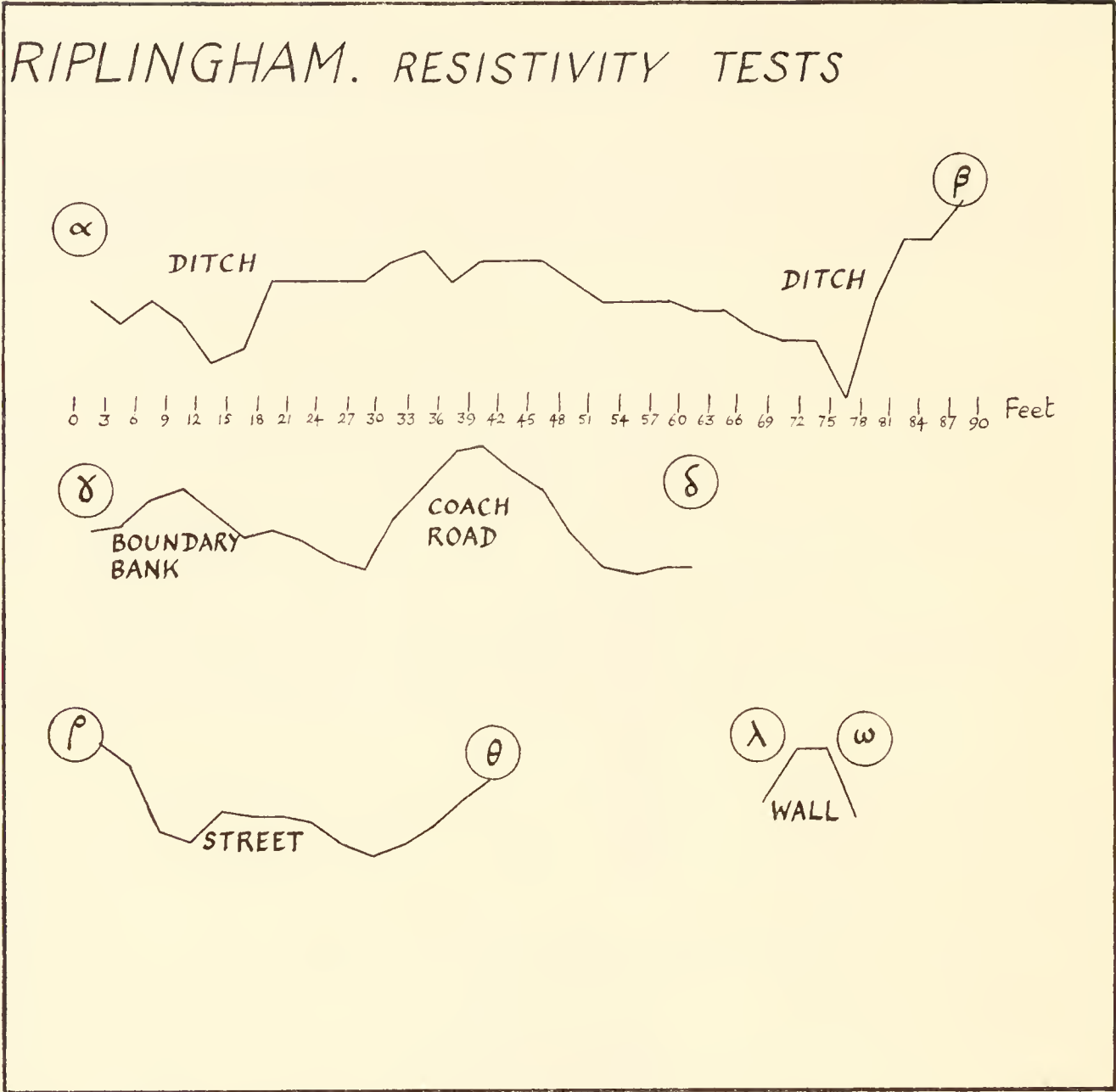


FIG. 31.

APPENDIX II

REPORT ON SOIL SAMPLES

by L. Biek (Ancient Monuments Laboratory)

A representative series of samples from the sections across the dyke and the coach-road were submitted to the laboratory by the excavator. Relative assessments of iron and organic matter were based on firing tests<sup>1</sup> carried out by Mr. W. E. Lee.

Site Ref. No.	Excavator's Description	Relative Assessments of:		Laboratory Description
		Iron	Organic Matter	
<i>Section Across the Dyke:</i>				
A I 1	Modern turf	Medium (+ ?Mn)	High	Chalky, but too near modern surface and much affected by it.
A I 6	Chalk rubble	Medium (+ ?Mn)	High	

<sup>1</sup> Biek, L., *Archaeology and the Microscope*, (1963), p. 223.

APPENDIX II (continued)

Site Ref. No.	Excavator's Description	Relative Assessments of:		Laboratory Description
		Iron	Organic Matter	
<i>Section Across the Dyke (continued):</i>				
A I 7	Ginger loam	High – medium	High	Some chalk, slight iron concentration, possibly due to underlying rubble.
A I 3	Chalk rubble ? Rampart	Low – medium	Medium	Contaminated chalk débris, possibly consistent with chalk, but not turf, rampart.
A I 5	Old turf? Stripped surface?	High – medium	Low	No evidence of buried top-soil, but enrichment in iron can here indicate truncated surface rather than effect of underlying chalk.
A I 8	Ginger loam Undisturbed	High (Max.)	Low (Min.)	Iron concentration almost certainly due to B-horizon, possibly relatively deep, to judge from low organic status.
<i>Section Across the Coach Road:</i>				
D I 1	Modern turf	Very low (Min.)	Low – medium	Here evidently very chalky and thin.
D I 4	Brown pebbly loam below road metalling	Low – medium	Low – medium	Possibly equivalent to D I 6, in 'unnatural state', either artificially spread or affected by the overlying rammed chalk (D I 3).
D I 5	Old turf?	High – medium	High – medium	Consistent with lower part (A <sub>1</sub> ) of, or fairly disturbed (trampled), buried topsoil (iron enrichment secondary?).
D I 6	Brown pebbly loam	Low – medium	Medium	Could be pedologically continuous with D I 5, but insufficient evidence.

*Comment:*

The evidence presented cannot, in the absence of a field visit, be taken as conclusive but within the limits described it gives some support to the excavator's interpretations for A I 5 and D I 5 as some kind of buried surfaces. Conversely, it is virtually certain that neither represents a topsoil, living at the time of burial. This is in accord with Dr. M. P. Kerney's findings,<sup>1</sup> after a cursory negative examination, that a detailed search for mollusc microfauna was unlikely to prove useful. The enrichment in iron apparent in A I 5 and D I 5 is of interest, in view of similar observations<sup>2</sup> on lower horizons of buried chalk soils.

<sup>1</sup> Department of Geology, Imperial College of Science.  
<sup>2</sup> e.g., Roman earthwork at Winterslow, *Antiqs. J.* xliii, 197-213. (Unpublished field notes, L.B.)



## APPENDIX III

Miss J. E. King, of the British Museum (Natural History), has kindly reported on the animal bones:

B.I. (10)	<i>Ox</i>	2 lower jaw fragments 1 upper jaw fragment Scapula fragment 2 distal ends humeri w. 69, 91 (74) Ulna fragment Radius and Ulna fragments Prox. end radius, w. 87 (82) Radius L. <sup>1</sup> 251 (275) 2 metacarpals wp. 53, 61 (67) 3 pelvis fragments 3 incomplete femora Tibia fragment – juv. 2 incomplete metatarsals wp. 44, 45 (54)
	<i>Horse</i>	Lower jaw fragment 2 incomplete femora Metacarpal L. 222 (190)
	<i>Pig</i>	Upper jaw fragment
	<i>Sheep or Goat</i>	2 cranial fragments Upper jaw fragment 3 horn cores 3 lower jaws 3 radii L. 134, 150 (173) Tibia juv.
C.I. (7)	<i>Ox</i>	Ulna fragment
	<i>Pig</i>	Humerus fragment
C.I. (13)	<i>Sheep or Goat</i>	Fragment, limb bone
C.I. (17)	<i>Ox</i>	Vertebra fragment
	<i>Sheep or Goat</i>	Molar
C.I. (19)		Small bone fragments
C.I. Pit I	<i>Sheep or Goat</i>	Radius
C.I. Xt. I (2)	<i>Ox</i>	Astragalus
	<i>Sheep or Goat</i>	Humerus
C.I. Xt. I (6)	<i>Ox</i>	Carpal bone
C.II. (10)	<i>Sheep or Goat</i>	Terminal phalange
C.II. (12)	<i>Horse</i>	Molar
	<i>Sheep or Goat</i>	Tibia fragment
C.II. (13)	<i>Sheep or Goat</i>	Molar Metacarpal fragment
C.III. (2)	<i>Ox</i>	Prox. end metacarpal
	<i>Sheep or Goat</i>	Dist. end tibia and humerus
C.III. (4)	<i>Dog</i>	Lower jaw fragment

*Note*

Ox, horse, sheep or goat, pig, and dog represented. Two sizes, a larger and a smaller ox present; horse larger than New Forest Pony, sheep rather small.

C.III. Pit I      *Human*      Foetal bones

<sup>1</sup> Abbreviations used:—

w. = width

p. = proximal.

L. = length.

measurements in mm.

comparative figures in brackets.

## APPENDIX IV

Sir George Taylor, Director of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, has kindly submitted the following report on specimens of charcoal from the excavations:

- |              |  |
|--------------|--|
| C I 7        | <i>Prunus</i> sp. (plum or cherry).  |
| C I 13       | Holly ( <i>Ilex aquifolium</i> ).  |
| C I 17       | Oak ( <i>Quercus</i> sp.).   |
| C I Ext. I 6 | Probably hawthorn ( <i>Crataegus</i> sp.), but the possibility of pear ( <i>Pyrus communis</i> ) cannot be excluded. |
| C I Ext. I 7 | Ash ( <i>Fraxinus excelsior</i> ). Possible stone-pine seed.   |
| C III 5      | Birch ( <i>Betula</i> sp.).  |
| C I 16       | Possible fruit of <i>Prunus</i> sp., and possible stone-pine seed.   |

NOTE. This report has been supported by a subvention from the Ministry of Public Building and Works.



# A SURVEY AND EXCAVATIONS WITHIN THE AREA OF SCURFF HALL FARM, DRAX, NEAR SELBY, YORKS.

By KENNETH WILSON

## *Summary*

*During the summer seasons 1961–64 inclusive a survey was carried out within the area of Scurff Hall Farm, Drax. This included the excavation of a small Romano-British farmstead, part excavation of the presumed Chapel of St. Wilfred, trenching of the inner moat around Scurff Hall, the tracing of the line of the outer moat, and the plotting of rigg and furrows in the area. The survey gives a picture, though still incomplete, of the occupation of the area from the mid-third century A.D. to the present, but with a gap of about nine hundred years following the Roman occupation.*

## *Introduction and Acknowledgements*

Scurff Hall Farm lies  $\frac{3}{4}$  mile east of Drax and 6 miles south-east of Selby. Attention was first drawn to the site by the amount of Roman and mediaeval pottery lying on the surface.<sup>1</sup> Deeper ploughing of recent years and modern farming methods have endangered the site and the proposed building of a large power station in the vicinity made early excavation advisable.<sup>2</sup>

The late Dr. F. T. Wainwright published an article on the site<sup>3</sup> and the late Mr. W. V. Wade of Leeds University had intended to make a test of the site in 1954, but his death prevented this. Little is to be learned from the aerial photographs of the area<sup>4</sup> and no previous work had been done.

The survey and excavations were directed by the writer. Thanks are due to the Ministry of Public Building and Works for financial aid; Mr. B. R. Hartley of Leeds University, Mrs. K. Hartley and Mrs. J. Le Patourel for assistance with the pottery; Mr. T. Carney (surveying); Mr. D. Thorpe (photography); Miss I. T. Boas for assistance with the report, and to Mrs. P. M. Wilson for camp organisation. Voluntary help came mostly from members of the Pontefract Archaeological Society and the finds from the excavation will be housed in the Pontefract Museum.

<sup>1</sup> Nat. Grid Ref. S.E.690261.

<sup>2</sup> It was later discovered that the building of the power station would not seriously affect the site.

<sup>3</sup> *Y.A.J.* xxxviii (1954), pp. 398–402.

<sup>4</sup> *R.A.F.* cover 541/31, 18 May 1948, Nos. 3012 and 4130.

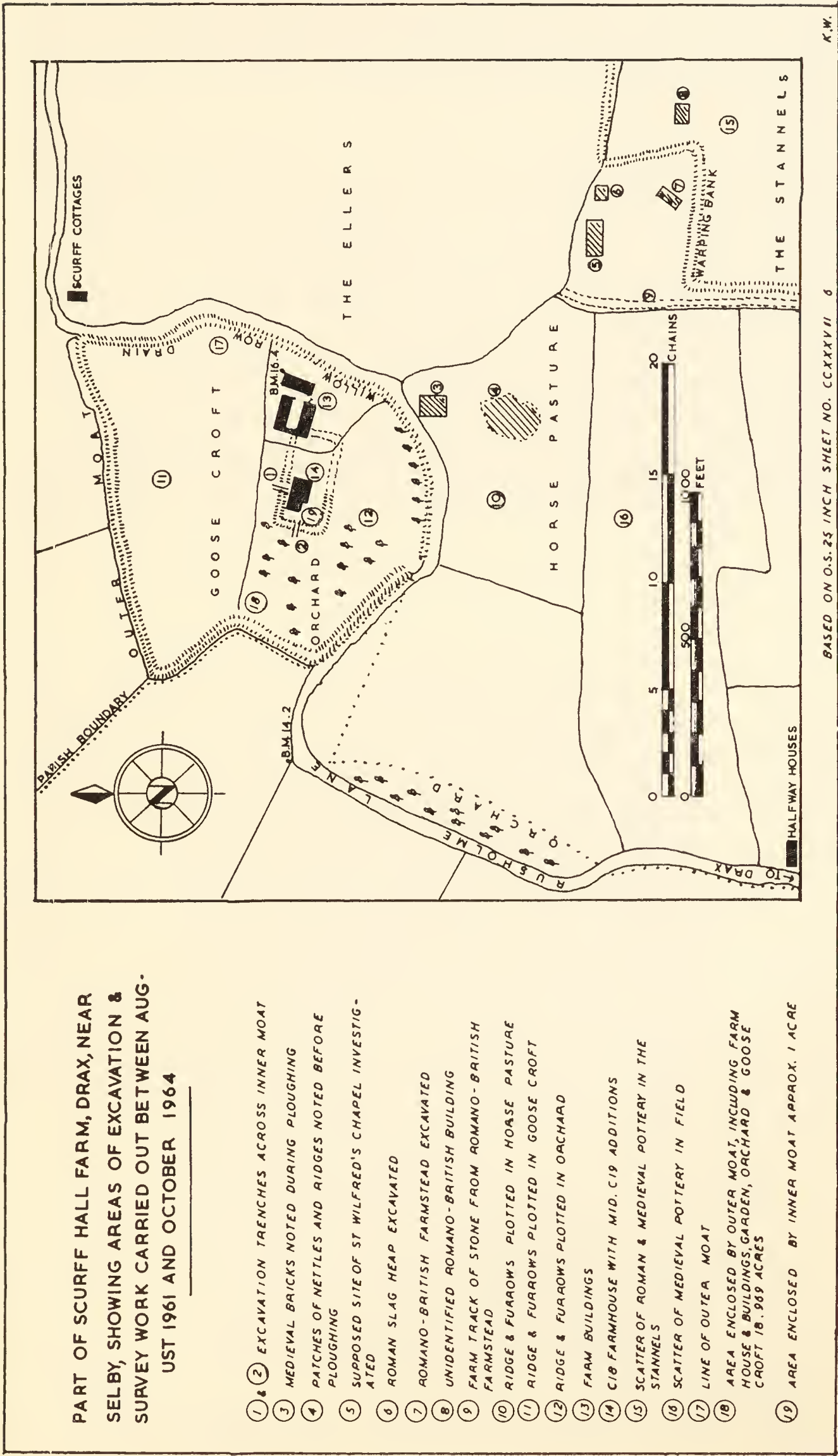


FIG. 1.



The late owner of the farm, Mr. P. Thompson, and the present owner, Mr. R. Thompson, offered every facility in the course of the work and thanks are extended to them for their co-operation.

### *The Site*

The farm (Fig. 1) is on low-lying land not more than 15 to 18 ft. above sea-level and about 600 yds. south of the right bank of the River Ouse. The field known as the Stannels<sup>1</sup> has been warped, or dressed with water and silt from the river, as an aid to cultivation at various times. The artificial warping banks may be seen in the aerial photographs. For at least three generations the field had been used for pasture until it was ploughed during World War II. The present owner's father and grandfather both turned up large stones when digging trenches for field drains and placed them at the side of the field to make a farm track.

The solid geology of the area is Bunter Sandstone and it lies ten miles east of the magnesian limestone belt running north and south roughly parallel with the productive carboniferous coal measures further west. Five miles to the east is Keuper Marl and then come the chalk wolds of the East Riding. Many small pieces of flint were found on the site, but these may have been brought in by warping and showed no sign of having been worked.

The 'natural' is blue clay. This had been formed into roughly parallel 'waves', probably through the action of numerous small streams of melt water at the termination of the last glaciation. These streams all flowed eastwards, eroding the clay before eventually drying up. Above the blue clay is a stratum of brown clay laid down horizontally. Over this is a thick layer of fine, almost white, delta sand overlaid by about 18 ins. of silt brought in by warping.<sup>2</sup>

Magnesian limestone and sandstone were used for building. These would have to be brought from some distance and water transport was probably used. The old course of the River Aire ran along Hawday Lane,<sup>3</sup> turned north and swung round the site of Scurff Hall,<sup>4</sup> which is about 500 yds. from the Stannels, and then entered the Ouse in the neighbourhood of Rusholme.<sup>5</sup> This old channel was probably still navigable in Roman times and careful investigation would probably reveal a landing stage on Hawday Lane. After silting up it may have been the course along which boats were dragged overland and this may account for the name of Drax.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Stannel – Stan Hyll – stone hill. (A. H. Smith, *Place-Names of the W.R. of Yorks.*, Pt. IV).

<sup>2</sup> R. B. Ferro, 'Warping at Blacktoft, 1948'. (*Journal of the Yorks. Agricultural Society*, No. 100 (1949), pp. 59–65).

<sup>3</sup> Hawday – ald ea – aldey – old river, old river course. (A. H. Smith, *op. cit.*).

<sup>4</sup> Scurff – skuror – skurth. A cutting or water channel. (A. H. Smith, *op. cit.*).

<sup>5</sup> Rusholme – probably from a personal name – Hrūtr Holmr – Hrut's island or water meadow. (A. H. Smith, *op. cit.*).

<sup>6</sup> Drax – Eal dedrege, O.E. old draeg. A portage. A place where boats were dragged overland or pulled out of the water. (A. H. Smith, *op. cit.*).





PLATE I. Foundations of pitched stones set in clay.



PLATE II. Pitched Limestone foundations and floor paved with sandstone cobbles.





PLATE III. Wall of verandah built over filled-in pit with channel running into it.



PLATE IV.  
Section through wall foundations, showing clay rammed between stones and bed of pink mortar set into the clay.



The poor quality of the soil in Roman times, added to the fact that the low-lying area was almost completely surrounded by water and liable to flooding, makes one wonder why anyone should settle here. The swampiness of the area would not be conducive to stock-breeding and this was indicated by the scarcity of domestic animal bones. It is probable that a small cereal crop was grown and supplemented by fish and wild fowl.

### *Documentary Evidence*

Very little was known of the site before excavation. Some time between 1154 and 1181 Fulk Paynell, second son of William Paynell, Lord of Drax, granted certain properties and land to Drax Priory, an Augustinian foundation established in the 1130's by his father. A Charter Roll of 1311 states that the lands and properties included the church at Drax, the chapel at Stan Hill and the adjoining alder grove. This was later confirmed by Hugh Paynell the Second, naming the chapel as that of St. Wilfred. A Charter of King Edgar, grandson of Alfred the Great, dated 959, and referring to the village of Ealdedrege (Drax), mentions a chapel at the confluence of the Aire and the Ouse. If the River Aire altered its course after this date it is possible that the Chapel of St. Wilfred was on the site of this earlier foundation, as the description of its position is more in keeping with it than with that of the church at Drax.

The field close by the Stannels, numbers 533 and 534 on the Tithe Award Map of Drax, is known as the Ellers.<sup>1</sup> This confirms that the chapel mentioned in the Charter of 1311 is somewhere in the vicinity. As the name Stan Hill is also mentioned in the Charter there must have been a scatter of stone over the area at that time. The stone may, therefore, have come from the unsuspected Romano-British site and not from the later chapel.

No later documentary evidence has been found for the moating of Scurff Hall and the conclusions reached on this are based on excavation only.

### *(A) Excavation of the Romano-British Site*

The excavation was planned on the basis of crop marks noted during the summer of 1961 when there was a crop of oats on the Stannels.<sup>2</sup> Excavation was carried out by the opening up of 10 ft. by 4 ft. trenches on a grid of 25 ft. squares and the whole site was contained within a rectangle measuring 90 ft. by 60 ft., an area of 600 sq. yds.

<sup>1</sup> Ellers – elri – alder – alder grove. (A. H. Smith, *op. cit.*).

<sup>2</sup> The area excavated is based on a datum line running 10 degrees west of true north between pegs set in the north and south boundaries of the Stannels. The north peg is 180 ft. from the north-west corner of the field. The site lies mostly to the east of the datum line between 200 and 300 ft. south of the north peg. As the boundaries of the Stannels may shortly be removed it was necessary to take bearings from more permanent landmarks, viz. from the north peg the chimney of Scurff Cottage bears 000 degrees, the south-west corner of Scurff Hall 325 degrees, and the east corner of Rusholme Hall 038 degrees (magnetic 1961).



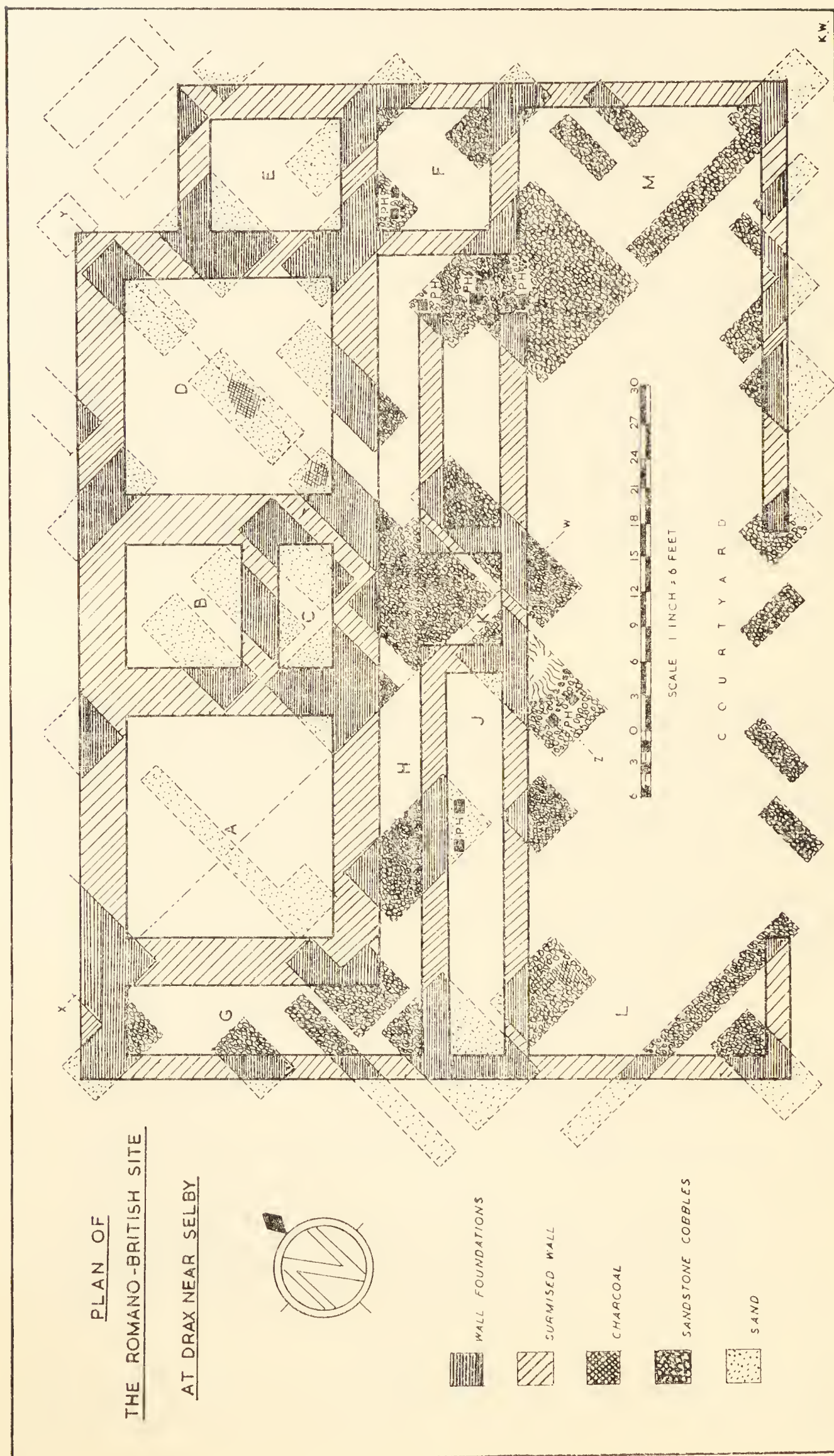


FIG. 2.



Excavation revealed a number of wall foundations or robber trenches at 1 ft. 9 ins. below the surface, forming a building of six rooms with an external corridor or verandah facing on to a walled courtyard (Fig. 2). The front of the building opening on to the courtyard faced south-east. The foundations of the outer walls were 45 to 48 ins. wide and those of the party walls 36 ins. (Plate I). Several modern field drains had been cut through the site and had destroyed wall foundations. The south-west room (A) measured 19 ft. by 20 ft. 6 ins. internally. A modern field drain had been cut through the south corner. The sand above the brown clay was overlaid by a 4 ins. layer of ashy brown sand, which tapered away almost to nothing to the north and south of the room. This room adjoined a pair (B and C) measuring internally 11 ft. 6 ins. by 10 ft. and 11 ft. 6 ins. by 5 ft. respectively. The smaller room looked like a passage communicating with a fourth large room (D) measuring internally 19 ft. 6 ins. by 18 ft. 6 ins. The foundations of the wall at its south corner were not pitched at the same angle nor bonded with the original work, and the corner contained a large quantity of charcoal and wood ash; the stone foundations in the corner showed signs of burning. In the centre of the room charcoal and ash lay in an irregular trench which had been cut through the sand to a depth of 6 ins. down to the clay beneath. Below the charcoal was found a horizontal channel of clay, 4 ins. in diameter, which seems to have been used as a flue or draught-hole, but the purpose of this ruined structure was not elucidated.

At the north-east end of the building was a small room (E) measuring internally 8 ft. 6 ins. by 9 ft. This was bonded with the rest of the building and contemporary with it, but was only about two-thirds the width of the main block. The eastern corner and north-west wall had been completely robbed and were overlaid by a mass of limestone chippings, broken tiles and sherds of mediaeval pottery. To the south-east of room E was a sixth room (F). This measured 10 ft. 6 ins. by 10 ft. internally and the walls were 30 ins. thick. In the north-west corner were two post-holes about 9 ins. square and a foot apart. The floor of this room had been paved with sandstone cobbles after the posts had been removed.

Running parallel with the main building on the south-east side were two walls each 36 ins. thick. The first was 4 ft. 6 ins. from the main building and formed a corridor (H) running the full length of the building. The north-east end of this wall stopped abruptly 5 ft. from the south-west wall of room F and the other end joined at right angles a wall running south-east from the north-west corner of the main building. This extended the corridor (G) along the south-west wall of room A. There was a break of 8 ft. in the wall opposite room C where two short walls extended south-east to form an entrance (K) which measured 8 ft. by 7 ft. internally. The second wall ran parallel with the first and was 5 ft. to the south-east of it. This also stopped 5 ft. from the wall of room F and at the other end joined the wall running south-east making a second corridor or a verandah (J). The corridors G and H and the entrance K were



paved with sandstone cobbles (Plate II), but the verandah J was not. Two large postholes were found in J and three more were positioned in line between the ends of the parallel walls and the wall of room F. These were below the cobbles. The removal of the wall in the south corner of the entrance (K) revealed a pit. This was about 6 ft. in diameter and 5 ft. deep. It had been lined with vertical timber posts about 3 ins. in diameter and on the south side were two large post holes 3 ft. apart. An inclined channel ran into the pit from an unexcavated area to the east. The pit had been filled in and the wall built over it. As only minute pieces of charcoal were found in the fill it was not possible to date it (Plate III).

The courtyard formed a rectangle measuring 81 ft. by 21 ft. It was bounded to the north-west by the main building, to the north-east and south-west by walls 30 ins. thick and to the south-east by a wall of the same thickness which had a gap in it of 25 ft. The gap was not central and the yard was cobbled. The spaces at the north-east and south-west ends of the courtyard (L and M) may have been open-ended cattle stalls or barns, but no postholes for roof supports were found.

The wall foundations were built of three courses of pitched stones all slanting in the same direction. In the main outer walls the bottom course had been set into the clay by digging a foundation trench through the sand, but the party walls rested on the hard-packed sand. A 6 ins. layer of clay was rammed over the top course and forced between the stones where possible; in the clay a well-formed bed, perhaps made by pressing with a plank, was filled with a 2 ins. layer of pink mortar into which the masonry of the wall had been set (Plate IV). The foundations were about 6 ins. wider on either side than the wall. The stone used in the foundations was mainly magnesian limestone, with some sandstone. There were some fragments of roof tiles. Other tiles measured  $5 \times 8\frac{1}{2} \times 2$  ins.;  $4\frac{1}{2} \times 6 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$  ins. and  $7\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$  ins. Also found were fragments of Ancaster slabs and particles of white plaster decorated with red paint.

Except for the cobbled areas of the courtyard, corridor, verandah and one room (F), no floor levels were found within the buildings; the areas enclosed by the walls being of sand overlying the natural clay (Fig. 3).

A second area was sampled, lying between 175 and 200 ft. east of the datum line and 150 ft. east-south-east of the first site. It was found by the large amount of pottery in the area after ploughing. Four trenches revealed a large, tumbled mass of undressed stone between which were found pieces of iron, nails, iron ore, charcoal, coarse pottery and a few pieces of plain and decorated Samian. The stones bore no relation to any walling, there were no foundation trenches and the pottery seemed to have been washed between the stones during flooding. The mass of stones of all sizes may have been the residue of a builders' dump which had later collapsed and spread.

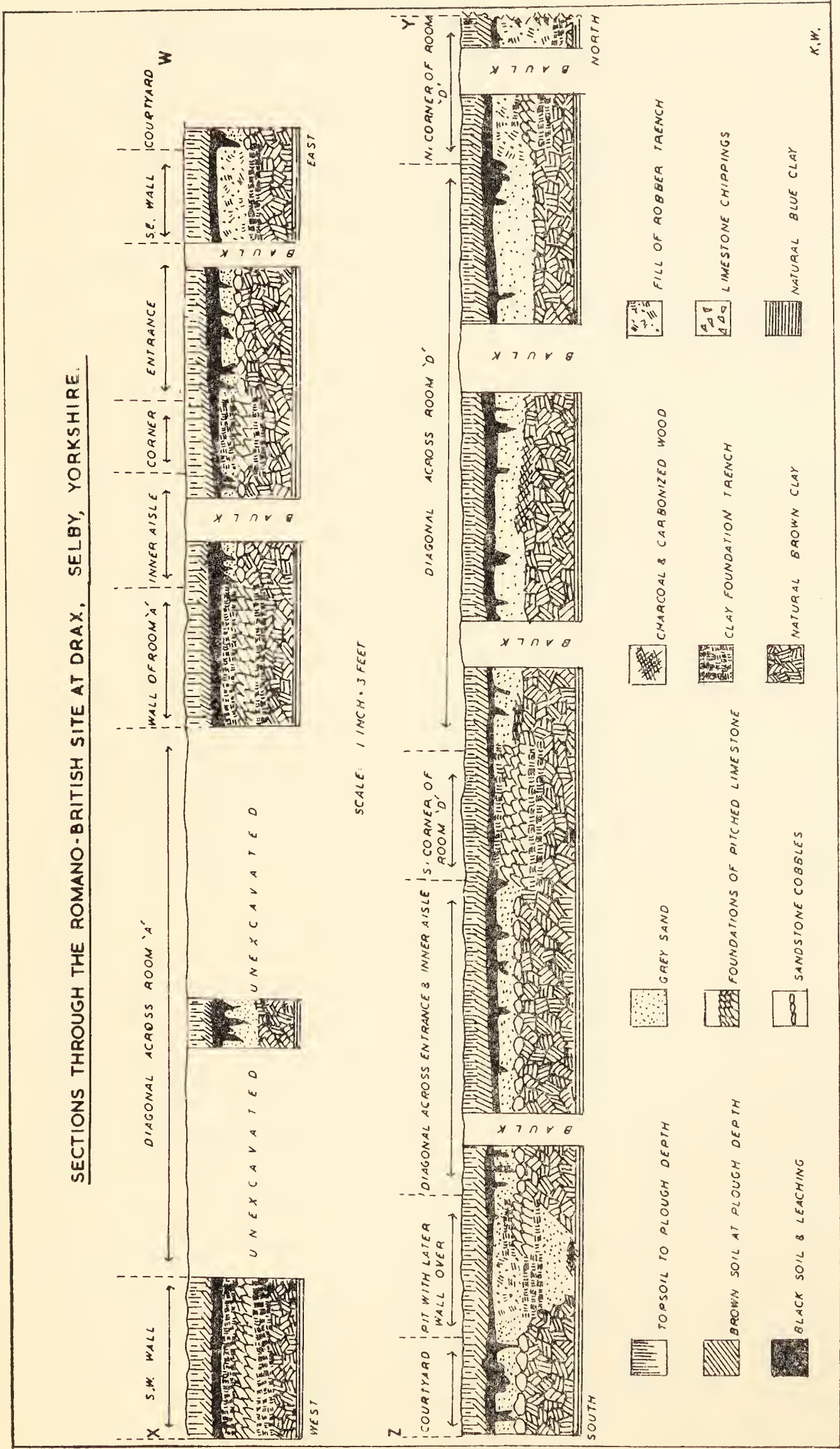


FIG. 3.



The third area sampled was found 220 ft. north-north-west of the first site. It was discovered accidentally during the excavations on the mediaeval chapel site. Here there was no stone or structure of any kind, but a large heap of disturbed and discoloured clay was mixed with iron pan, fragments of iron and charcoal and a few pieces of third century coarse pottery. The heap petered out to the east but stopped in a straight vertical line to the west as if it had been piled up against a timber structure which has left no trace.

As the foundations were so near the modern surface, and owing to systematic robbing in antiquity and later flooding, no reliable stratification of datable finds was possible. A summary of the main phases may be as follows:—

- Phase I. Circa A.D. 250. Construction of the main building comprising rooms A, B, C, D and E with a timber verandah to the south-east and a timber outhouse or barn near the north-east corner. In front of the verandah was a timber-lined water storage pit fed by a channel from the north-east.
- Phase II. Demolition of timber outhouse and verandah, filling in of water storage pit. Building of corridor, stone verandah, room F and wall surrounding courtyard, all paved with cobbles.
- Phase III. Circa A.D. 370–400. Abandonment of farm.
- Phase IV. Early robbing of main building down to ground level only and later grassing over of stone foundations.
- Phase V. Later robbing of courtyard wall, verandah and room F, including stone in foundations.
- Phase VI. Warping and flooding obliterating all trace of occupation.

### *Pottery*

Except for one piece of Samian ware, which bore a stamp, practically all the pottery was from coarse vessels manufactured in Yorkshire or the Nene Valley in the third and fourth centuries. The piece of Samian, form 31, was stamped C:ARNE. This is the stamp of C:ARV.SSA or CARVSSA which has been found on three examples at Cirencester, all form 33. His stamps also occur at Newstead II and often on the purely Antonine forms 31R, 38 and 79. He can, therefore, be dated to circa A.D. 160–190 and he was certainly a central Gaulish potter, possibly from Lezoux.

The remaining Samian ware, plain and decorated, and consisting of 18 pieces, was all fourth century from Central and Eastern Gaul.

Of the 1,093 pieces of Roman pottery found, by far the largest amount was of the slightly burnished lead-grey fabric, or cream ware, from the Crambeck kilns. Sherds from other kilns included Huntcliff, Rhenish, Dales and Nene Valley wares and some Spanish amphora. These included colour-coated ware, imitation Samian, pot with barbotine decoration and oxidised fabrics.

The classes of vessels included cooking-pots, bowls, dishes, storage jars, jars with countersunk handles, indented jars, amphora and vessels with acute and obtuse lattice decoration.

Mortaria included three pieces of hammerhead type without grooves; two unusual fragments from the Warwickshire kilns dated A.D. 270–350 and A.D. 250–320 respectively; three late third century fragments from Nene Valley; two pieces of wall-sided mortaria from Crambeck dated A.D. 320–370; and three pieces of flanged mortaria, two with grooved flanges, from Crambeck dated A.D. 270–400.

Other finds included a spindle whorl, a sickle, an iron knife with blade 6 ins. long with tang, a hinge, a piece of iron 6 ins. long and a number of 2 ins. nails with large heads.

### *Discussion*

As none of the pottery, except the stamped piece, is earlier than A.D. 250 it is probable that the first settlers came to Drax about, or shortly after, this date, bringing the Samian vessel with them. Phase I may have been a complete timber construction, but as no postholes were found except along the line of the verandah and near the north-east corner, it is more likely that the main building was of masonry with a timber verandah and possibly a lean-to timber building to the north-east. The presence of two large postholes by the side of the timber-lined pit near the entrance probably indicates the use of a shadouf, a means of raising water from the pit such as is still used today in the Middle East.

The settlement area in the third century would be almost completely surrounded by water and such an inhospitable place may have been deliberately chosen as a protection against wild animals. The presence of mortaria indicates that a cereal crop was probably grown, but no traces of quern were found. The bones of domestic animals were scarce and there were no bones of wild fauna. There were a few oyster shells. Cereals and fish were, therefore, probably the staple diet.

The date of Phase II was not determined. During this period the main building was enlarged after the pulling down of the timber buildings. A stone corridor replaced the timber verandah and another stone verandah was built parallel with this after the filling in of the water storage pit. To the north-east a room was added replacing the timber building and the wall was built to form a courtyard. All these were paved with sandstone cobbles. In the room, corridor and verandah the cobbled floors had been levelled off by ramming in a hard-packed mixture of clay and sand. The earlier rooms had no floor levels. These rooms may have had wooden floors which were later robbed, leaving no trace, or they may have rotted and the later warping had washed away all evidence. As no nails were found where the floors would have been, wooden pegs may have been used.<sup>1</sup> The courtyard wall had been laid out

<sup>1</sup> Webster, *Practical Archaeology*, pp. 102–103.



with mathematical precision. Two small postholes, about 3 ins. in diameter, were found within a few inches of the south and east external corners, where posts had been placed to mark out the extension of the foundation trench.

As the latest Roman pottery found were pieces of mortarium which had been made at Crambeck between A.D. 370 and 400, it appears that the site was abandoned some time after 370 and certainly not much later than A.D. 400. Probably the damage done to Malton in the raids of 367–9 prompted the inhabitants to leave.

After the abandonment of the site the first robbing took place and the main block of buildings was robbed down to ground level. The foundations were left in the ground and the courtyard wall and room F were left standing. The foundations became completely overgrown and were lost, so that the later robbers, who stripped the remaining buildings including the foundations, missed the foundations of the ones that had been robbed previously. This would account for fourteenth century pottery being found in the later robber trenches, while none was found among the foundations left in by the earlier robbers.

How much of the site was evident at the time of the Saxon Chapel mentioned in the Charter of A.D. 959 is not known, but as the name Stan Hill is mentioned in the Charter of 1311, there must have been stones evident on the surface at that time and it is probable that the second phase of robbing took place then. The tumbled mass of stone found in the second area sampled may have been piled there by the later robbers, though it seems wasted effort to carry heavy stones 175 ft. from the place where they were robbed.

The final phase came with the warping of the land when all traces were obliterated. As this was probably not before the eighteenth century, it is possible that the site disappeared before that date owing to natural flooding.

*(B) Excavation of the Probable Site of the Chapel of St. Wilfred*

This site was about 200 ft. to the north-north-west of the Roman one<sup>1</sup> and contained within an area of about 1,100 sq. yds. There was no surface indication of any structure whatever and the site was chosen merely on local legend. The area excavated was gridded into 25 ft. squares and trenches of 20 ft. by 3 ft. laid out in such a way that no stone structure could be missed.

Nineteen trenches were opened, but no stone foundations were found. Three trenches revealed nine large postholes, each 1 ft. square, and set into the natural clay. Six of these were in line and were from 1 to 5 ft. apart, and the other three were in line, roughly at right angles to the former. Except in the top disturbed layers, no pottery was found. As the postholes were 3 ft. or more from the modern surface, it was realised that the plan of a timber structure

<sup>1</sup> The same datum line was used as for the R.-B. site. The grid commenced at the north peg and the site was to the west of the datum line.

could only be revealed by the complete stripping of almost a quarter of an acre down to that depth. As this was impracticable no further work was done on the site.

(C) *Excavation of the Inner Moat at Scurff Hall*

The inner moat around Scurff Hall<sup>1</sup> is roughly rectangular, measuring 250 ft. by 180 ft., the north and south sides being the longer. To the west the whole length is visible in the orchard, but on the south side it can be seen for a few yards only, having been partly obliterated by the building of a nineteenth century ha-ha which divides the garden from a field. The east side lies below farm outbuildings and a road leading to them, while on the north side about half the length from the north-west corner can be seen. The area enclosed is occupied by Scurff Hall, which faces south, the garden and some of the farm outbuildings.

It was decided to put two trenches across the moat at right angles to it. (1) on the west side in the orchard. This was chosen as it was the part most visible from bank to bank and because it was the most convenient place, free from cattle and horses. (2) on the north side. This is at the rear of the Hall and the most likely place where datable material, such as kitchen refuse, would be found.

*Trench 1.* This was 65 ft. long and 4 ft. wide, cutting through the ditch and banks on the east and west sides. A baulk had to be left in to support a modern field drain which ran along the middle of the ditch about 1 ft. below the modern surface.

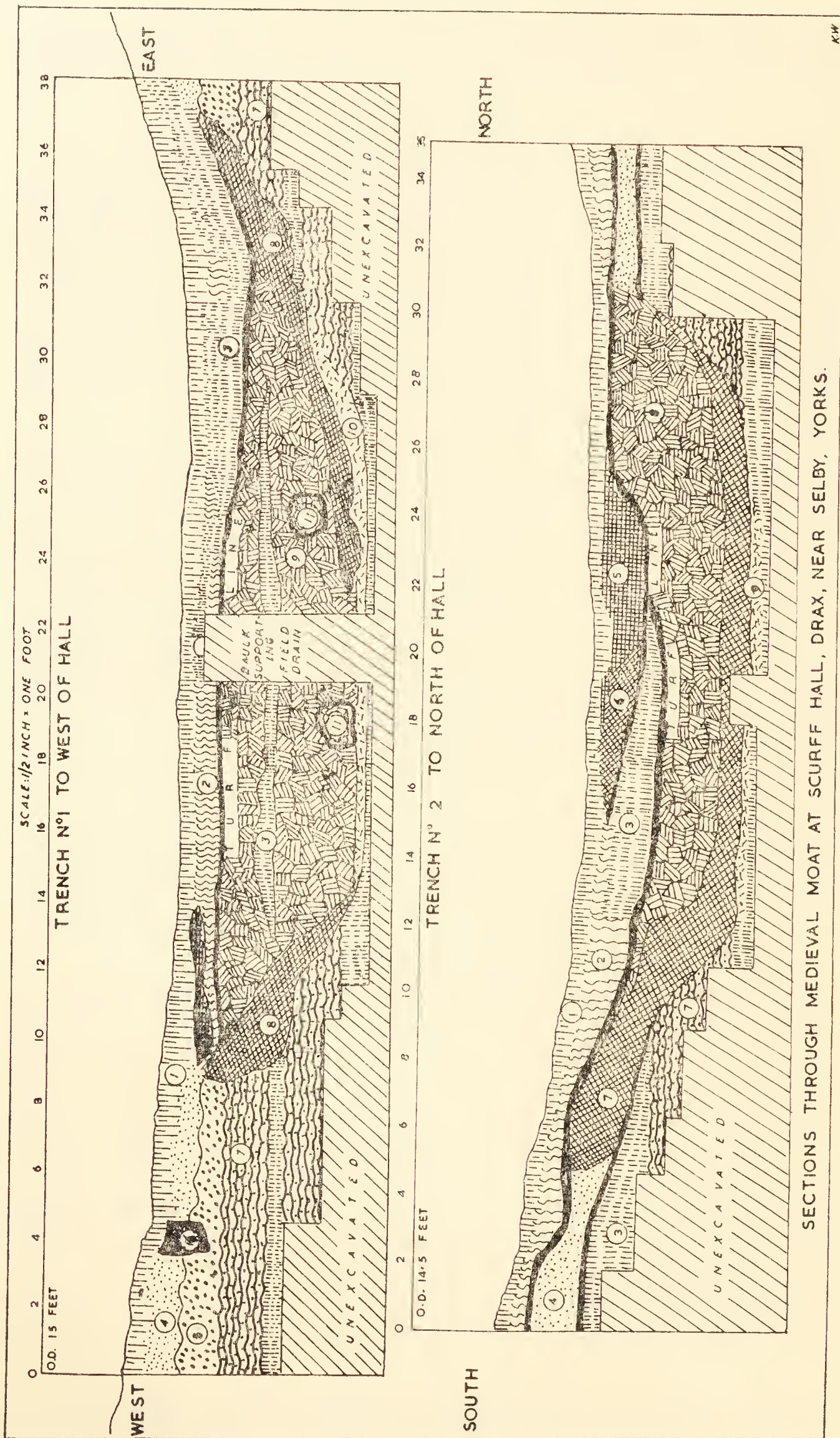
Stratification was as follows (Fig. 4 – 1):<sup>2</sup>

1. Turf and humus.
2. Topsoil with leaching.
3. Brown clay fill. Below this was an eighteenth century turf line crossing the ditch from the east to the west bank.
4. Upcast of soil and clay from the ditch. This was found to have been thrown up on both banks.
5. Original topsoil through which the ditch had been cut. This bore shallow plough marks about 8 ins. deep and 12 ins. from trough to trough.
6. Intrusion.
7. Natural sandy varves.
8. Primary silting of ditch. This had taken place within a short time of the original digging of the ditch.
9. Eighteenth century backfill of soil and clay. This seemed to have been done at two different periods with a layer of clay in between.
10. Decayed vegetation.
11. Fallen tree trunks.

<sup>1</sup> Nat. Grid Ref. S.E.688264.

<sup>2</sup> The drawing of the section has been shortened at both ends for convenience of scale, and does not show the full cutting right through the banks.







The ditch was 30 ft. wide and natural blue clay was reached at 5 ft. 9 ins. from the present surface, or 4 ft. 6 ins. from the original surface. Only a few pieces of pottery were found. There were seventeenth and eighteenth century pottery in layer 9 and fourteenth century potsherds below layer 4. Complete hazelnut shells were found resting on the natural blue clay below the primary silting.

*Trench 2.* This was 35 ft. long and 4 ft. wide and cut across the ditch at right angles on the north side. In this case the trench only just cut into the banks to north and south as the eighteenth century hall is partly built on the south bank and a hawthorn hedge runs along the top of the north bank.

Stratification here told a slightly different story from Trench 1 (Fig. 4 – 2):

1. Turf and humus.
2. Topsoil with leaching.
3. Brown clay fill.
4. Upcast from ditch on both banks.
5. A nineteenth century ditch which had been dug for drainage along the length of the moat on the north side and later filled in.
6. Primary silting of the nineteenth century ditch. An eighteenth century turf line ran above layer 4 and below layers 1, 2, 3, 5 and 6.
7. Primary silting of original ditch.
8. Eighteenth century backfill of soil and clay containing a large amount of seventeenth and eighteenth century pottery.
9. Decayed vegetation. Below this was natural blue clay.

Finds included fourteenth century pottery in the primary silting and below the bank. It had come from kilns at York, Skipton-on-Swale and from local kilns. Fifteenth and sixteenth century pot from local kilns was found above the primary silting at the bottom of the ditch, seventeenth and eighteenth century pot together with bricks and tiles of the same period in the backfill, nineteenth century pot and iron pieces from a cart wheel in the fill of the second ditch and a finely carved circular stone 'font' half buried near the present surface. This is still on the site.

### *Discussion*

A summary of the history of the moat may then be as follows. The original moat was probably dug in the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, as the fourteenth century pot was lying below the upcast from the ditch on the original surface, though some had got into the primary silting. The west side of the moat was dug in the autumn after the harvest and, moreover, after the fields surrounding the hall had been ploughed. If the decision to cut a moat had been made earlier, the owner would not have ploughed the area through which he was going to dig. Further evidence of the time of year is



provided by the presence of hazelnut shells at the bottom of the ditch below the primary silting.

The primary silting would take place within a few years of the cutting of the ditch.<sup>1</sup> In trench 1 there was evidence of more silting on the west bank than on the east. In trench 2 most silting occurred on the south bank. As the prevailing winds are mainly north and east it is evident that the bank facing the wind is liable to silt much more quickly than the sheltered bank.

Spade marks indicated that at some later date the ditch through which trench 1 was cut had been cleaned out, removing the primary silting and decayed vegetation which was probably spread on the land. Only the western side had been done, as a tree trunk had rolled in from the east and rested upon the primary silting. The other tree trunk had rolled in from the west after the cleaning of the ditch. The original digging of the inner moat must have necessitated the removal of approximately 116,000 cu.ft. of earth and clay. This gives rise to speculation on the cost, time and labour involved.

The early eighteenth century was a period of affluence and saw many changes on the farm. The original hall probably stood to the east of the present one, nearer the centre of the moated area. During the first part of the eighteenth century the back of the present hall was built and the old hall demolished. A copper beech tree was planted on its site. This tree is now at least 250 years old and because of it excavation was not possible in this area. While rebuilding was taking place several drainage ditches were dug on the farm and the upcast from these ditches was used to fill in the moat; the outbuildings were then built over it on the east side. Turf grew over the eighteenth century fill and during the nineteenth century more soil was placed on top to level the ground. Later a field drain was laid along the west side at the deepest part of the remaining dip of the moat, but on the north side a ditch was dug. This was open long enough for considerable primary silting to take place on its south bank; then it was filled in. During the late nineteenth century the front part of the hall was added to the earlier house and a ha-ha, incorporating the remains of the south side of the moat, was built at the end of the front garden.

There was evidence that a causeway crossed the moat midway along the north side. From this a path or road led across the field known as the Goose Croft to the outer moat. This road no longer exists, but the rigg and furrows to the east of it are a different width from those to the west.

As the outer moat was not excavated its date is unknown. It enclosed an irregular area of about 19 acres, including the Goose Croft, orchard, farm buildings and Scurff Hall and garden. Commencing at the north-east corner near the pond, it ran south following the line of Willow Row Drain, probably following the old course of

<sup>1</sup> 'Experimental Earthwork on Overton Down, Wiltshire, 1960'. (*British Association for the Advancement of Science*, 1963.)



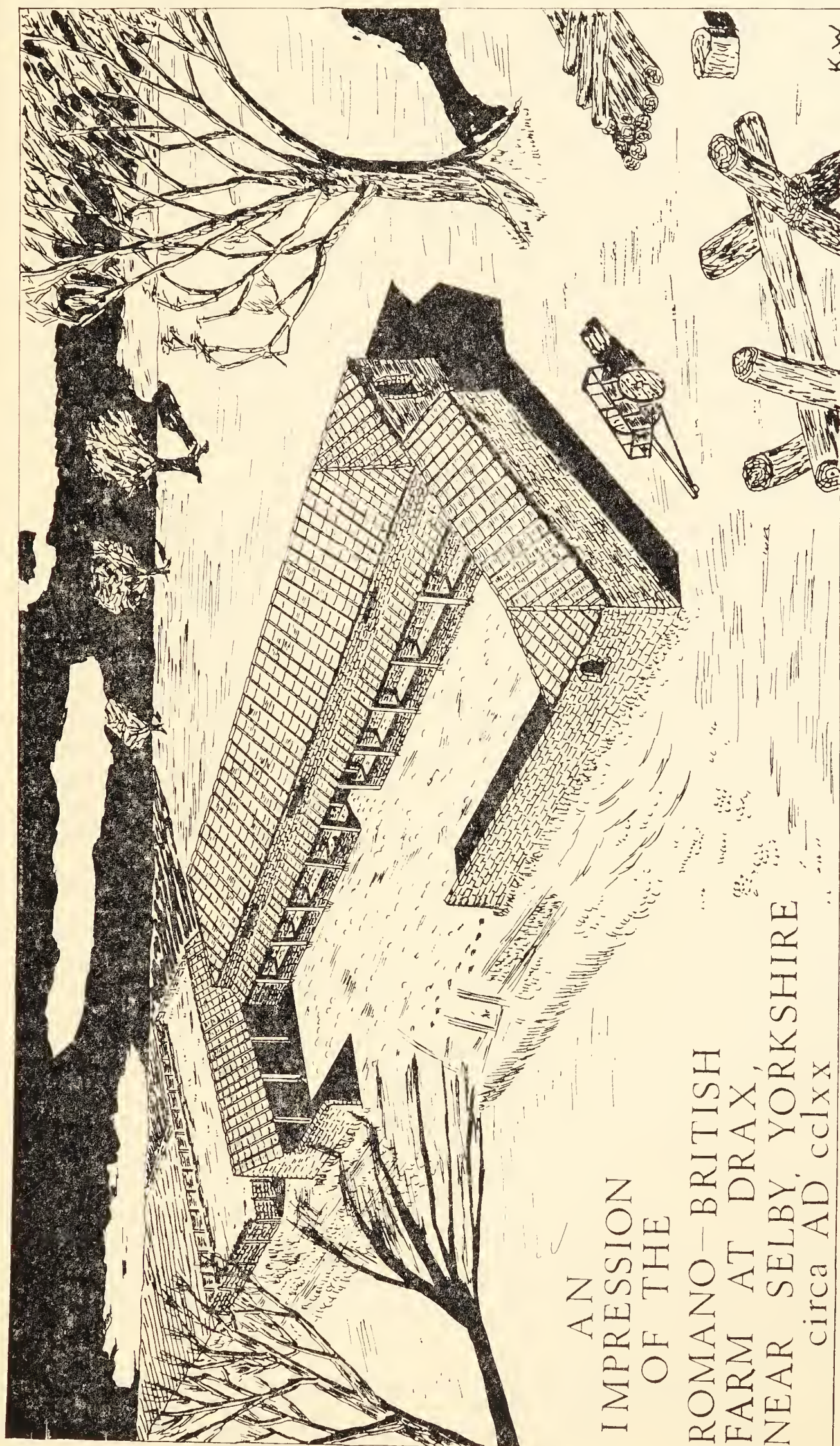


FIG. 5.



the River Aire, then turned east along Rusholme Lane to the parish boundary between Drax and Newland. It then followed the parish boundary until it met the hedge on the north side of the Goose Croft then turned east and followed the hedge back to the north-east corner.

The rigg and furrows were undatable, but were later than the two moats. They were enclosed by the outer moat, and the inner moat did not cut through them. In the Goose Croft those to the east of the field ran north and south and measured 24 ft. from trough to trough. In the middle they measured 12 ft., while those in the third of the field to the west were also 12 ft., but at right angles to the others and separated from them by a bank. In the orchard the rigg and furrows ran east to west and measured 30 ft. from trough to trough. Those in the Horse Pasture, south of the outer moat, ran east to west and measured 10 ft. If rigg and furrows ever existed in the Ellers and the Stannels, they have been obliterated, probably by warping.

### *Conclusion*

A final summary of the history of the site may then be as follows.

Occupation by Romano-British between A.D. 270 and 400.<sup>1</sup> There was then a long gap until the mid-tenth century when a Saxon or Danish chapel was built near the remains of the Romano-British farmstead. This was probably of timber and the supply of stone was ignored. During the first half of the twelfth century Drax Priory was founded and stone was probably robbed from the Romano-British site and built into the Priory. In the late twelfth century a chapel was built, probably on the site of the Saxon one. This was also of timber. Secondary robbing took place on the Romano-British site, the stone being used for other purposes, probably the building of Drax Church. As the land belonged to the Canons of Drax Priory it is not likely that any secular buildings were built.

During the late fourteenth century came the building of the earlier Scurff Hall surrounded by the inner moat, and probably followed within a short period by the digging of the outer moat. The surrounding rigg and furrows were formed between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries. In the early eighteenth century the moat was partly filled in. Farm outbuildings were built over it to the east and a new hall built to the west; then the old hall was demolished. Warping banks and drainage ditches were dug.

In the late nineteenth century an extension was built on the south side of the hall and a ha-ha built to divide the garden from the field to the south.

Finally, this century has seen the filling in of many of the rigg and furrows and part of the outer moat. Further proposals include the removal of several hedges and field boundaries which are marked on the Tithe Award Map (1838) in order to improve conditions for modern agricultural methods.

NOTE. This report has been supported by a subvention from the Ministry of Public Building and Works.

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<sup>1</sup> Fig. 5.

## A ROMANO-BRITISH SITE AT PALE END KILDALE

By R. H. HAYES

The site (Map, Nanny Howe)<sup>1</sup>, lies on a pleasant southerly-facing slope between the 625 and 650 ft. contours (6 ins. O.S. map Yorkshire NZ61S.W.; Grid Ref. NZ 6110 to 1003). It is reached by a field road  $\frac{1}{4}$  mile east of Bankside Farm. The steep nab that shelters it from the north is known as Pale End;<sup>2</sup> this ridge continues westwards as Coate Moor with Captain Cook's monument on its western extremity above a line of crags known as Nanny's Nook. Half a mile south-west is Kildale church where burials and relics of Viking settlement were discovered in 1867.<sup>3</sup>

The Kildale gap affords an easy pass into Eskdale and thence to the west. It was a natural route for all periods. There is no need to postulate a Roman road through it, or to the site described. Native roads, similar to modern turf-roads or hollow-ways, could have served the purpose. Dr. F. Elgee recorded and examined traces of early cultivation in the Kildale area.<sup>4</sup> He describes 'Celtic fields' at Crag Bank Wood, 2 miles east of Pale End. These still exist, others were destroyed in Garden Bank Wood. He mentions beehive querns from these sites, probably nos. 3, 4 and 5 shown on Fig. 4.

The lower slope of Pale End is on inferior oolite, with outcrops of sandy shale and clay. It was old intake entirely bracken-covered in 1956 when Mr. C. Pearson of Bankside farm ploughed it out for a crop of rape and then re-seeded to grass. Ancient plough scratches on the stones exposed showed that this was not the first time it had been under cultivation. Mr. Pearson encountered several stony patches just below the turf. On removing some of the stones he found portions of three querns (No. 1, Fig. 4; Nos. 6 and 7, Fig. 5). Mr. Rowland Close of Baysdale was informed of these finds and it is due to his hard work and enthusiasm that we are able to make this report. He searched the area carefully and found two small sherds of Romano-British pottery (Nos. 7 and 18, Fig. 3) and a scrap of gritted ware.

Permission to dig was readily given by the owner, Major G. Turton, and the tenant Mr. Pearson, but operations could not begin until the sheep had eaten off the crop of rape. Despite the wet

<sup>1</sup> See Fig. 1, p. 577, Note on Nanny Howe Beaker Burial.

<sup>2</sup> Pale – 'to enclose or fence'.

<sup>3</sup> F. Elgee, *Early Man in N.E. Yorks.*, 220, Fig. 67.

<sup>4</sup> F. Elgee, *ibid.*, 218.



weather of November 1956 and the sticky clay, Mr. Close uncovered a roughly-paved area (Site 1A) approximately  $50 \times 20$  ft. (Fig. 1). Later he extended to sites 1B and 1C, 25 ft. west and east, also trenching two other sites Nos. 2 and 3, higher up the slope, and dug many trial holes, as well as the remains of a cairn on top of Pale End; the latter giving no clue to its date. All this had to be done in the winter before the re-seeding in March and therefore full excavation was impossible. It is due to his hard work and vigilance that so much was recorded.

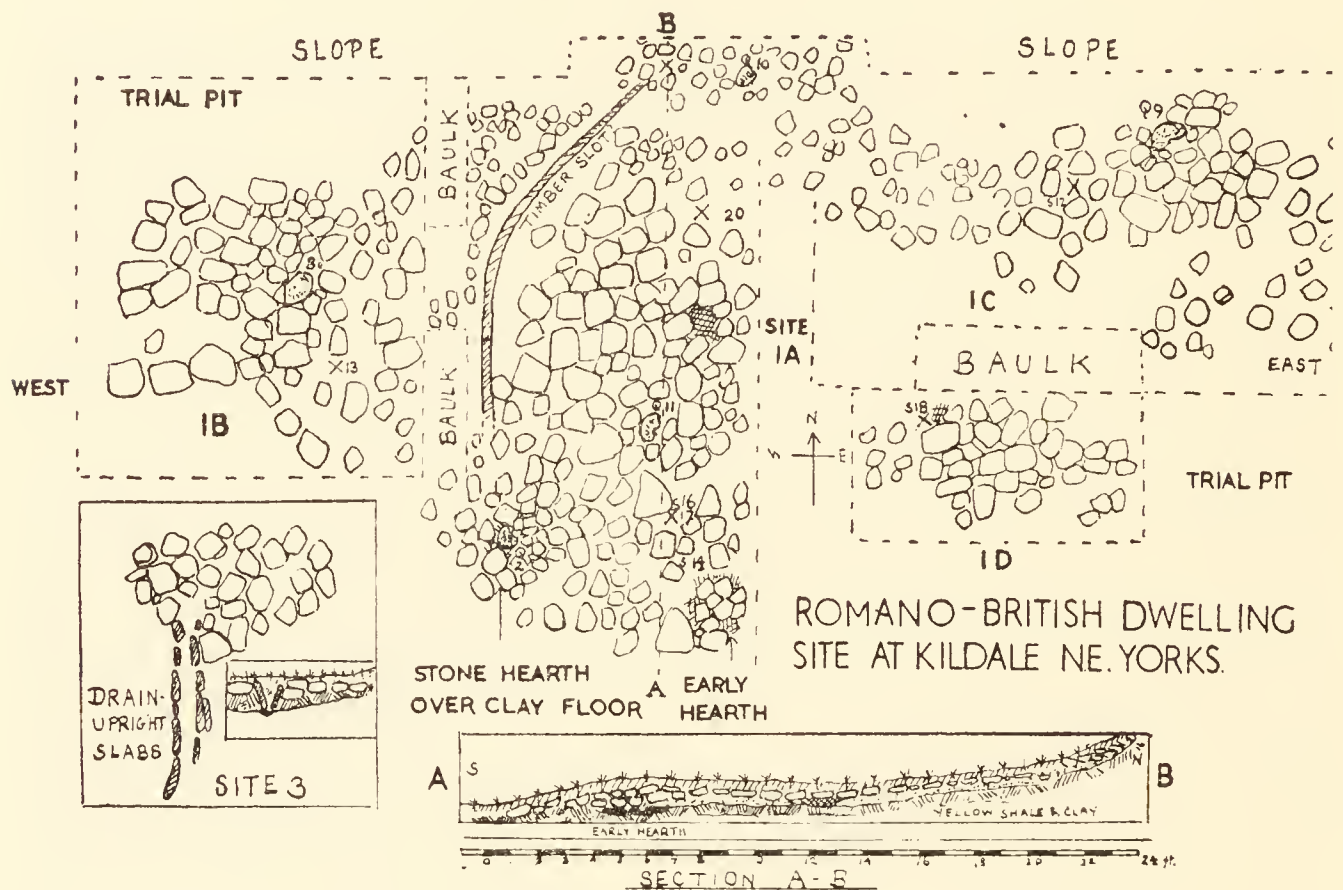


FIG. 1.

The paved areas closely resembled those found previously on many Romano-British sites in E. and N.W. Yorkshire; notably at Elmswell,<sup>1</sup> Norton,<sup>2</sup> Bessingby near Bridlington<sup>3</sup> and Crayke.<sup>4</sup> This type of rough paving seems to be a common feature of dwellings of this period, both in the open countryside and near the towns. It was first recorded in Yorkshire in the early 19th century. A writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1868<sup>4</sup> writes: 'a mere accident, the ploughing up of the upper stone of a Roman mill (quern) induced examination of a field in the township of Amotherby near Malton. The Rev. James Robertson laid bare a series of large paved floors from 6 ins. to 2 ft. 6 ins. below the surface – no trace of walls or foundations – simply pavements, one  $29 \times 13$  ft., another 90 ft. – blocks of limestone and sandstone – many burnt, three coins and

<sup>1</sup> P. Corder, *Elmswell*, 3rd Rep. (1938), Fig. 5, Pl. IIIA & B.

<sup>2</sup> Norton-Malton; Eastfield 1946-7. Langton Rd., Vicarage 1950. P. Brown. Both unpublished. Also Roman Malton & Dist. Rep., No. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Bessingby, nr. Bridlington; *Y.A.J.* xxxvii, pt. 148, 438-40.

<sup>4</sup> cf. Roman Malton & Dist. Rep., No. 5, 61-62.

quantities of broken Roman pottery, with a few pieces of Samian ware. Several querns set in the paving.' He comments: 'not a very intelligible establishment'. The vicar was not satisfied with the result of his researches.

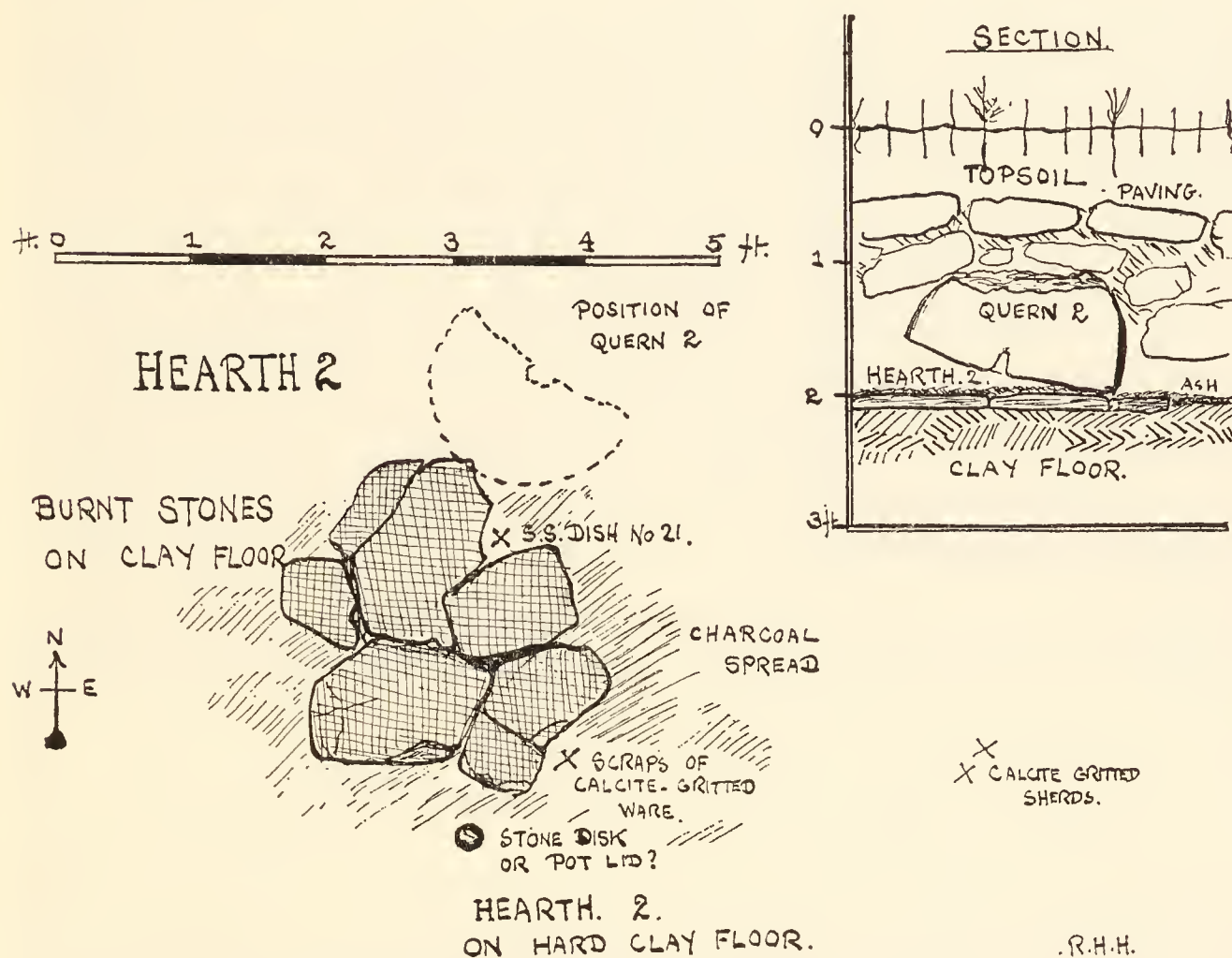


FIG. 2. Hearth 2. Site 1A.

The above would serve as a description of the Pale End site, apart from the paucity of pottery at the latter.

The main area of paving (Sites 1A, 1B and 1C) consisted of flat slabs of local sandstone laid more or less evenly in the central sections of A and B (see plan, Fig. 1). The section A-B shows the slope, with a distinct camber on the south side, where the paving was much thicker and had an edge or kerb of larger boulders. Some of these had plough scratches on both sides, of which the lower ones must have been contemporary with the early floor and proved that a metal ploughshare was then in use. To the north was another raised portion, bounded by a kerb of boulders on the edge of a narrow 6 ins. wide, 3 ins. deep gulley or groove of darker clay, the site of a timber partition or wall? The appearance in the clay was similar to that left by early timber buildings exposed in the 1949-52 excavations at Orchard Field, Malton. It appeared to divide 1A and 1B, but was not traceable to the south edge. Patches of darker clay were noted elsewhere. Many burnt stones were set in the paving and apart from two or three places where fires had burnt on the floor, most of the stones had been subject to great heat before they were used in the paving. We suggest the burning could have



originated by the clearance of the timber prior to occupation. Excessive burning of stones was noted elsewhere on the moorlands where recent forestry clearance had taken place.

Sites 1A and 1B (Fig. 1, Pls. I & II) had a few potsherds on the paving and in the topsoil. Very few sherds were found on the paving of Sites 1D (Pl. III) and 1C; though the former was a compact 10 ft.  $\times$  6 ft. layer of paving stones. These areas were only a single stone layer in depth with no sign of earlier occupation beneath. Ploughed-out stones had disturbed the level of Site 1D which was less than 4 ins. below the turf.

Some attempt had been made to form a fairly level platform of stones on the south edge of Site 1A. Over the early clay floor stones and broken quern fragments had been piled to a depth of over 20 ins. in places. This petered out to a single layer of paving higher up the slope, and on the north edge was another accumulation of stones and earth almost like a lynchet; probably the result of cultivations on the higher slopes.

Many pieces of broken quern stones were set in the paving, obviously discarded from earlier occupation. In all, 11 quern fragments were found, including two of the beehive type assumed to have arrived in N.E. Yorkshire during the late Iron Age.<sup>1</sup> All show signs of much use and wear. The flat rotary type, of which 8 are represented<sup>2</sup> (Figs. 5 and 6, Nos. 6–13), probably fill the gap between the 1st and 3rd centuries A.D., when the latest floors were laid containing these fragments. They do indicate grain cultivation in a limited area, possibly in small plots of the Crag Bank Wood pattern. No storage pits were found; but there was little opportunity in the time allotted to examine the ground for traces of them. They were not found at Stanwick, though they did occur at Cold Cam<sup>3</sup> and Eston (Normanby).<sup>4</sup> Large jars could have been used as found at Norton vicarage garden by Philip Brown.<sup>5</sup> Nor were there any signs of the stone 'boxes' found at the latter site, and at Topstone Folly, Eskdale in 1956 where a farmer reported six in association with a beehive and three saddle querns and pottery of the Romano-British types. This latter site produced large quantities of flint chippings. These were present at Pale End on all sites, but a neat thumb-scraper was the only worked implement noted. In addition to the stone pounder (or rubber), several rounded pebbles of stone and quartz were picked up on the paving (sling stones?).

<sup>1</sup> E. C. Curwen, *Antiquity* xi (1937), 140–43.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.*, Fig. 21.

<sup>3</sup> Cold Cam, Cockerdale Wood Excavations 1956–57. R. H. Hayes in J. McDonnell (Ed.), *A History of Helmsley, Rievaulx and District* (1961), 48, 407–13, Figs. 17, 18.

<sup>4</sup> F. Elgee, *The Romans in Cleveland* (1923), 13, quoting Canon Atkinson 'refuse heap containing bones, sherds, and quern fragments from a similar settlement'. Since then querns of beehive type have been found from Normanby.

<sup>5</sup> Norton-Malton; Eastfield 1946–7. Langton Rd., Vicarage 1950. P. Brown. Both unpublished. Also Roman Malton & District Rep., No. 7.





PLATE I.

Sites 1C and 1D; 1A under Excavation. Kildale Church (left centre) Cleveland Hills (background).



PLATE II. Site 1B Floor.





PLATE III. Site 1D from West Edge.



PLATE IV. Hearth 2 on clay floor.



Against the number of querns must be contrasted the paucity of potsherds. The proportion at Pale End was very low when contrasted with the 500–600 found on a similar paving of the late 4th century A.D. at Norton<sup>1</sup> or at Elmswell. At the latter, animal bones (food refuse) were plentiful. None were found at Pale End. C. W. Phillips remarked on a visit to the district that the acid soil of this part of Cleveland destroyed all bone and wood remains.

No coins or bronze turned up. There were, however, one or two small scraps of iron, and a few pieces of slag. Jet or lignite was plentiful, but only one or two pieces showed signs of working, and none were actual ornaments. One of the most interesting features of the site was the occurrence of a floor of hard trampled clay – the natural subsoil here. This was found beneath the paving of 1A at the south side, where it was 20 ins. below the surface of the upper paving. Hearths 1 and 2 were set on (or in) this floor, the limits of which were ill-defined. Hearth No. 1 in the south-east corner (Fig. 1) was a shallow clay-lined pit, 20 ins. by 24 ins. by 4 ins. deep. A thin spread of charcoal (see Appendix 1, page 700) with a few scraps of gritted ware lay on the clay. The charcoal spread was thicker around hearth No. 2, constructed of 6 flat slabs of stone, close fitting and fired to a dull red (Fig. 2, Pl. IV). Close by lay part of a small straight-sided dish (Fig. 3, No. 21) and a small disk of stone,  $3\frac{1}{4}$  ins. by  $\frac{3}{4}$  ins., similar to those found during the excavation of late Iron Age dwellings in the settlement at Jarlshof, Shetlands. In the packing above was beehive quern No. 2, this could well be contemporary with the occupation of the clay floor.

Higher up the hillside to the north-west was another irregular clay floor, the full extent of which was not ascertained. No hearth was found although there was a thin spread of charcoal in places. No upper paving covered this site which was only 6 ft. south of the drain channel of site 3 (Fig. 1, Pl. V). The clay floor contained several sherds of gritted ware, notably Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 15 (Fig. 3), all of types found on 1st century A.D. sites in N.E. Yorkshire. Flint chips, the small well-flaked thumb scraper, and pieces of lignite lay on the clay with the sherds.

Site 3 (Fig. 1, Pl. V). This was a curious piece of paving, a jumble of rounded stones above the 7 to 8 ft. long narrow drain leading down the hill to site 2. Only a few scraps of gritted ware and the spindle whorl (Fig. 6, No. 14) gave any indication of occupation here. The stones at the end of the drain were disturbed by ploughing. It is possible that these are the remains of the floor of a hut of the Jarlshof or Chrysauster types, with which the drain is a further parallel. It also resembled the 'scooped enclosures' of the Roman period in Northumberland.

The pottery from Pale End, until further sites are discovered and excavated, forms a link between the E. Yorkshire sites mentioned above and Stanwick. It is noteworthy that over 80% of the sherds

<sup>1</sup> Norton-Malton; Eastfield 1946-7. Langton Rd., Vicarage 1950. P. Brown. Both unpublished. Also Roman Malton & District Rep., No. 7.



are of hand-made gritted ware, backed with pounded quartz – lumps of this mixed with clay were found on both the early and later floors. Quartz pebbles were also found. These are common on the moors to the north, eroded from the weathered sandstones. Almost all the gritted ware came from the clay floors, although some was found on the paving and in the ploughing to the west.

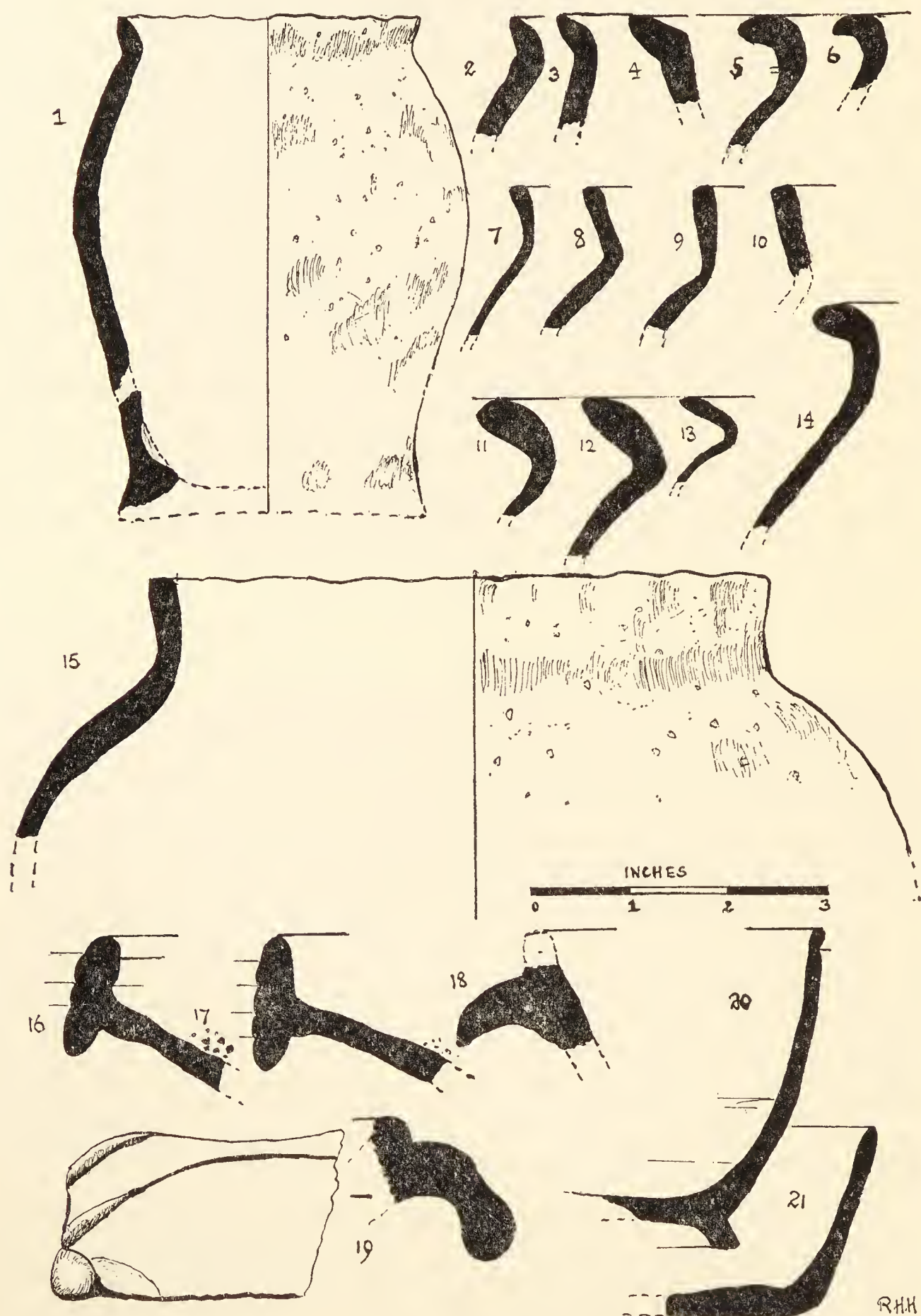


FIG. 3. Pottery from Pale End, Kildale, N.E. Yorks.

In the Stanwick Report it is stated that 'the heavy calcite backing appears to be peculiar to East Yorkshire pottery, and the profuse quartz backing of the Stanwick wares is presumably its more westerly equivalent', p. 39.<sup>1</sup> It would appear more likely that on these 'native' sites any handy material was used. Mr. Brewster's remarks on gritted ware<sup>2</sup> are more to the point – 'Tempering by the use of sand, grass, flint, calcite and other unground materials was universal in the manufacture of local coarse ware from the Neolithic to the early 15th century'. Rowland Close made a very fair replica of vessel No. 1 with clay obtained from his duck pond in Kildale. Both coarse and fine ware was made on the native site at Cold Cam.<sup>3</sup> A Middle Bronze Age urn from circle 'C' on Great Ayton Moor, within sight of Pale End, was charged with pebbles and lumps of stone.<sup>4</sup> No doubt 'native' ware was manufactured on similar sites throughout the Roman period and well into Saxon and later Mediaeval times. None of the gritted wares from Pale End were of Signal Station types. Either the site was abandoned in the 3rd century A.D., or the early potting traditions were too strong to be eradicated. The Samian form 31, and a scrap of smooth grey rouletted ware resembling Crambeck type 12 are the products of other kilns, although the latter may be from an early butt-beaker. The group of 4 mortaria may well be imported. On the whole, the pottery evidence shows a strong native Iron Age tradition persisting well into Roman times.

Fig. No. 1. Jar in orange-brown gritted ware, with grey core, and splayed foot. Several pieces of this ware, backed with quartz grit, were found, mainly on the clay floor of site 2, with odd scraps from the drain area of site 3. Four rims were found, also body sherds from the charcoal impregnated clay floors; they varied in shade from orange-red to brown or black.

No. 2. Rim of jar in black gritty fabric.

No. 3. Similar to No. 1; also a very thick rim in the same form and fabric, not illustrated. All from site 2. These have a family resemblance to the late Iron Age pots from Maiden Castle, and are related more remotely to the early Iron Age pots found on Scarborough Castle Hill; cf. Scarborough Museum Handbook, No. 34/4A. Stanwick Fig. 12, No. 1, described as typical of a group, is similar; also the little vessel from Staxton (Newham's Pit), *Y.A.J.*, xxxix, Pt. 154 (1957), 215, Fig. 12, No. 10; Langton Fig. 7, No. 29; and Costa Beck, *Y.A.J.*, xxx, pt. 118 (1930), 164, Fig. 1. 9. – are identical in form.

No. 4. Rim of bowl?, coarse sandy pink ware, cf. Brough, 4th Rep. (1936), Fig. 13, 96–97 (prob. 3rd century A.D.); Staxton, *loc. cit.*, Fig. 12, No. 3.

Nos. 5–6. Rims of jars, or beakers, in hard coarse grey ware, from site 2 clay floor. Six sherds in this ware. cf. Stanwick Fig. 11, Nos. 15–16.

<sup>1</sup> Sir Mortimer Wheeler, *The Stanwick Fortifications* (1954), 39.

<sup>2</sup> *Y.A.J.* xxxix, pt. 154 (1957), 213.

<sup>3</sup> Cold Cam, Cockerdale Wood Excavations 1956–57. R. H. Hayes in J. McDonnell (Ed.), *A History of Helmsley, Rievaulx and District* (1961), 48, 407–13, Figs. 17, 18.

<sup>4</sup> Great Ayton Moor by R. H. Hayes and S. V. Morris, forthcoming as 1967–8 *Scarborough and District Archaeological Society Report No. 6*.



Nos. 7–10 & No. 15. Rims of situla-type jars (or cook-pots) in hard black-fumed quartz gritted ware. Several sooty body sherds and portions of plain bases in this fabric, especially near the hearth (2), site 1A; also on site 2. cf. Well Y.R.A.C. Rep. No. 1, Fig. 17, Nos. 93. R. Gilyard-Beer says: 'A jar in Early Iron Age tradition but not necessarily earlier than the Roman occupation of the north'. This type occurred at Brough (4th Rep. Fig. 13, No. 83, Trajanic; Langton early site; Roman Malton & Dist. Rep. No. 2, Fig. 7, No. 23, and Elmswell Rep. No. 3, Nos. 51–54. The type seems to evolve from Early Iron Age, Scarborough Castle Hill pottery (Elgee *Early Man in N.E. Yorks.*, 180, Fig. 57, No. 8). Variant forms appear throughout the Roman occupation of the north, and one of its descendants seems to have been the neckless cook-pot of the Signal Stations (Hull's type 27?).

No. 7 from ploughed field to west of sites 1–3.

Nos. 8–9. From site 2 – clay floor.

No. 10. Rim sherd, possibly from a dish, in hard black fumed ware with little grit.

No. 15. Type specimen – rim and shoulder. Diameter  $6\frac{1}{4}$  ins. at rim, height possibly 12–14 ins. Plain base (?) without foot-ring.

Nos. 11–12. Rims of jars. 11, in coarse grey ware, from gully on north-west side of site 1A, 12, in hard grey ware, from site 1C, near a quern. These two rims are similar to sherds from Whorlton-in-Cleveland now in Middlesbrough Museum.

No. 13. Rim sherd of a small jar or butt beaker, in thin metallic light grey ware, from site 1B on paving stones. In topsoil was a fragment of similar ware with rouletted impression similar to a beaker of Crambeck type 12; or to the butt beakers shown in the Stanwick Report, Plate xxiv, 22–23.

No. 14. Large jar, rim and side in coarse grey ware, from near hearth 1, under the paving on site 1A. cf. Brough, Rep. No. 4, Fig. 14–114, late 1st century A.D.

Nos. 16, 17 & 19. Mortaria. From the abundance of querns it is natural that mortaria form a percentage of the pottery.

Nos. 16–17. Buff reeded mortaria of hammer-head type, diameter 9–10 ins., found in the loose stones on the south edges of the paving on site 1A. Mid to late 3rd century A.D. cf. Norton, Langton Rd. Kiln, I, 1950. Very plentiful in 4th century at Crambeck. These must be as late as any sherds from the sites.

No. 18. Piece of flange of very large bowl in light buff ware. 2nd/3rd century, found in the turf on site 1C. A type which became very plentiful in the 4th century.

No. 19. Fragment of spout from very large mortarium, late 1st century A.D., found on the paving – possibly a stray from early occupation. cf. Malton Fort, Roman Malton & Dist. Rep. No. 2, Fig. 1, No. 2, sandy clay rampart of 1st century A.D.; Carleon & Jenkins Field 1926; (Nash Williams) Figs. 103 & 108.

No. 20. Rim and side of very worn plain Samian bowl with foot-ring (Form 31). 1st–2nd century A.D. Another very worn body sherd in eroded Samian, or red ware imitation; from loose stones above site 1A. The only Samian found.

No. 21. Straight-sided dish in coarse hard dark-grey ware on clay floor near early hearth No. 2. This type is common in the 1st to 3rd centuries A.D. and is difficult to date. It is in tradition a 'Gallo-Belgic' type. Platters similar to this are found on many early Romano-British sites.

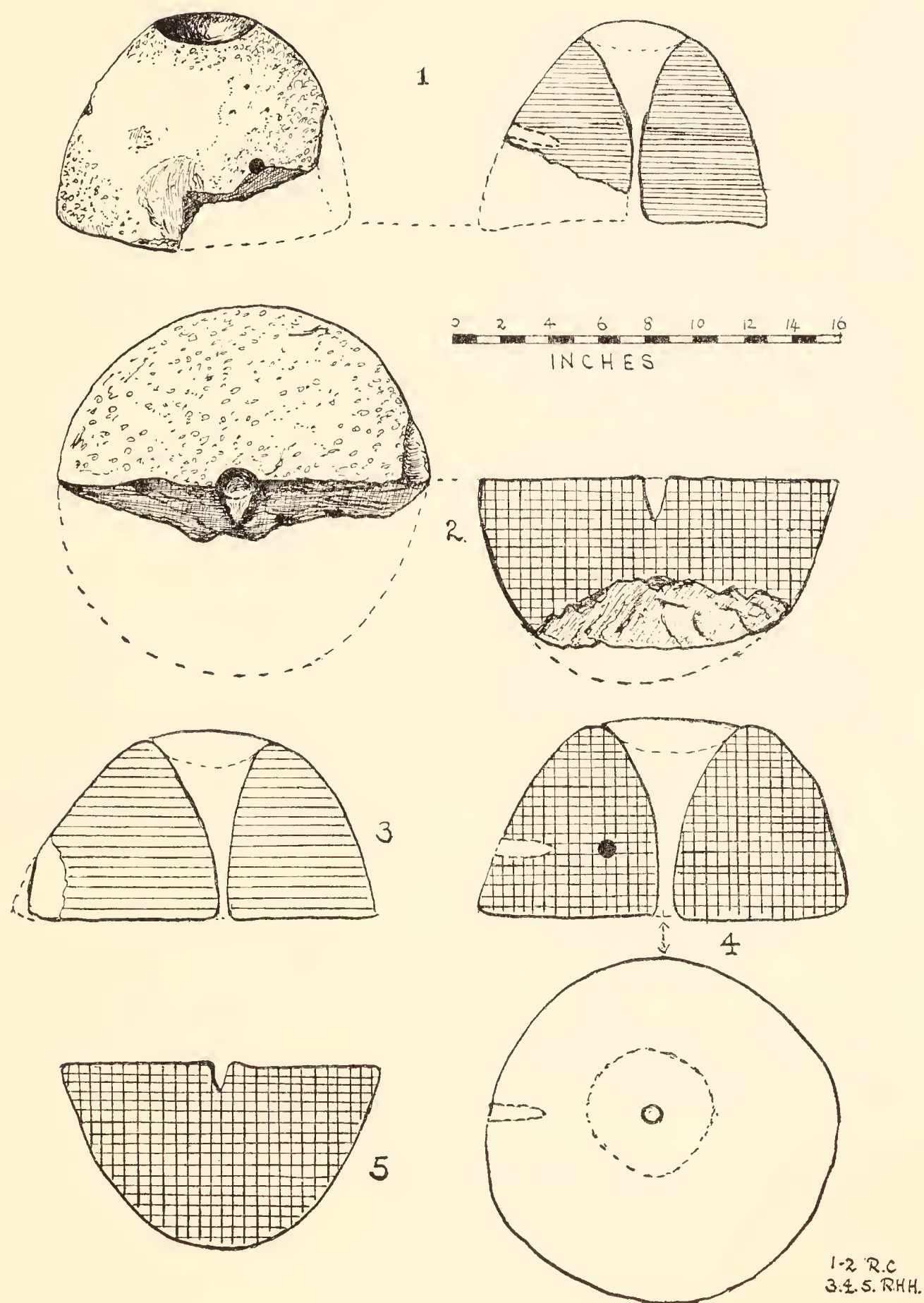


FIG. 4. Beehive Rotary Querns, Kildale.

As stated above, the numerous querns point to the cultivation of grains on the sunny slopes of Pale End or in small plots, the so-called 'Celtic fields' of the type still in existence at Crag Bank Wood. Plate I shows present-day cornfields close to Pale End sites.

Querns were badly neglected by archaeologists until the material collected by Dr. C. Curwen and O. G. S. Crawford was published



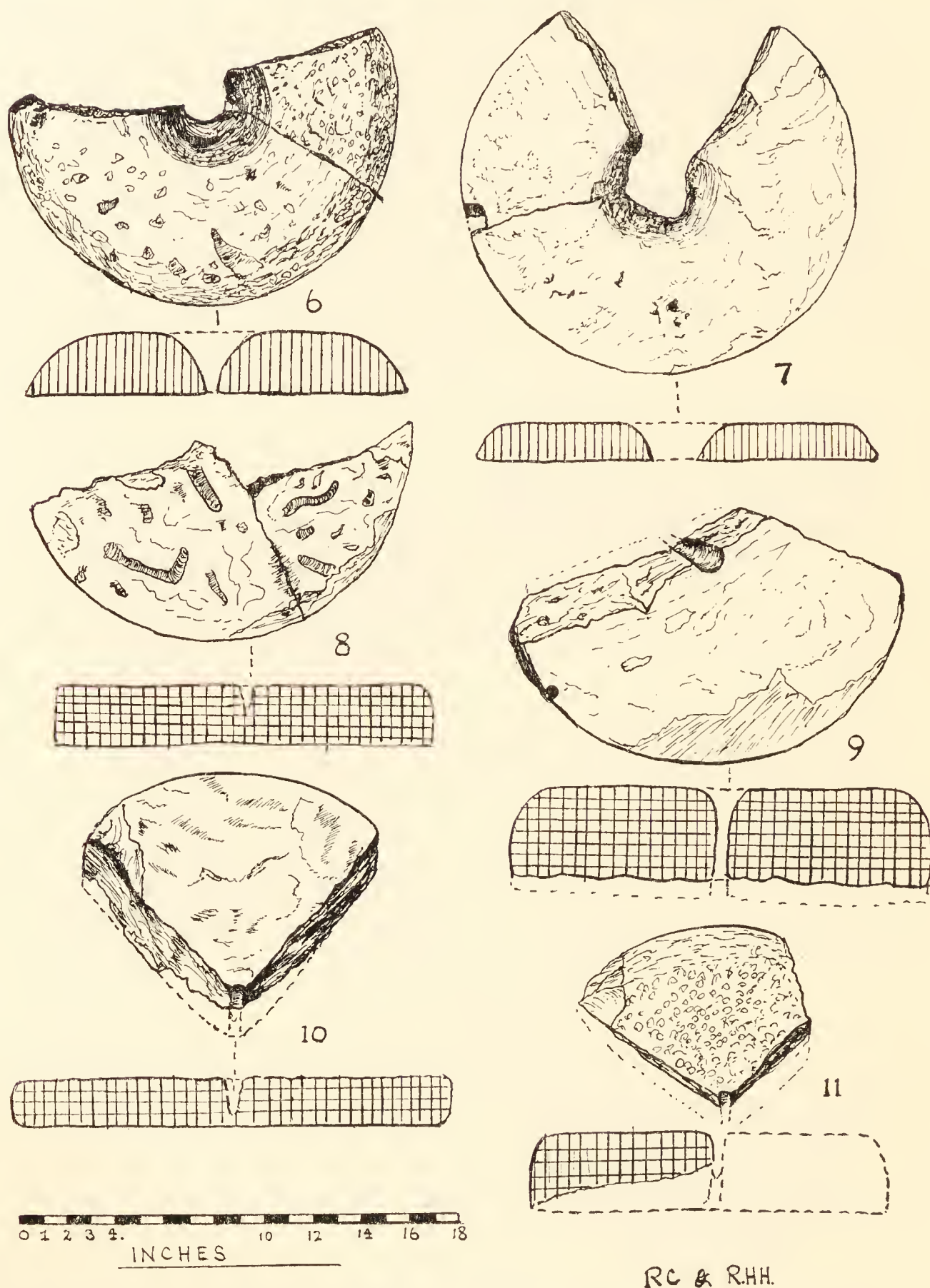


FIG. 5. Flat Rotary Querns, Kildale.

in *Antiquity*.<sup>1</sup> They had been considered of little use for dating, but that they are important pointers to the economy of the sites where they occur is now realised.

There is now some evidence for N.E. Yorkshire at least that the beehive type appeared in the late Iron Age, and continued well into the Roman period. The Kildale evidence shows the beehive quern broken and abandoned at an early date, probably 1st century A.D.,

<sup>1</sup> E. C. Curwen, *Antiquity* xi (1937), 140-43.

as No. 2 shows from its position well under the later paving and on top of the early clay floors with the late Iron Age pottery forms. A recent excavation on the south side of a small 'fort' on Levisham Moor<sup>1</sup> produced a lower stone of this type of quern associated with 1st century A.D. calcite gritted ware. At Topstone Folly, a farm in lower Eskdale (near Grosmont), an upper stone of a beehive quern was in association with numerous flints, 3 saddle querns, and a rim of late Iron Age ware, as well as a flanged dish rim of the normal Romano-British type. The Elmswell querns, although listed geologically by T. Sheppard,<sup>2</sup> are not drawn. It is not clear to what types they belong, although the majority are flat. A massive lower stone was, however, associated with early potsherds. It is noteworthy that late 4th century floors of rough paving at Norton,<sup>3</sup> and Bessingby near Bridlington,<sup>4</sup> and Amotherby<sup>5</sup> produced only flat types, and the 3rd century floors near the Norton pottery kilns<sup>6</sup> had pieces of querns very similar to Nos. 6–13. Sir Mortimer Wheeler's comment on the rarity of beehive querns from Yorkshire requires re-assessment. It is expressed in extreme form in Bruce Mitford (Ed.), *Recent Archaeological Excavations in Britain* (1956), 62. 'The whole immense area of Yorkshire has produced only 13 examples'. This is, and was when made, untrue. Sir Mortimer was misled by the incompleteness of the list for Yorkshire in Miss J. Philips' standard study of querns<sup>7</sup> which in fact only dealt with the Doncaster–Sheffield area. Beehive querns are in fact far from uncommon over the whole of Yorkshire and in N.E. Yorkshire alone a list of over 80 could be compiled.<sup>8</sup>

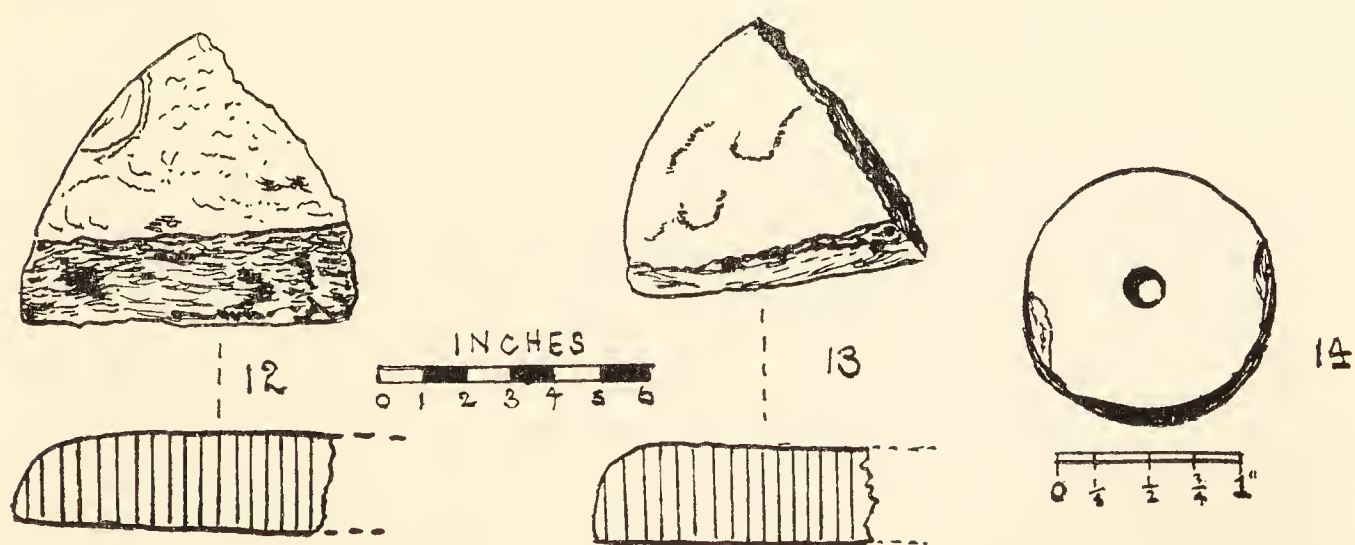


FIG. 6. Querns and Spindle Whorl.

<sup>1</sup> Levisham Moor. Excavations by Scarborough and Dist. Arch. Soc. 1957–65.

<sup>2</sup> Elmswell, Rep. No. 2 (1937), 37–38, Pl. 2a.

<sup>3</sup> Norton-Malton; Eastfield 1946–7. Langton Rd., Vicarage 1950. P. Brown. Both unpublished. Also Roman Malton & Dist. Rep., No. 7.

<sup>4</sup> Bessingby, nr. Bridlington; *Y.A.J.* xxxvii, pt. 148, 438–40.

<sup>5</sup> F. Drake, *Eboracum* (1736), 36; cf. Roman Malton & Dist. Rep., No. 5, 61.

<sup>6</sup> Roman Malton & Dist. Rep., No. 7.

<sup>7</sup> Leicestershire Arch Soc. Trans. xxvi (1950), 75f.

<sup>8</sup> List of Querns by R. H. Hayes in *Y.A.J.* (forthcoming).



The Kildale examples all show signs of much wear and use. When broken they were re-used as paving stones or packing. No complete lower stones were found '*in situ*' as at Norton.

Miss Philips draws attention to certain characteristics of the 'Hunsbury' type of quern, many of which were manufactured locally.<sup>1</sup> Firstly its conical or beehive shape; secondly the extreme narrowness of its feedpipe; thirdly the angle of the grinding surface which is flat or only slightly inclined; and fourthly the handle holes which penetrate the hopper or feed-pipe. She thinks the Yorkshire type was probably derived directly from the Hunsbury type and differs only in having handle holes (often two or three) which do not penetrate the hopper or feed-pipe.

*Querns.* Figs. 5 & 6, Pl. VI.

1. Broken upper stone (beehive), 12 ins. dia., 8 ins. high, single handle hole ? may belong to No. 2 (lower stone), although the stone is different – light fine-grained sandstone. Ploughed up over site 1A by Mr. Pearson, 1956.
2. Half lower quern-stone, 15 ins. dia., 8–9 ins. thick, local sandstone. Under paving 1A, just over hearth No. 2 in early clay floor (see section). It must have been discarded at an early date.
3. Upper stone (beehive), badly shaped – oval, 11 ins. by 15 ins., hopper 5 ins. dia. at top tapering to  $\frac{3}{4}$  in.; handle hole broken off near base; coarse local sandstone. In front garden of Percy Rigg farmhouse, 200 yards north of Crag Bank Wood 'Celtic' fields, probably found there by former tenant.
4. Upper stone (beehive), 8 ins. high, 15 ins. dia.; hopper 6 ins. dia. tapering to  $\frac{3}{4}$  in.; single handle hole. In front garden, Percy Rigg.
5. Conical lower stone, 13 ins. dia.,  $7\frac{1}{2}$  ins. thick at apex, pivot hole  $2\frac{1}{4}$  ins. by 1 in., of local sandstone. In back-yard, Percy Rigg Farm. No doubt Nos. 3, 4 and 5 are those seen by Dr. Elgee before 1930 and associated with the nearby 'Celtic' fields.
6. Half upper stone of flat rotary quern, 16 ins. dia.,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ins. to 3 ins. thick, of coarse light fossiliferous sandstone. Ploughed up by Mr. Pearson, Pale End, Site 1A.
7. Upper stone of very worn flat rotary quern, 17 ins. dia.,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ins. thick, hopper worn squarish 4 ins. dia., square hole for handle on edge (metal handle?), of hard light-grey limestone. Ploughed up west of site 1A.
8. Broken lower(?) stone, no large central peg hole; it could belong to No. 6 as it is of similar fossiliferous sandstone; 16 ins. dia.,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ins. thick. In paving, 1B.
9. Lower stone of flat rotary quern, 17 ins. dia., 4 ins. thick, burnt local sandstone, from site 1D, set in paving 6 ins. below turf (see plan).
10. Fragment of lower stone 18 ins. dia.; of very worn hard sandstone, found in upper part of 1A paving.
11. Fragment of flat rotary lower stone, 14 ins. dia.,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  ins. thick, pitted and burnt; found in central area of site 1A paving.

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<sup>1</sup> As at Hartoft, Rosedale West and Spaunton Moor, where the sandstone outcrop was utilised.





PLATE V.  
Site 3. Drain from south end to paving.



PLATE VI. Querns from Pale End, Kildale, 1957.





PLATE VII.

Pale End Romano-British Site in Field (centre) on slope 2nd right from Plantation. Taken from Kildale Gap.

12. Fragment of flat quern, probably 15 ins. dia., 2–2½ ins. thick, of sandstone, very burnt; found in 1A paving.
13. Fragment of upper(?) stone, 16 ins. dia., approx. 2–3 ins. thick; found in north edge of 1A.
14. Smooth and polished sandstone spindle whorl, 1¼ ins. × ⅝ in. thick, from site 3 above drain slabs(?); cf. 1. Richmond, *Huddersfield in Roman Times*; Fig. 36 and many other sites.  
Not drawn. Rubber or pounder for saddle(?) quern, 7 ins. dia.
15. Circular thumb scraper of flint ½ in. dia., well flaked grey-brown flint (not drawn). Similar to Wheeler, *The Stanwick Fortifications*, 51, Fig. 16 no. 3, where three were found. Several small scrapers were picked up near Nanny Howe on Coate Moor above the site.  
Several chips and cores of flint found on all the Pale End sites, especially on the clay floors. Jet or lignite chippings were plentiful; but no worked ornaments were found. One piece of jet showed signs of knife cuts. Several pieces of hones or rubbers of stone similar to the Elmswell examples were found, and also a stone disk 3½ ins. by ¾ in., close to hearth No. 2. These disks are plentiful at Jarlshof and also on mediaeval sites.<sup>1</sup> Their use is obscure – suggestions include use as pot-lids or in a game such as hop-scotch.  
Stone balls (sling stones?) were also found.

## SUMMARY

Pale End is the first site recorded in Cleveland of native dwelling floors associated with Romano-British pottery and querns, though we have hints of others at Whorlton and Normanby.<sup>2</sup> Iron Age settlement was already established in the district, e.g. four huts on Percy Rigg, and another with cultivation plots at Crag Bank Wood resembling those found at Cold Cam on the Hambleton Hills.<sup>3</sup> It is likely that the underlying clay floors were part of dwellings such as those described by Gudmund Hatt in Jutland.<sup>4</sup> No post holes were found of either phase but drystone wall, or turf, could have been used for walling and timber covered by thatch for the roofing.

Corn was grown, probably wheat, barley and spelt; beehive type querns seem to give way to the more portable flat rotary type. Unlike the sites on limestone and chalk, no animal bones remained but we can visualise flocks and herds on the slopes of the Cleveland Hills with small patches of cultivation on the lower slopes. Good crops of corn were growing on the fields south of the site in 1957. The spindle whorl from site 3 is evidence of weaving, and the jet is paralleled by finds at Newbiggin Hall<sup>5</sup> in 1964. Iron was obtained nearby and worked into tools. The pottery has strong affinities with

<sup>1</sup> E. J. W. Hildyard, *Archaeology of Weardale* (1957), 38.

<sup>2</sup> F. Elgee, *The Romans in Cleveland* (1923), 13, quoting Canon Atkinson 'refuse heap containing bones, sherds, and quern fragments from a similar settlement'. Since then querns of beehive type have been found at Normanby.

<sup>3</sup> Cold Cam, Cockerdale Wood Excavations 1956–57. R. H. Hayes in J. McDonnell (Ed.), *A History of Helmsley, Rievaulx and District* (1961), 48, 407–31, Figs. 17, 18.

<sup>4</sup> *Antiquity* xi (1937), 163–4, Pl. 3.

<sup>5</sup> Newbiggin Hall. Dwelling floor of 4th century A.D. with querns uncovered by Dr. A. W. Riddolls, 1964. See Whitby Gazette, 29th Oct. 1965.



Stanwick 'Brigantian' wares also with some forms from Levisham<sup>1</sup> (Nos. 7-10 and 15). There are no certain 4th century types and it seems occupation on this site had ceased by then, although the reason for its desertion is not obvious. Mr. Close's excavation has conclusively shown that Kildale was occupied long before the Vikings and that corn played some part in the economy of a small native site in this area before and during the Romano-British period.

#### APPENDIX I

##### REPORT OF CHARCOALS

by Prof. G. W. Dimbleby

From early hearth no. 2. All oak (young shoots).

From paving 'A'. All hazel.

From paving of hut, Crag Bank Wood. Willow (*salix*) and hazel.

In contrast the fire pit near Nanny Howe contained all Scots pine; the chambered cairn Great Ayton Moor mainly Scots pine; oak from Bronze Age sites, Great Ayton Moor.

The Iron Age earthwork 'C' showed little tree pollen. The latter was mainly of grass and weeds of cultivation.

Percy Rigg (huts) 'D' from ditch A—hazel and poplar. As this site is almost 1000 ft. above sea level the climate must have been warmer than it is today with much more forest cover.

<sup>1</sup> Levisham Moor. Excavations by Scarborough and Dist. Arch. Soc. 1957-65.

## EXCAVATIONS AT STOCKTON IN THE WEST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE

By C. V. BELLAMY

There is historical evidence for the existence of a village at Stockton, in the Harewood locality, in the 11th to 14th centuries. No such village exists today.

An existing farm, however, lying between the Harewood to Collingham Road and the River Wharfe, still bears the name (Grid Ref. SE/333454) and surrounding lands are known as Stockton Fields. The supposed site of the village is on sloping land south of the present farm building, where the irregular surface is consistent with the presence of buried foundations.<sup>1</sup>

A recent tenant of the farm reported finding large numbers of potsherds in his fields and took samples to Dr. D. E. Owen at the City Museum, Leeds. As the sherds were clearly Mediaeval, Dr. Owen proposed a trial excavation and asked the author to undertake this.

In view of a pending change of ownership of the lands, time did not permit of more than a preliminary examination and two limited sites were explored. The first trench was sited to cut through an area where sherds were said to be particularly plentiful. It revealed a heavy accumulation of cobbles with many sherds intermixed, but no clear levels or structural features. The stones may represent the demolition of a boundary wall, strewn across this part of the field by plough scatter.

A second site was opened a little to the west of this across an area which had a vague suggestion of a rectangular outline, with a marked depression in the centre, and a row of curb stones on the western edge. A trench was cut east-west to pass through the depression and the curb line. (Fig. 2).

There was again a heavy concentration of cobbles just below the turf, and sherds of pottery, though the latter were less plentiful than in the earlier trench. Below the cobbles a stone built channel was uncovered. It was about 21 ins. wide and 9 ins. deep, floored with 3 to 4 ins. flags, and with walls of stones each 6 or 8 ins. wide and roughly faced on one side. There were no signs of capping stones, though it may originally have been covered, and the channel itself was filled with the general cobble and rubble scatter of the area. The channel was traced for 20 ft., running generally northwards, and straight towards the present farmhouse. At the southern end a large slab of stone was laid across the channel, tilted back slightly from vertical. It cut the walls of the channel and rested on the southernmost flooring slab.

<sup>1</sup> M. W. Beresford, *Y.A.J.* xxxviii.



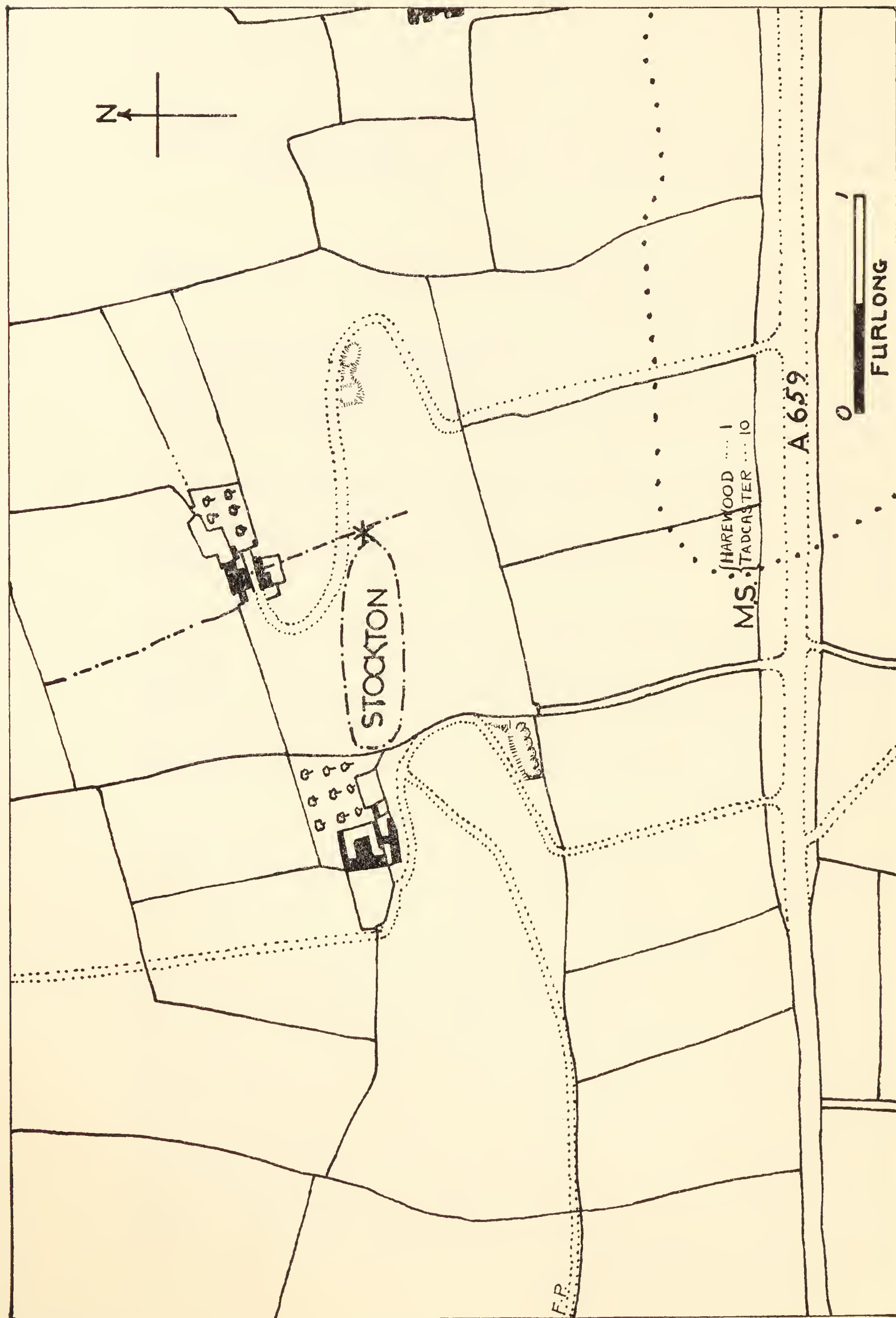
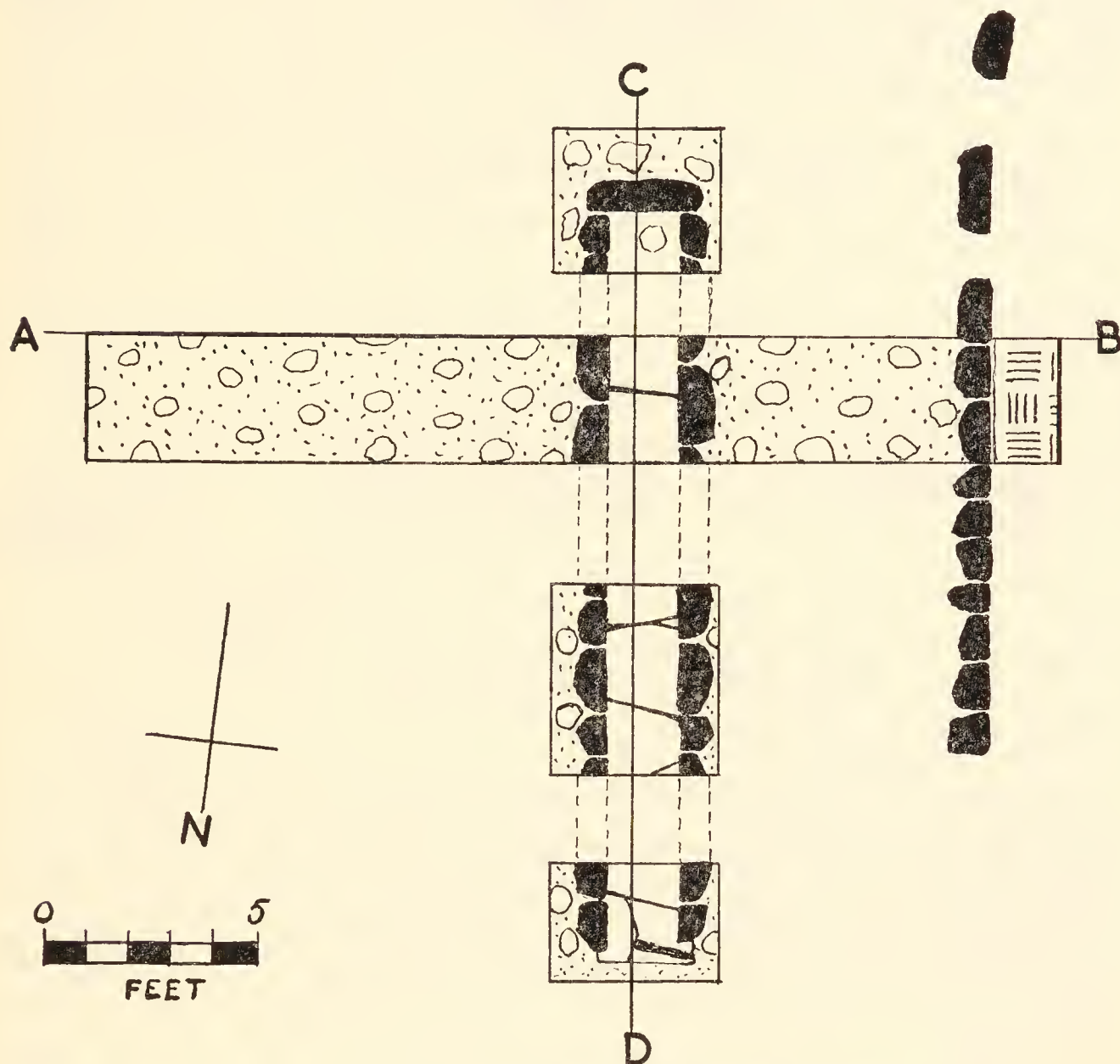


FIG. 1.

The northern limit of the channel was marked by the outcropping of the stonework on the steeply falling ground forming a bank to a currently used cart road. There was not time to look for the stonework north of the cart road but it seemed likely that the road itself is much lower than the earlier ground level, and the channel may again be found clear of this disturbance.



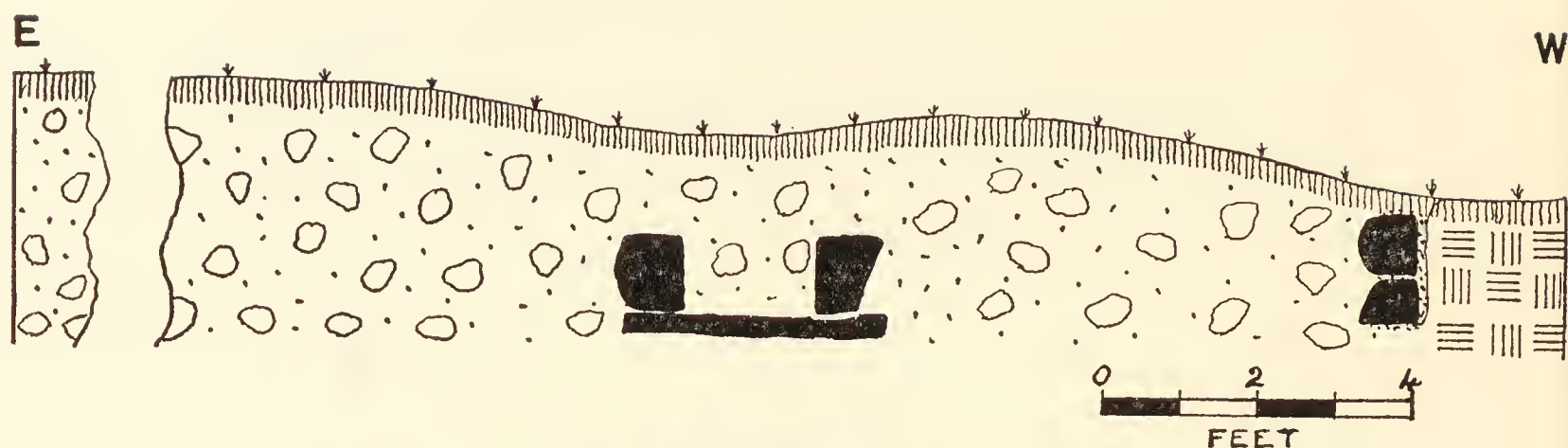
PLAN OF TRENCHES

FIG. 2.

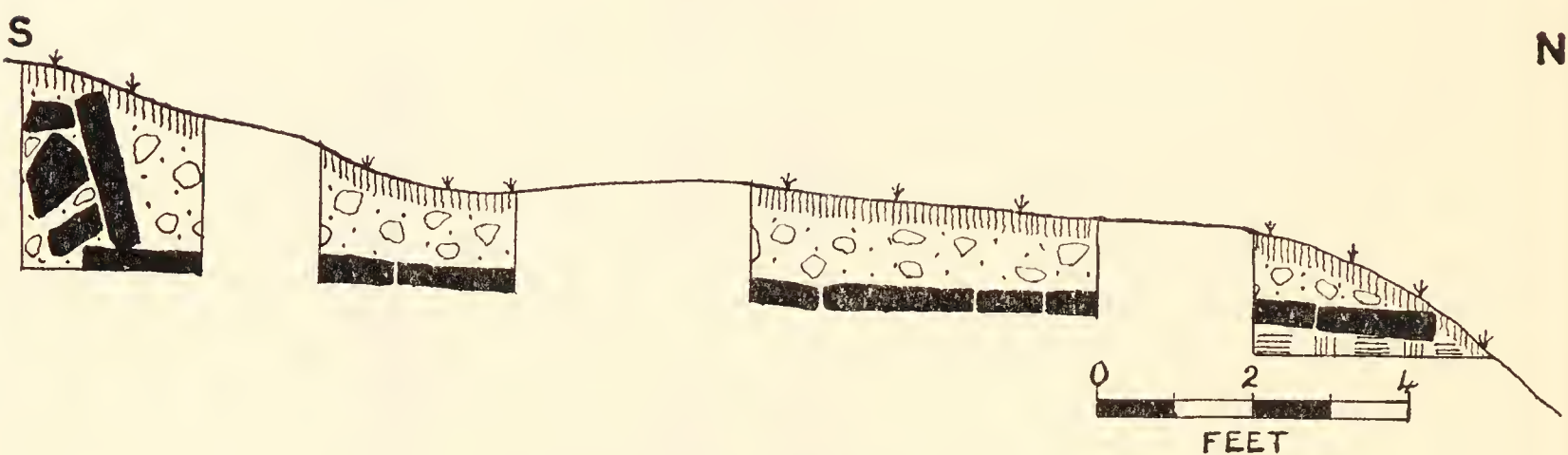
The row of curb stones proved to be very limited. It ran parallel to the channel and about 8 ft. west of it. Southwards it was disturbed, possibly by farming operations, and northwards, like the channel, it may have been cut by the cart track. On the other hand, the northernmost stone, which was not covered by turf, seemed more square than most, and might have been a corner-stone.

The area between the curb and the channel was filled with the common rubble and cobble layer and there was no distinct connecting level to associate the two structures.





SECTION THROUGH A-B



SECTION THROUGH C-D

FIG. 3.

Since the excavations were carried out, Mr. S. Heath has shown me a copy of a map from the Harewood collection which covers this district. He gives the date of this as a map of Mr. Boulter's estate (1696 to 1739) and suggests it is probably late in this period. It is of interest because it shows outlines of buildings which are marked 'Ruins of the Town of Stockton'. I have attempted to superimpose

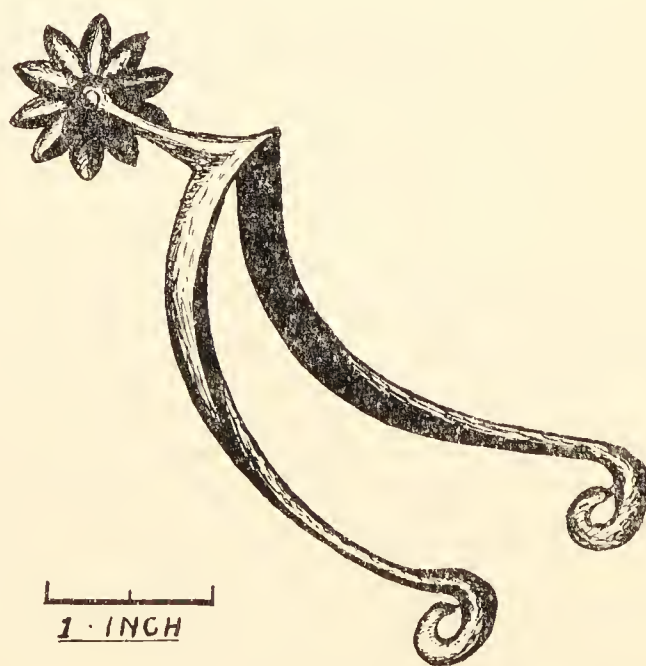


FIG. 4.

this map on modern plans of the district, but discrepancies in the positioning of major features make it difficult to obtain a true match. Nevertheless, it would appear that a boundary line ran down this field, approximately through our site, thence to the position of the present farm-house, turned westwards for a few yards, then northwards again. This line is shown on the sketch plan (Fig. 1) by dots and dashes. A short stretch of ditch still exists just west of the farm and carries running water. There is also a patch of wet ground immediately outside the house garden, on the south side, at about the point where the 18th century boundary line, and our channel, would be expected to occur.

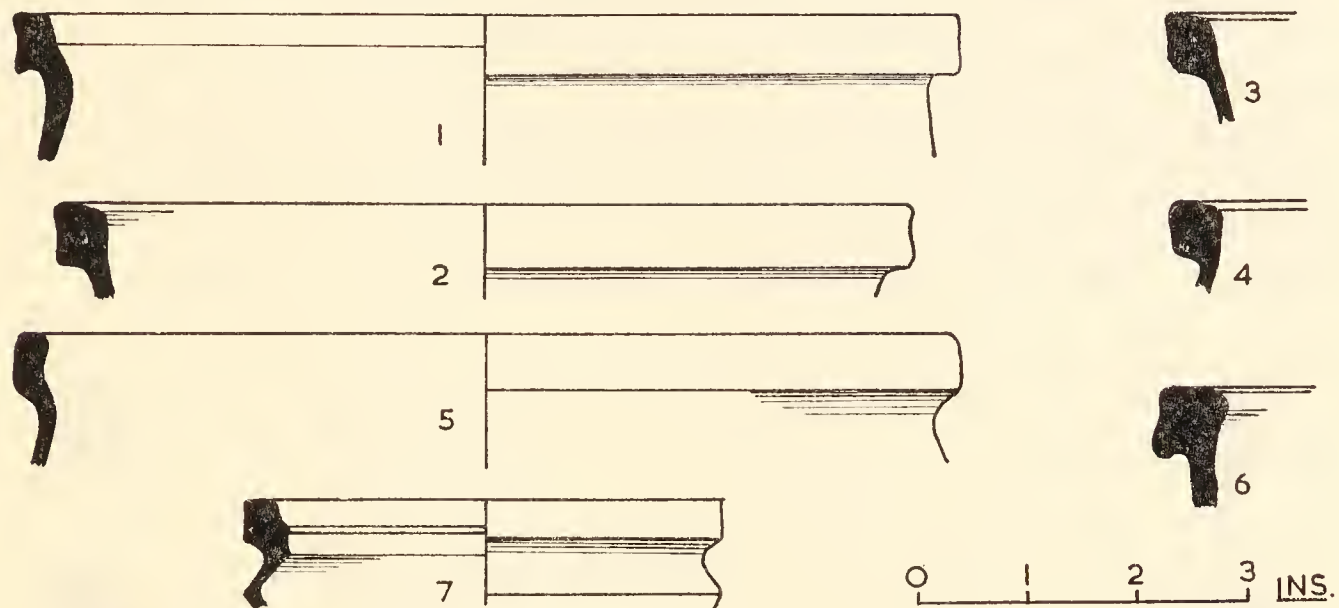


FIG. 5.

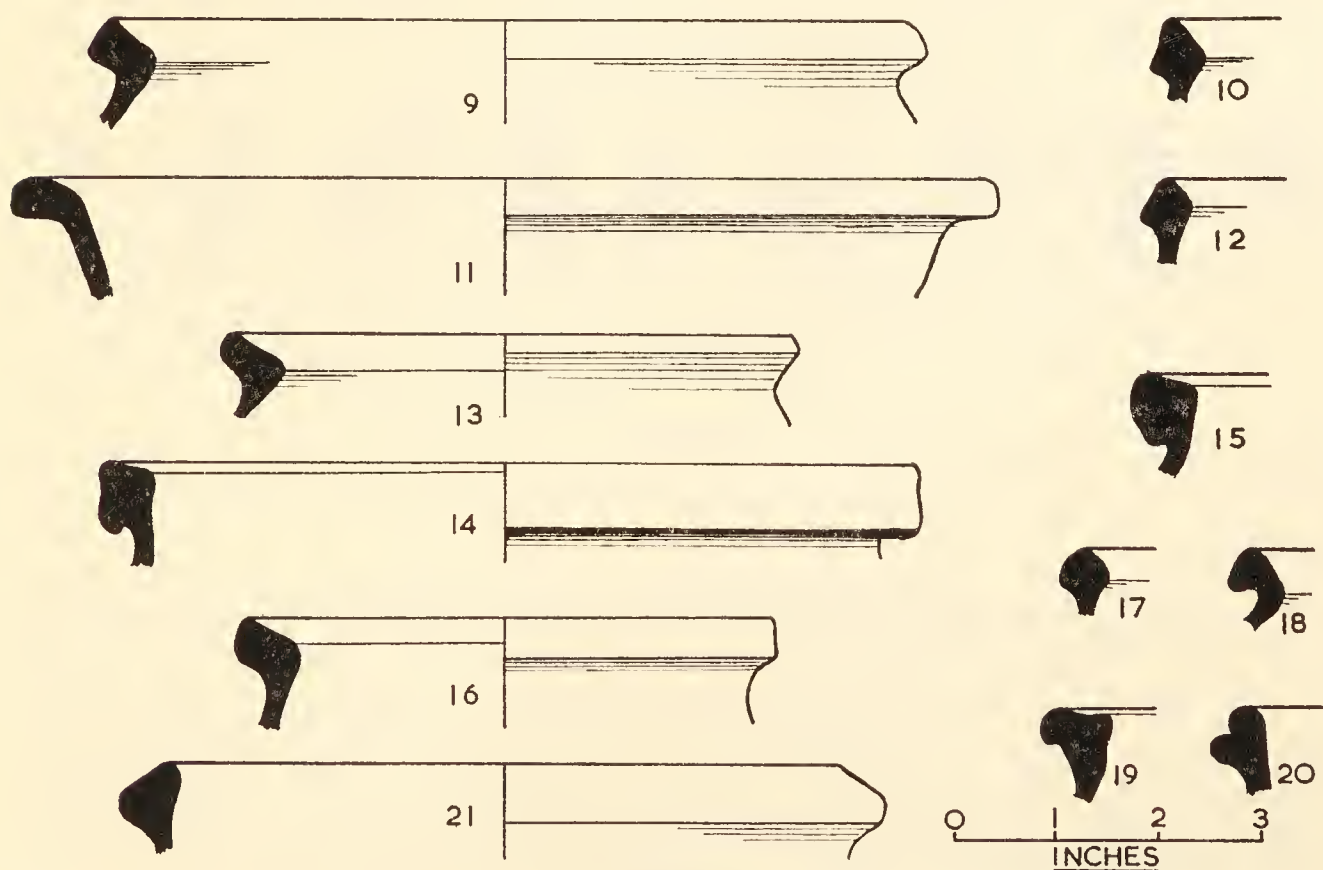


FIG. 6.



It seems likely, therefore, that the channel was associated with a boundary wall on the east side of the village, and that foundations of houses should be looked for on a line running west-north-west from our site towards the orchard of the neighbouring farm.

Mrs. J. Le Patourel has examined the pottery from the site and her report is attached as an appendix.

The only other small finds of note were a rowel-spur of 14th century type (Fig. 4), a disc of sandstone about 2 ins. in diameter and  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. thick, which might have been used as a counter, and a thin piece of bronze, just under 2 ins. long and  $1\frac{1}{8}$  ins. wide, which might have been part of a book fastening.

I place on record my thanks to Dr. Owen for inviting me to take charge of this 'dig', to Mr. Dunhill, the owner of the land, for permission, to Mr. Heath for drawing my attention to the 18th century map, to Mrs. Le Patourel for her work on the pottery, and also to the volunteers who took part.

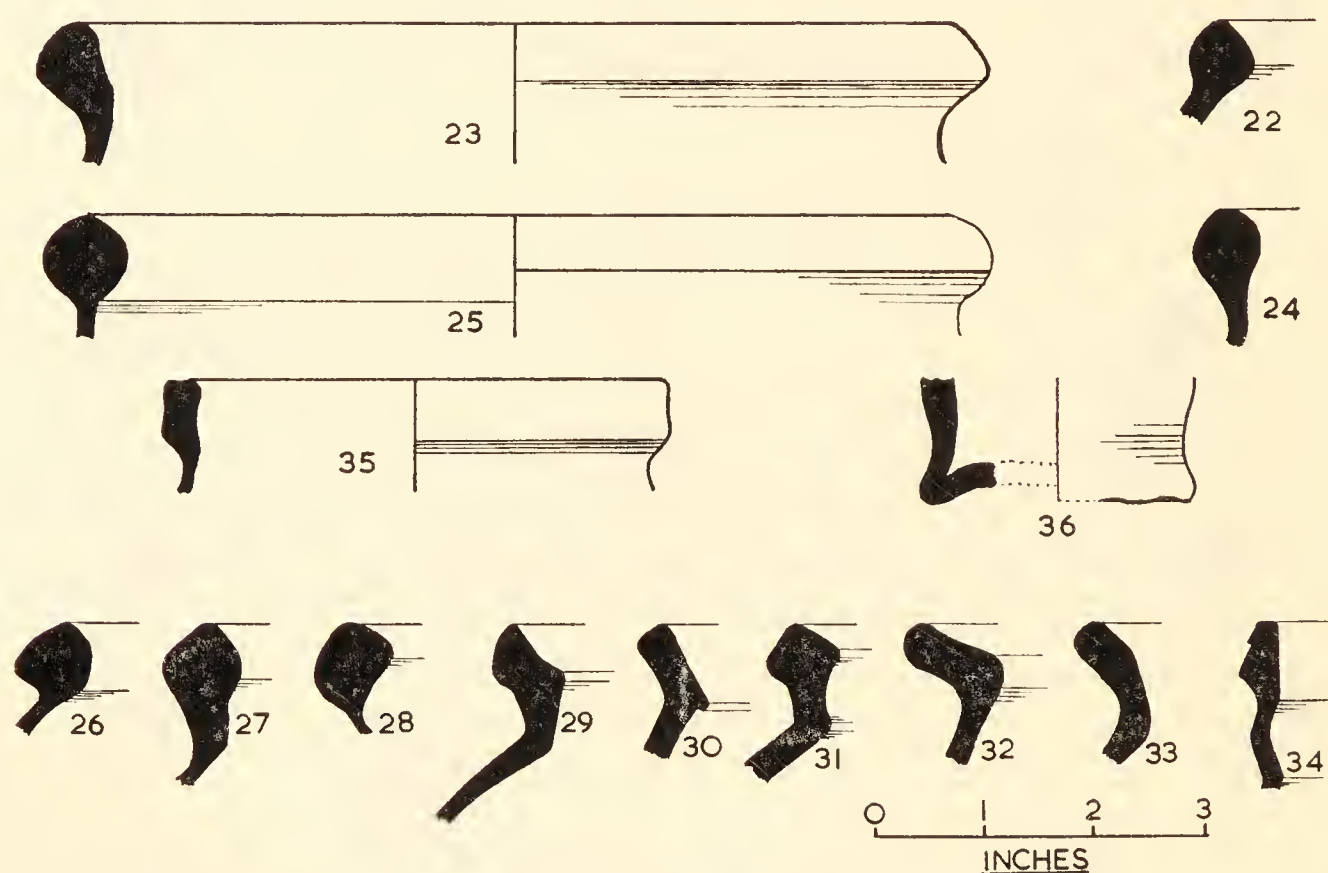


FIG. 7.

### *Summary*

An account of an exploratory excavation on the supposed site of the lost village of Stockton. Foundations of buildings were not found, but a stone channel seems to mark the eastern boundary of the village site. A significant concentration of Mediaeval pottery supports the view that this was an occupation site in the 12th to 14th centuries and a map of c. 1730 implies that house foundations might be looked for a little west of our site.

## APPENDIX

## THE POTTERY

by H. E. Jean Le Patourel

This pottery consists of a random collection of sherds, a good many of which have probably been scattered by the plough. There were 337 pieces of all sizes, of which only 8% showed glaze. There is no reason to suppose that they form a representative collection of what might be found at Stockton should the site be further explored. The sherds do, however, illustrate well an important point – the continuity of tradition in the use of material, and to a lesser extent in the use of shapes, in rural England during the middle ages.

The earliest pots from the site are numbers 1–16, of which numbers 3, 8 and 11 are open bowls, number 7 the neck and rim of a jug and the remainder cooking pots. The jug fragment is something of a rarity, but the cooking pots and bowls are of well-known types for which the nearest analogies come from Knaresborough Castle<sup>1</sup> and Kirkstall Abbey,<sup>2</sup> both places within a few miles of Stockton. The ware is gritty, with a colour range from light cream to buff, with an occasional light pink or grey. Usually this sort of fabric is well fired and fairly hard, but at Stockton this early pottery is never hard, and is sometimes soft enough to leave a deposit on the fingers when handled. Pots of this ware and type have a wide distribution over northern England from the early twelfth to the early fourteenth century. On rural sites it would not be surprising if the fashion endured longer. Of the examples here, numbers 1–8 are of the angular moulded type; numbers 8–16 have more or less of a flange. Four other rims are probably of the same date. Of these, numbers 19 and 20 are unusual shapes, especially the latter, which appears to be intended to take a lid. If this is indeed the case, it is unique of its kind. The other two, numbers 17 and 18, are interesting as they represent the nearest approach at Stockton to the rounded form of twelfth-century rim that has been found on some other sites,<sup>3</sup> and which is presumably ancestral to the thirteenth-century forms described below. It is possible that a small base from a jug or jar (number 36) is also of this early period.

Later thirteenth-century pottery is represented by numbers 21–28. The fabric remains unchanged, though the firing is noticeably harder. The rim forms of the cooking pots (numbers 21–27) are closely paralleled by those of thirteenth-century pottery from Kirkstall, where they first appear about the middle of the century. So too is a small bowl with an internal green glaze of poor quality (number 28). There are two rather undistinguished jug fragments of this period; the first (number 33) appears to be unglazed, the second (number 34) has traces of a thin green glaze on its inner surface.

Two pots, (numbers 29 and 30) are probably of fifteenth-century date, though they could be somewhat later. The continuity of fabric remains, but the pots have been fired almost to the consistency of stoneware, and this, together with the dark brown glaze on both surfaces, suggests a late date. Part of an unglazed cooking pot (number 29) is probably intermediate between these late glazed vessels and the earlier flanged twelfth-century pots from which they are developed. This shape is fairly common in mediaeval Yorkshire, but it has not yet been satisfactorily dated.

Some further exploratory work was done on this site in the following year (1957) especially in the area indicated by the Boulter map.

The map gives the outlines of fifteen buildings, labelled 'ruins of the town of Stockton'. The easternmost building seemed likely to be

<sup>1</sup> *Antiquaries Journal*, xxxiii (1953), pp. 211–213.

<sup>2</sup> 'Kirkstall Abbey Excavations, 1950–54', *Public. Thoresby Society*, xliii, 1955, p. 20.

<sup>3</sup> This classification is suggested by Mr. E. M. Jope. See 'Excavations in Carlisle 1953', *Transactions, Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, lv (1956), p. 87.



near the area opened in 1956, and further excavation now revealed the remains of a structural feature. This is more probably part of an outbuilding.

Further exploratory trenches were opened near the western boundary of the field, in a position east of the neighbouring farm. They showed part of a cobbled road surface, and fragments of foundations of buildings, sufficient to suggest that further clearance would reveal several buildings in this area.

It was not practicable, nor was it intended, to embark on a full-scale excavation at this time. We did not clear any building completely, nor did we remove any of the foundations we uncovered, but our work suggests that the village of Stockton could be explored, and that the main concentration of houses is likely to be on the fairly level ground at the foot of the hill, and generally distributed in the area between the two present farms. (See Fig. 1).

## THE PAINTED GLASS IN GRAY'S COURT YORK

By J. T. BRIGHTON

Following the death of Colonel Charles J. H. Gardner in 1963, Gray's Court has been taken over completely by St. John's College of Education and it now houses the departments of History, English and Divinity. Its architecture and its history have been closely investigated and some startling discoveries have been made. As a result Mr. L. P. Wenham has published a booklet on the subject.<sup>1</sup> He has left to me, in this article, the discussion of the interesting stained glass in the building.

Although the heraldic achievements, the monograms and the vignettes in the windows of Gray's Court show a variety of styles, tinctures and dates, basically they are the work of two glass painters and belong to two periods – the turn of the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries.

The bulk of the glass is of the first period and, although unsigned, almost certainly came from the workshop of Henry Gyles in Micklegate. Indeed in the late seventeenth century 'he was the last and only glass painter left in York . . . for all the members of the Company or Gild [of Glaziers] had died off long before'.<sup>2</sup> Large works of his still survive in York in the form of the Arms of the Company of Merchant Taylors in their Hall in Aldwark and the armorial achievement of Archbishop Lamplugh in the South Choir Aisle of the Minster. Perhaps his finest and largest surviving work is in the Chantry Chapel of St. John the Baptist's Church, Staveley, in Derbyshire.<sup>3</sup> The small panels in Gray's Court cannot compare with these in magnificence but their style is the same.

The triumph of Puritanism in the seventeenth century brought an end to the struggling tradition of the great Mediaeval glass painters. There was no longer a desire for hagiographical subjects in churches and the demand for glass, for secular purposes, narrowed itself chiefly to heraldic subjects and vignettes such as those in the Long Gallery. As the demand declined craftsmen became fewer until Henry Gyles was the sole representative of the once famous York School.

On entering Gray's Court the first painted glass to be seen is in the staircase window.

<sup>1</sup> *Gray's Court (St. John's College) York*, Ellesmere Press, 1967.

<sup>2</sup> J. A. Knowles, *The York School of Glass Painting*, S.P.C.K. 1916, p. 13.

<sup>3</sup> J. T. Brighton, 'The Heraldic Window in the Frechville Chapel of Staveley Church', *D.A.J.* 1960, pp. 98–104.



1 3

2 4

5 7

6 8

9

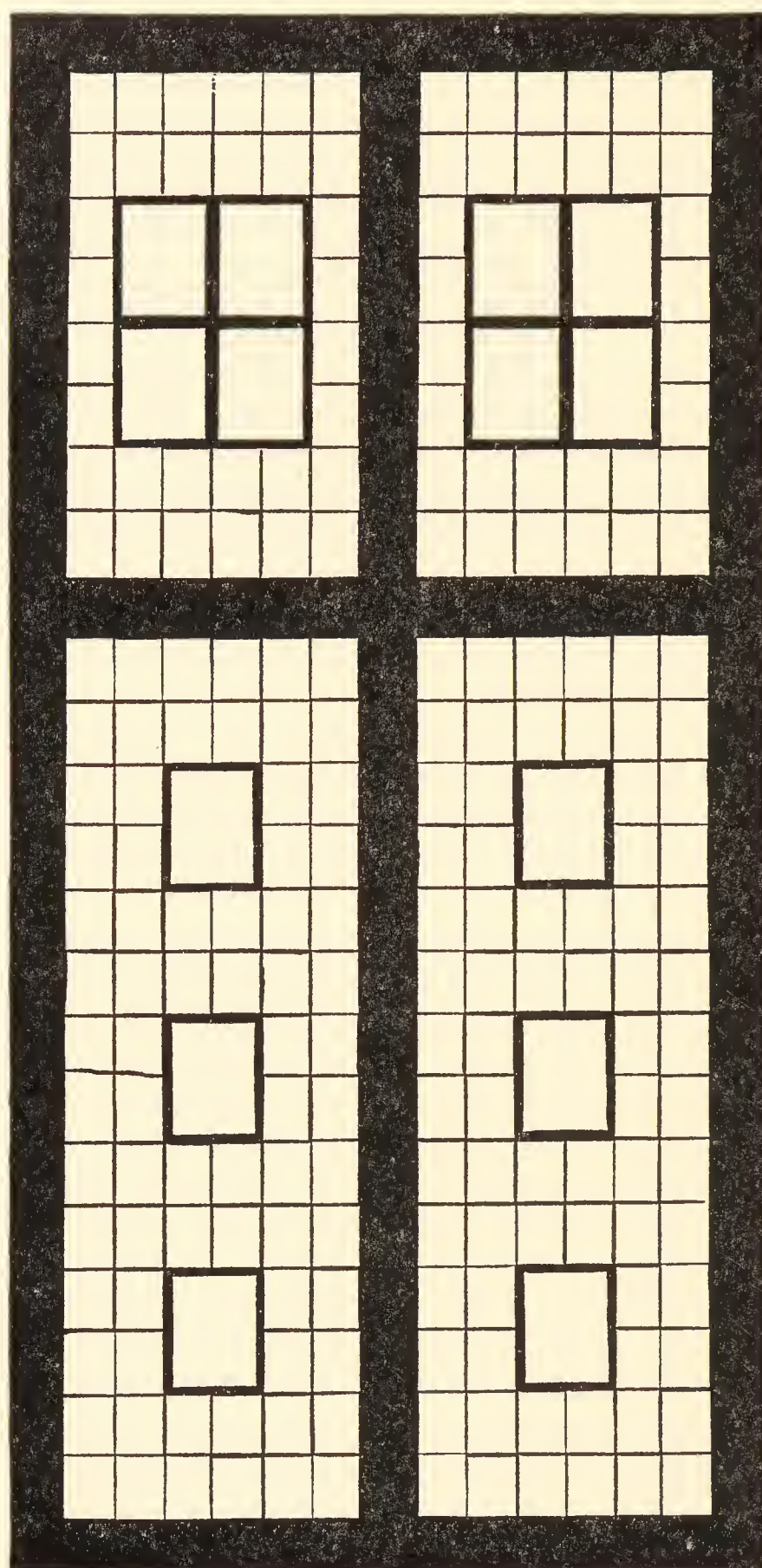
11

13

10

12

14



Staircase Window

With the exception of the bottom two panels all the glass is of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries and presumably came from the workshop of Gyles. The bottom two panels date from the late nineteenth century and relate to occupants of Gray's Court: none of the others does.

In the upper lights the heraldry takes the form of unsupported achievements over blank scrolls with the crests duplicated and enlarged above. The exception is in the second pair of panels from the

left (nos. 3 and 4) where the enlarged crest and the achievement are not associated.

1



2



Nos. 1 & 2 The Arms:— Sable a fess embattled counter-embattled between three lions' heads erased argent.  
The Crests:— A lion's head erased argent.  
Both are of Levet of Melton-on-the-Hill, Co. York.

3



4



Nos. 3 & 4 The Arms:— Azure a fess between three cross crosslets or.  
The Crest:— An ibex passant or.  
This is the achievement of a branch of Aldborough of Aldborough, Co. York. (The original Aldborough arms had a fess argent).  
The enlarged Crest:— An antelope's head erased sable horned and vulned through the neck with an arrow or, holding the end in its mouth.<sup>1</sup>  
This is the crest of Hitch of Leathley, Co. York.

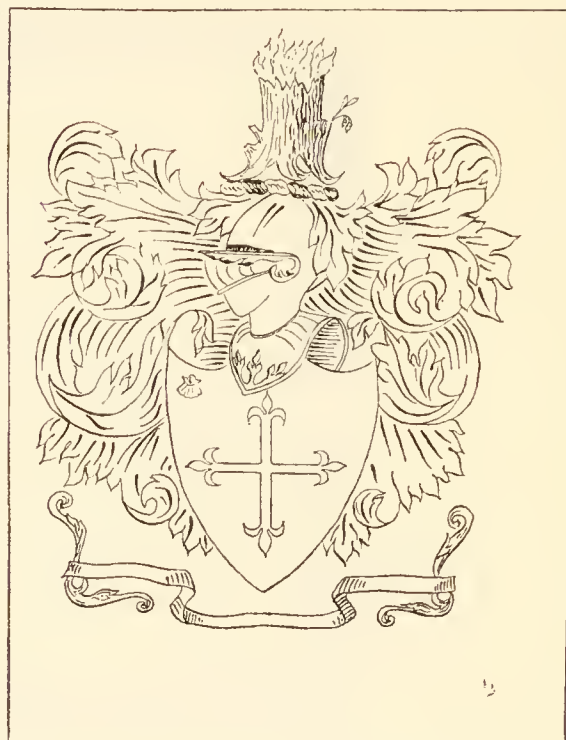
<sup>1</sup> *Burke's General Armory* (1884), p. 494.



5



6

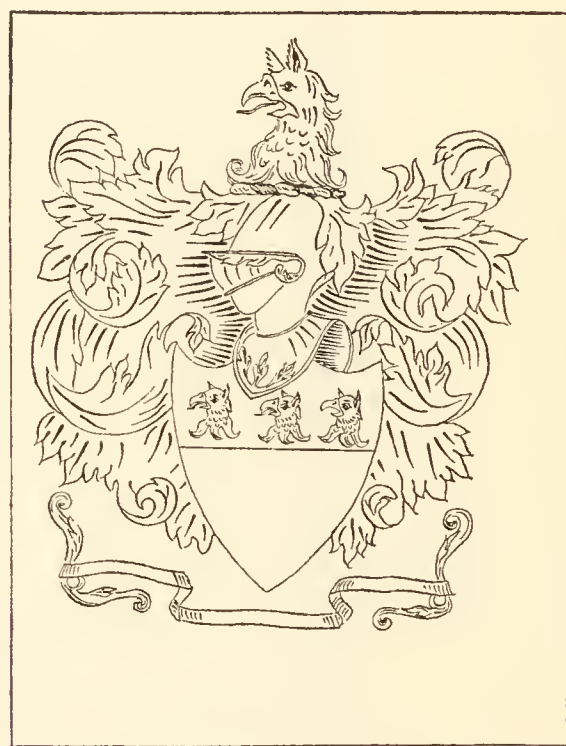


Nos. 5 & 6 The Arms:— Gules a cross flory argent in the dexter chief point an escallop or.  
 The Crests:— The trunk of an oak erased per pale or and vert; from the sinister two sprigs, leaves vert, fructed or; from the top flames issuing proper.  
 The Arms and Crests are those of Brandling of Leathley, Co. York.<sup>1</sup>

7



8

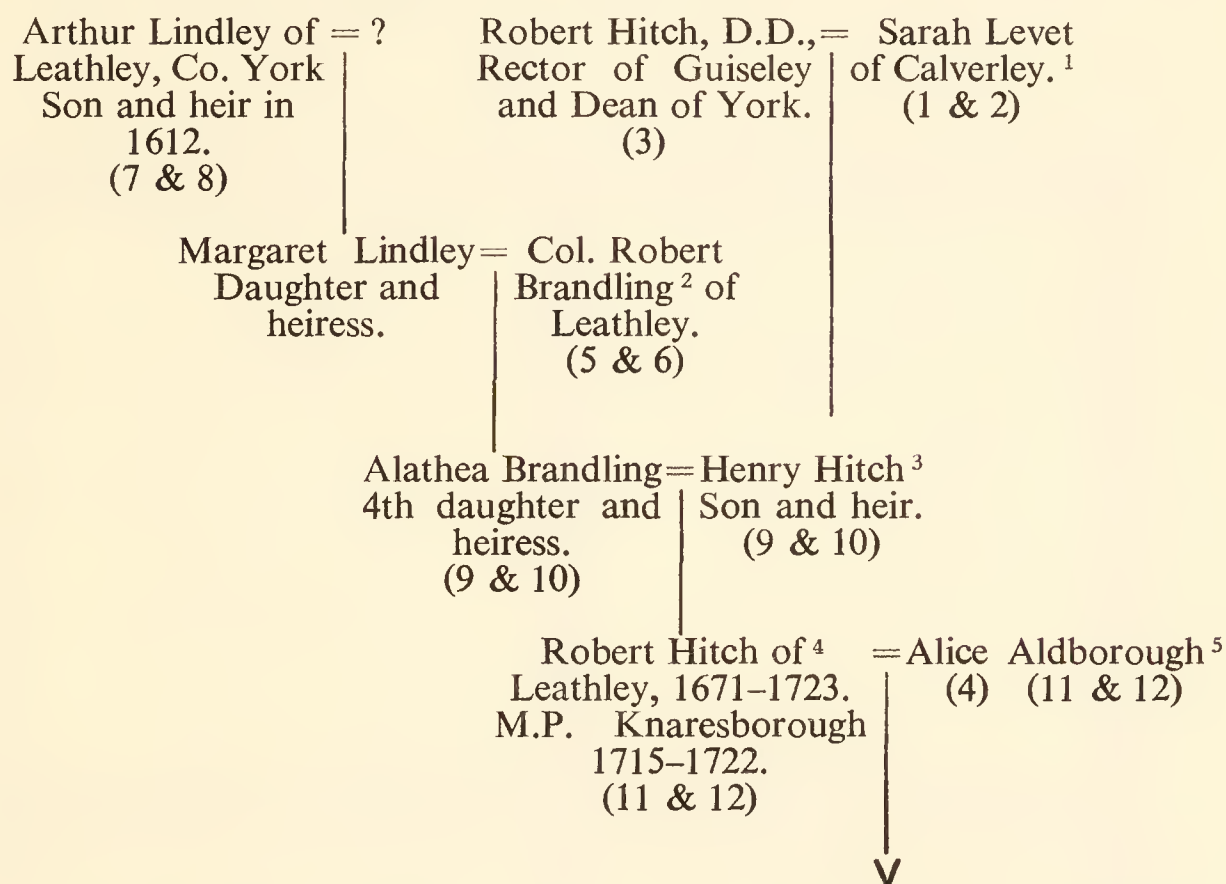


Nos. 7 & 8 The Arms:— Argent on a chief sable three griffins' heads erased of the field.  
 The Crests:— A griffin's head erased argent.  
 These armorials belong to the family of Lindley of Leathley, Co. York, although the crest was probably assumed.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire 1665-1666*, ed. J. W. Clay (1907), II, p. 163.

<sup>2</sup> *Visitation of Yorkshire, 1612*, by Richard St. George, Norroy King of Arms, ed. J. Foster (1875), p. 547. No Crest is given but *Fairbairn's Book of Crests* notes that the Crest of Lyndley of Lyndley, Co. York, and Skegby, Co. Nottingham, was a Griffin's head argent gorged with a bar gemel sable.

Research into these armorials has led to the following pedigree of the Hitch family being drawn up. The numbers in brackets refer to the crests or achievements in the windows.



At one time there must have been a matching enlarged crest of Aldborough and an achievement of the Hitch family whose arms were:—

Argent a bend vair between two cotises indented gules.<sup>6</sup>

These achievements and crests were probably painted in, or after, 1690; the Aldborough arms, the tinctures of which are richer and less faded, may have been added in 1701. Their presence in Gray's Court cannot be satisfactorily explained for, though the Hitch family had many York connections, none of these can be traced among the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century residents in the house.

<sup>1</sup> *Parish Registers of Guiseley 1584-1720*, (Bradford, 1913), p. 324.

<sup>2</sup> *Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire 1665-1666*, II, p. 164.

<sup>3</sup> Philemon Slater: *History of the Parish of Guiseley* (1880), p. 139.

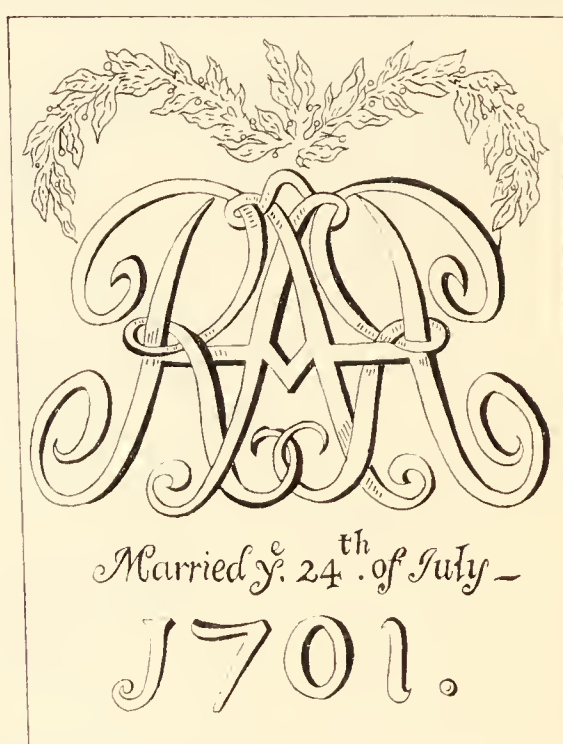
<sup>4</sup> J. A. Venn: *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, p. 379. The Hitch-Brandling marriage is there wrongly associated with a later Henry Hitch.

<sup>5</sup> Record Series: Yorkshire Archaeological Society, xlvi. *Paver's Marriage Licences* iii, p. 109. The Upper Poppleton Parish Registers record that they were married on 24th July 1701.

<sup>6</sup> *Burke's General Armory*, p. 493. Robert Hitch's arms are in the upper third light of the south-west window of Trinity College Hall, Cambridge. He was a student at the college. In a small cartouche with amorini is an oval shield bearing argent a bend vair between two cotises indented gules; in pretence, gules a cross flory argent in dexter chief an escallop or; overall in chief a label argent. Below is the inscription 'Robertus Hitch fil. Henrici Hitch de Leathley Com. Ebor. Armigeri H.P. A°. 1690. Henricus Gyles Eborac. Pinxit.' See *The City of Cambridge - An inventory of the Historical Monuments*. R.C.H.M. (1959) ii, p. 228. The arms are wrongly blazoned in the armorial at the end of the volume.

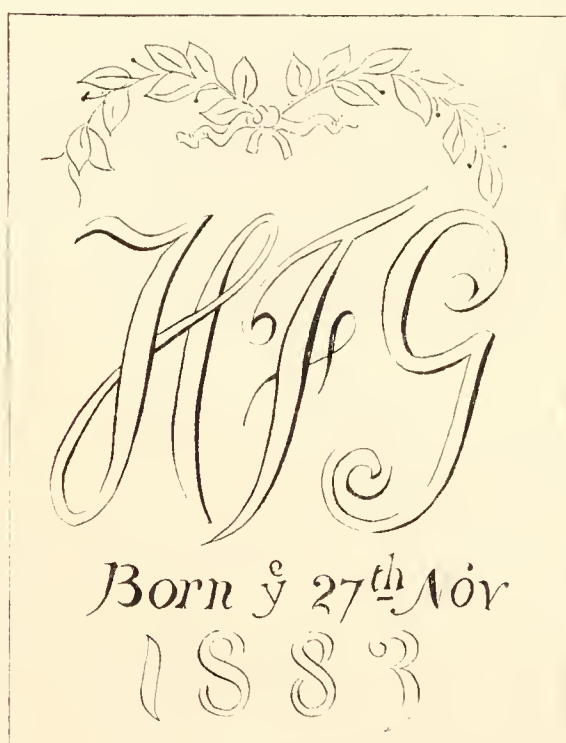


The four monograms immediately below are of the Hitch family.

9  
&  
1011  
&  
12

- Nos. 9 & 10 Two identical monograms:— 'H.A.H. 1690'  
These commemorate the marriage of Henry Hitch and Alatheia Brandling. They certainly did not live in Gray's Court since John Aislabie then owned it and lived there.
- Nos. 11 & 12 Two identical monograms:— 'R.A.R. married ye 24th of July 1701'  
These commemorate the marriage of Robert Hitch and Alice Aldborough at Poppleton. They, too, were not resident in the house for in 1701 Robert Squire owned Gray's Court.

13

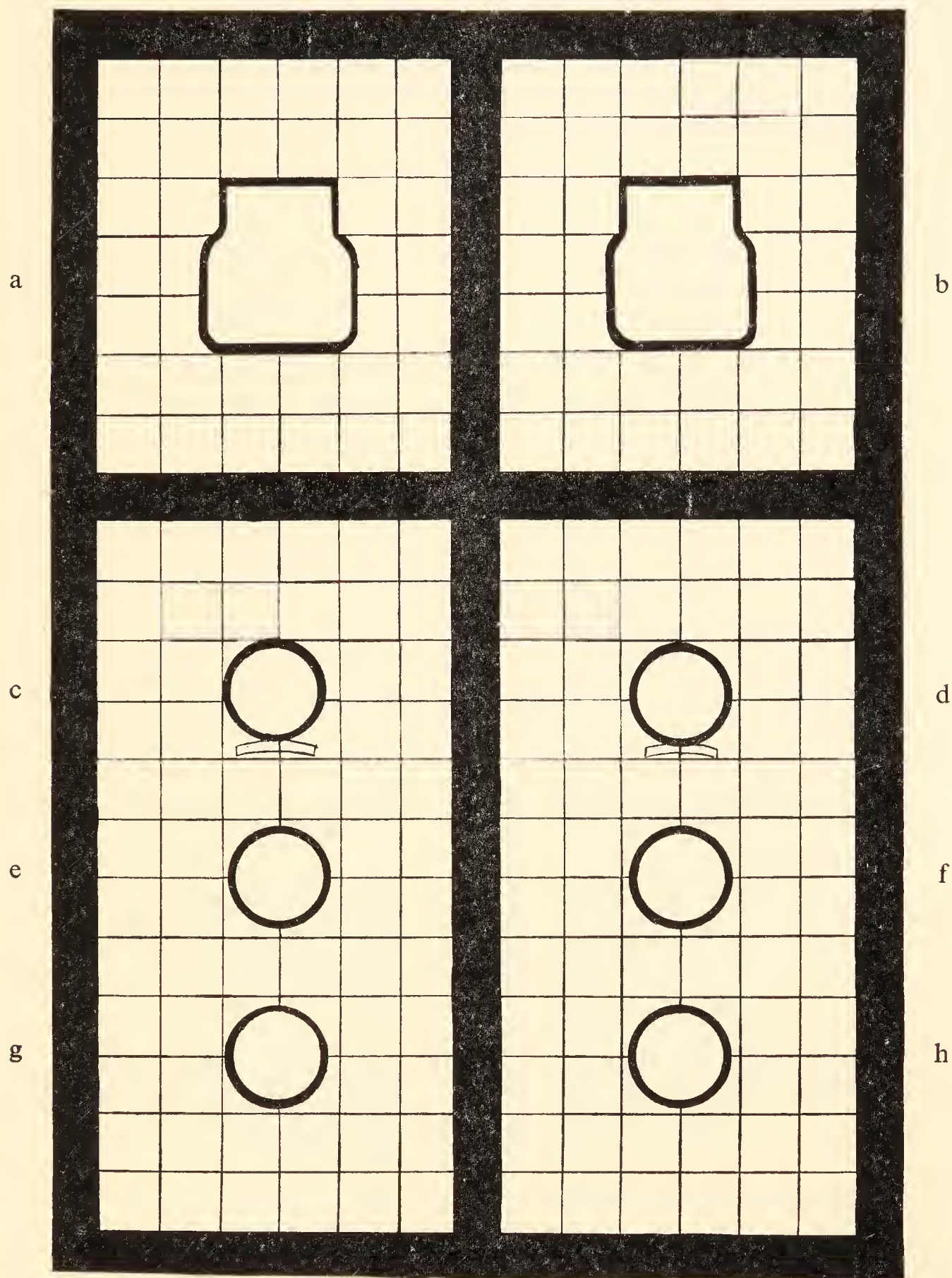


14



- No. 13 Monogram:— 'H.F.G. born ye 27th Nov. 1883'  
These are the initials of Helen Faith Gray, the daughter of Edwin Gray and his wife Almyra (née Vickers). In 1910 she married Captain (later Colonel) Charles J. H. Gardner. They both lived in Gray's Court.
- No. 14 Monogram:— 'E.G.A. married ye 5th Jany. 1882'  
This is the joint monogram of Edwin Gray and Almyra Vickers who both resided in Gray's Court.

These last two monograms are obviously of late Victorian workmanship and were painted at the dates they record or at the time of Edwin Gray's erection of the staircase. Whatever their exact date they take their inspiration from the panels immediately above and were inserted to fill up the window.<sup>1</sup>



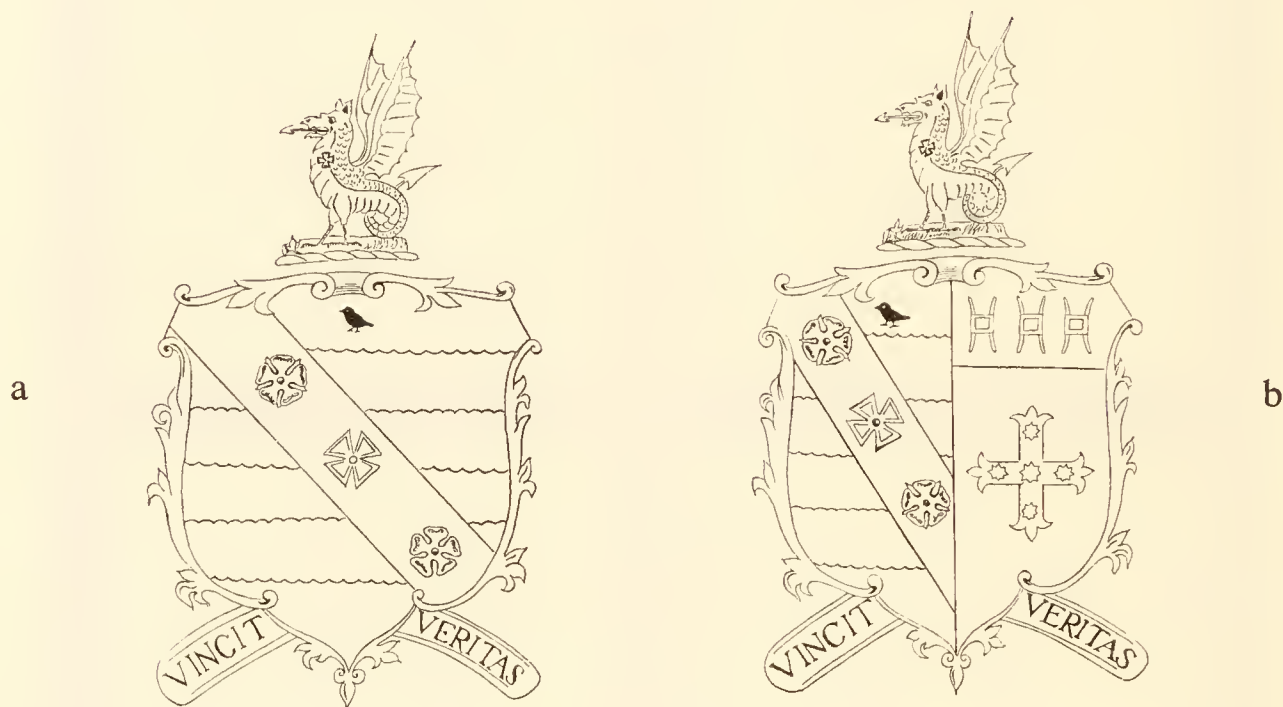
Cloakroom Window.

<sup>1</sup> These two panels are undoubtedly the work of John Ward Knowles. The windows he painted for his dining room at No. 35 Stonegate contain exactly the same type of foliage which is over the above monograms in Gray's Court.



In the ladies' cloakroom opposite the heraldic war memorial of the Gray family are two more achievements and two monograms of that family.

These are again of the very late nineteenth century and are from the same workshop as the two monograms on the staircase.<sup>1</sup> The tinctures in the arms are diapered and the plain Roman initials of the monograms are bound in roundels by a knot. This latter device can be seen in the 16th century glass in St. Michael le Belfrey Church from which it may have been copied.



(a) At the top left are the arms and crest of Gray of Gray's Court.

Arms:— A barry of six engrailed or and azure on a bend gules a cross patée between two roses argent. The martlet sable in the chief point is a cadency sign denoting the fourth son.

Crest:— Upon the trunk of a tree fess-wise eradicated and sprouting, a wyvern; wings elevated proper, charged on the breast with a cross patée or.

Motto:— Vincit Veritas.

<sup>1</sup> A manuscript in York Public Library labelled 'Stained Glass', and written by John Ward Knowles of Stonegate, records on page 21, 'Heraldry. Coats of Arms for Edwin Gray, Esq.'. The date of manufacture is not given, though the date of 1891 in the window is probably correct. The manuscript notes discuss the techniques employed in creating the shields and crests though no mention is made of the monograms.

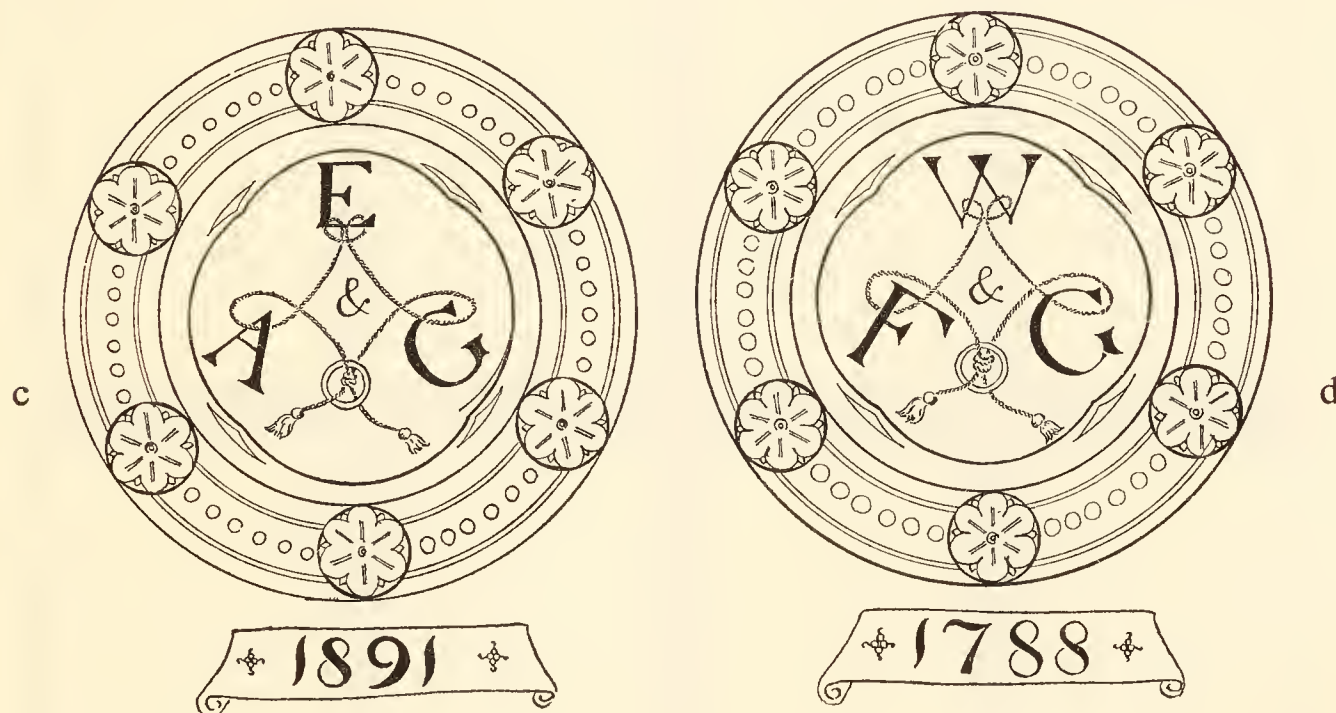
These arms were granted to William Gray of Gray's Court on 1st February 1868. The grant recites that the family had previously used these arms without proper registration at the College of Heralds.

- (b) Beneath the same crest are the arms of Gray impaling those of Vickers of Sheffield which are:—

Argent on a cross flory gules, five mullets of 6 points of the first; on a chief sable 3 millrinds or.

These last arms were granted to Edwin Vickers of Sheffield on 25th June 1878.

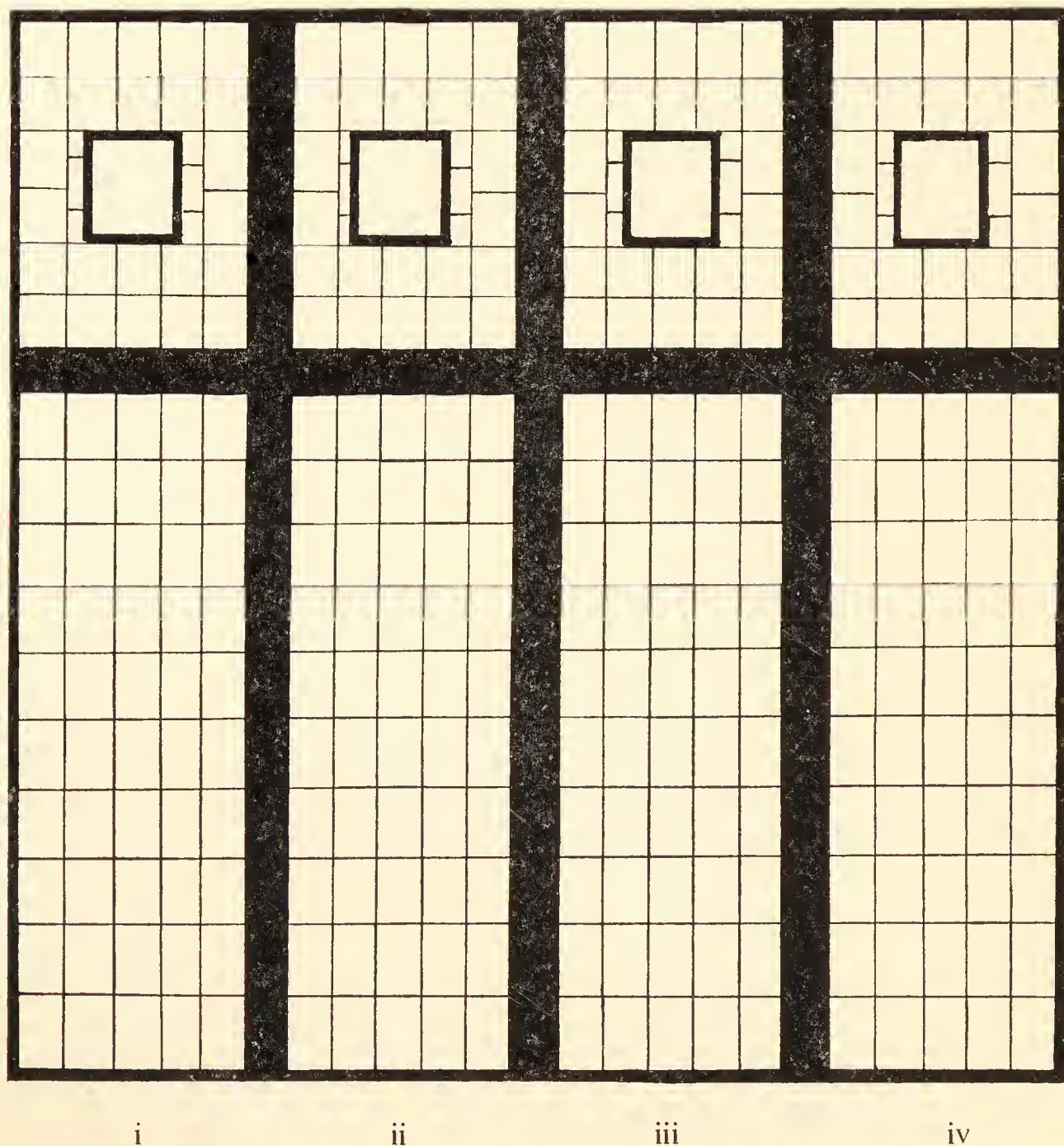
Below are the following monograms:—



- (c) 'E. & A.G. 1891'  
Edwin Gray (1847–1929) and Almyra Vickers (1862–1939) were married in 1882. The date presumably records when this roundel was inserted.
- (d) 'W. & F.G. 1788'  
William Gray (1751–1845) and Faith Gray, (née Hopwood) (1751–1825) were the first of the Grays to reside in the house. The date records the year they took up residence there.
- (e)(f)(g)(h) All blank.



Four of the five windows in the Long Gallery, which overlook the Courtyard, contain small panels of painted glass. All these, with one exception, are of the late seventeenth century. They illustrate well the prostitution of the glass painter's art in the form of uninspired pictures. Their crudity and dull tinctures prompt one to wonder whether they were the exercises of apprentices. In all of them to a greater or lesser degree the enamels which were used for staining have shelled off, illustrating the decline of the art of fusing glass. None of the seventeenth century panels contains a ruby red, not even the Brandling shield on the staircase. This rich Mediaeval tincture had been lost and the nearest approximation which Gyles and his contemporaries could produce was a dull brownish-orange.



Window 1.



i



ii

*Window 1<sup>1</sup>*

- i A woman with twins in her arms. Charity.
- ii A woman pouring water from a flagon into a glass. Temperance.



iii

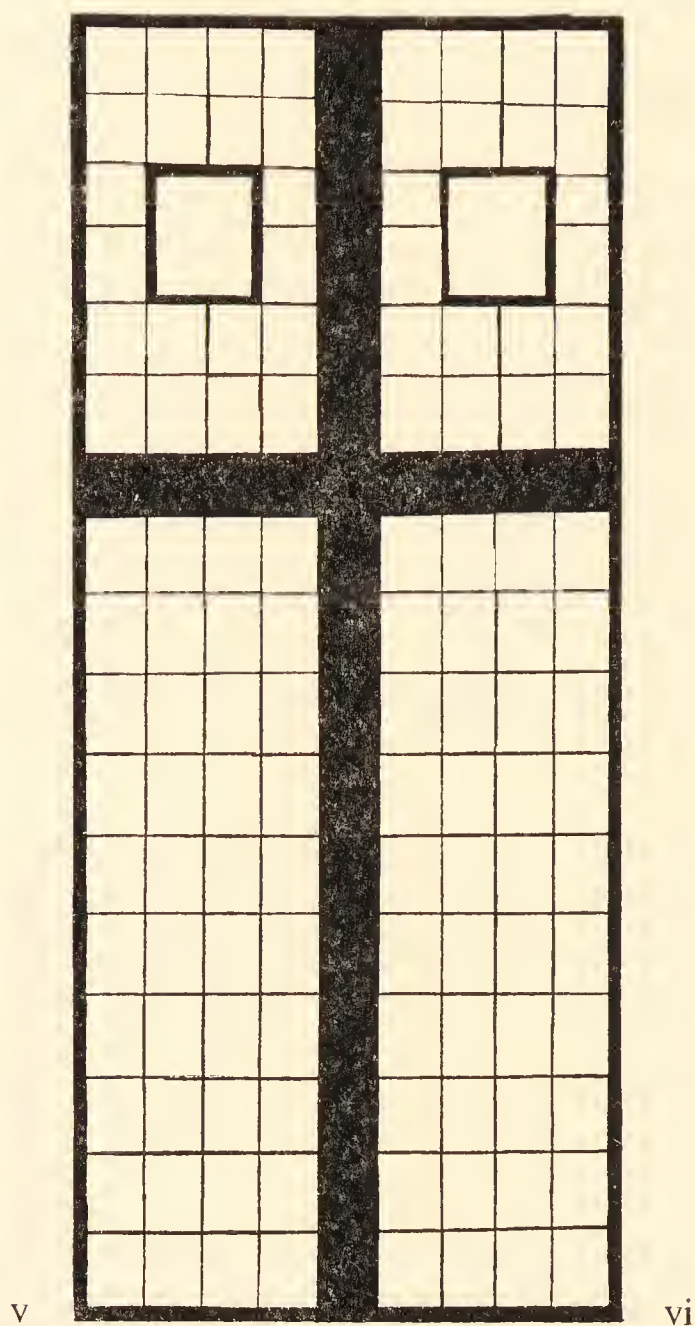


iv

- iii A woman carrying an anchor over her shoulder. Hope.
- iv A woman carrying a tau cross over her shoulder and a chalice in her hand. Faith.

<sup>1</sup> In the first two windows are six of the seven Virtues; Justice is missing. It is interesting to note that on the hexagonal oak pulpit in All Saints, North Street are five of these virtues painted in the panels and dated 1675. Although they stand on small pedestals, Faith, Hope and Charity are identical with their representations in Gray's Court. For an illustration see *All Hallows in North Street*, P. J. Shaw (1908), p. 17.

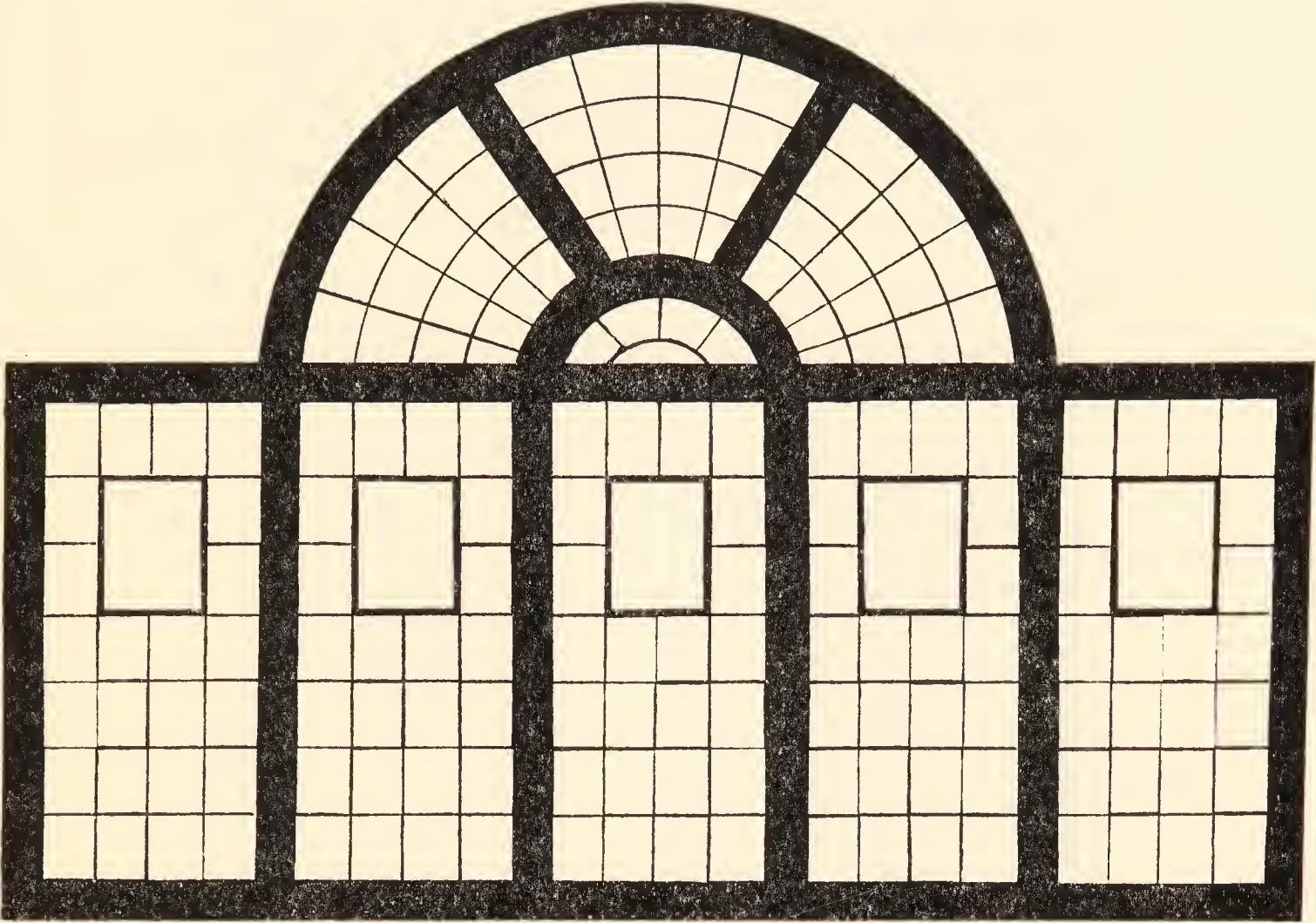




Window 2.

*Window 2*

- v A woman in a classical helm grasping a truncated column. Fortitude.
- vi A woman clutching two writhing serpents. Prudence.



vii

viii

ix

x

xi

Window 3 (Alcove).



vii

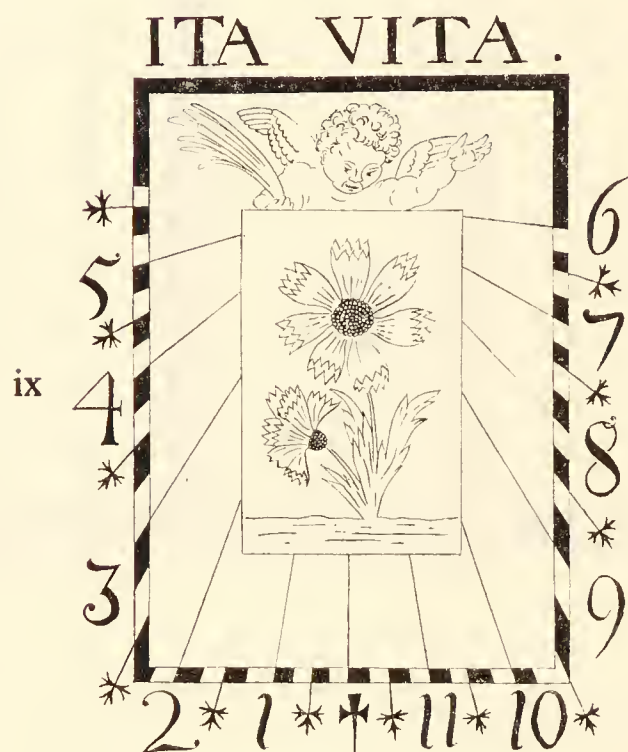


viii



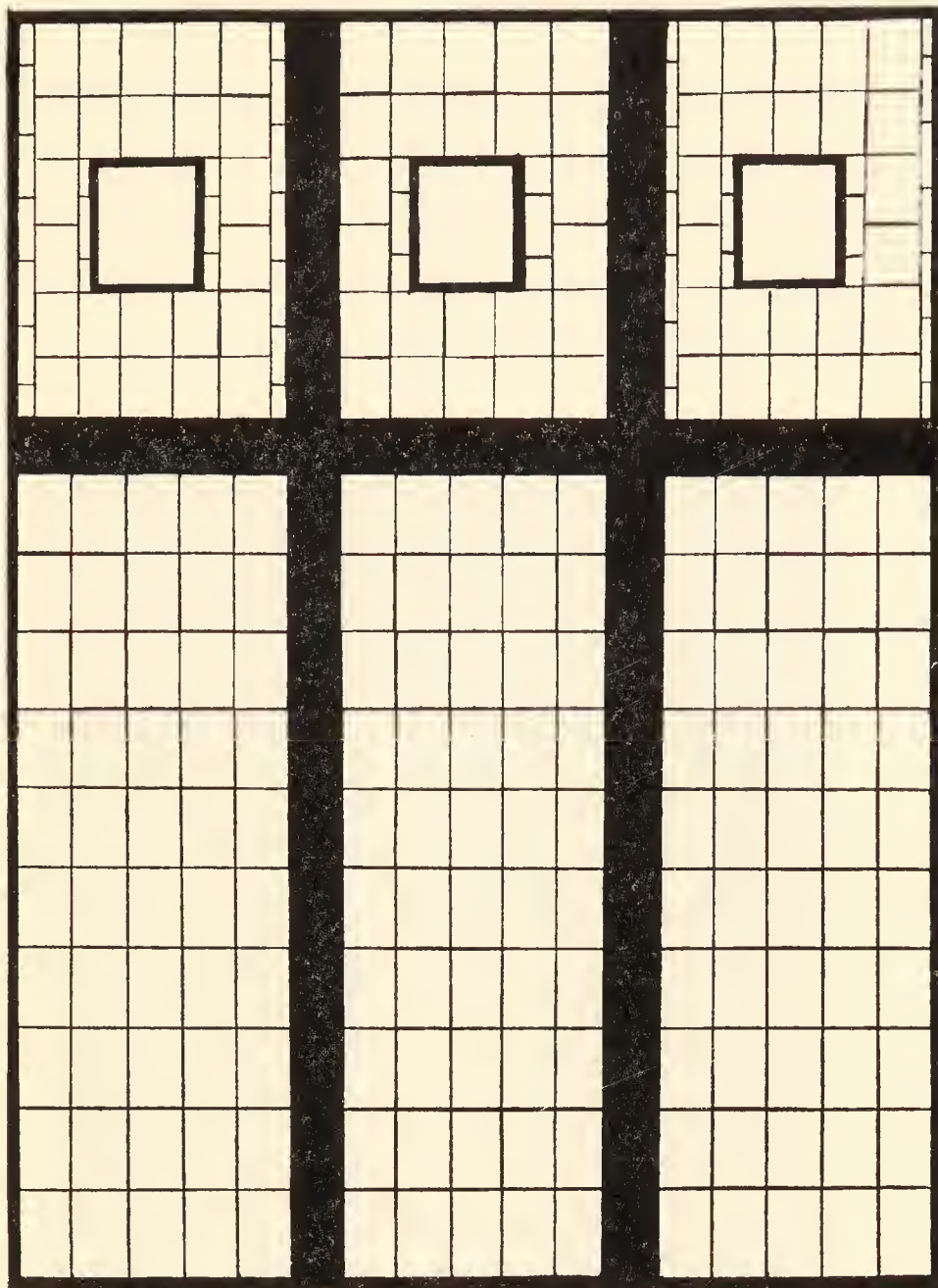
*Window 3 (The Alcove)*

- vii Aquilegias and other flowers. This is the only late Victorian panel and its techniques and tinctures show that it was painted by the artist responsible for the two monograms in the base of the staircase window. It was probably painted to balance No. xi or to replace a broken panel.
- viii A cloaked putto fishing with rod and line and emptying a ewer of water into the pool. The caption is 'Water'.



- ix A sundial<sup>1</sup> with cornflowers and putto captioned 'Ita Vita'. Henry Gyles was well known for his sundial windows. His most famous example is at Nun Appleton Hall whilst a lesser known one exists at Tong Hall, Bradford. The gnomon on the outside has now gone though the two holes through the glass which secured it are quite visible.
- x Blank.
- xi Bluebells and other flowers. The crazed enamelling of the tinctures here is quite different from the light brushwork of no. vii.

<sup>1</sup> The sundial measures up to Gyles' specifications. In an undated letter to Ralph Thoresby he writes, '... and for glass dyalls according to their bigness, such as I usually paint upon squares of ten or 12 inches high wth. a brasse style to 'em, I have usually 20 shill.' (Ms. c. 1680, York Minster Library). All the panels, except those in the cloakroom, are just short of 10 inches high by 7 inches wide.



xii

xiii

xiv

Window 4.



*A mourning widow from her tender eye,  
Weeps tears as if f. springs woud ne'r be dry  
Like y south wind sheet let those fountains run  
Untill a second Husband play the Sunn.*

xii



*A full sould woman y adorne her mind,  
Well as her seen parts is like western wind  
That breathes p fumes & melts in silken rain  
And sun-like sets to rise the same again*

xiii



*Shee that w<sup>th</sup> furious blows & long tongue noise  
Doth tempests in her quiet household raise  
Nor suffers reasons sun to guide her Feet  
Ruins like northern blasts all she doth meet*

xiv



*Window 4*

- xii A woman in widow's weeds with verse beneath.
- xiii A richly dressed and bejewelled lady fingering (?) rosary beads, and reading from a book on a lectern. A verse is beneath.
- xiv A virago brandishing a bunch of keys and knocking over a chair. A verse is beneath.



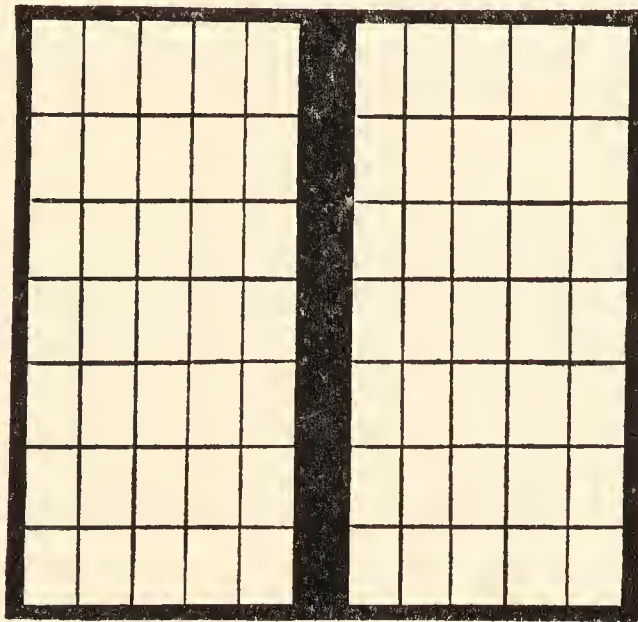
*Glass painting for windows. as Armes. Sundyals,  
History, Landskipt. &c Done by Henry Gyles  
of the City of York.*

Henry Gyles' trade card.

*Mezzotint by Francis Place*

It seems that all the seventeenth century glass in Gray's Court was brought in at the end of the nineteenth century when Edwin Gray employed Temple Moore, the York architect, to extend and restore the building. All the windows appear to have been reframed and releaded. It is noticeable that the same process was carried out by Temple Moore next door in the Treasurer's House where vignettes of painted glass of continental origin were also inserted. In the case of Gray's Court the glass may have come from the old Hall

at Leathley<sup>1</sup> near Otley, but as yet nothing has come to light to prove this.



Window 5

Thanks are due to Mr. G. F. Willmot, Keeper of the Yorkshire Museum, for permission to reproduce Henry Gyles' trade card. All other illustrations are by the writer of this article.

<sup>1</sup> The house appears to have been rebuilt about 1715 though something of the earlier building survives in the present stables. See *Yorkshire Life Illustrated*, February 1961, pp. 28-29.



## THE ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS OF YORK

By ERIC BIRLEY

The Roman inscriptions found in York have recently been published in two separate works: *Eburacum* = Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, *The City of York*, volume i (1962), pp. 111–135, hereafter referred to as *RCHM*, and R. G. Collingwood and R. P. Wright, *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, volume i (1965), with the sub-title *Inscriptions on Stone*, pp. 215–237, nos. 640–706, hereafter referred to as *RIB*; I give a concordance between the numbering of *RIB* and that of *RCHM* in an appendix to this paper. Both works aim at giving a complete list of the York material, except that *RIB* reserves for a forthcoming second volume, ‘in active preparation’, items assignable to the *instrumentum domesticum*, including graffiti and in particular stamped tiles; but it so happens that each book includes one or two items omitted by the other, and on each there are valid criticisms which it seems proper to draw to the attention of this Society. I premise that readers will find a general review and discussion of *RIB*, in which incidentally I have occasion to refer briefly to some of the York texts, in the recent *Journal of Roman Studies*, vol. lvi.

Both works make acknowledgements to the late Sir Ian Richmond, whose premature death has been such a great loss to us all. In the case of *RCHM*, its preface notes that he ‘scrutinised the whole text at every Editorial stage’, and we shall be justified in supposing that many of the acute comments on individual inscriptions were prompted by him; Mr. Wright’s preface to *RIB* notes that he ‘cheerfully shouldered the exacting burden of scrutinising my manuscript for press’. But scrutiny cannot involve responsibility for the final form, for otherwise it would be difficult to account for the numerous cases in which the readings, translations and commentaries in the two works differ widely. In general, it may be said that in some seventeen cases *RIB* has better readings to offer than *RCHM*, as against four in which *RCHM* has the preference (see p. 732, below); but in several cases *RCHM* provides greater help in understanding the significance of a text.

I do not propose to offer a detailed analysis of each work, but rather to discuss some of the more interesting York inscriptions, particularly those on which there is more information to be extracted than either work has elucidated, or when one or other seems to have arrived at an untenable reading or interpretation; minor details can be left out of account here.

First, however, a note on the name and status of the place. The reason why the Royal Commission’s volume has the title *Eburacum*, although most of the sources spell it *Eboracum*, is indicated in

Sir Ian Richmond's Introduction to *RCHM*, p. xxix f.: Celtic philologists are agreed that that is the original form of the name.<sup>1</sup> In *RIB* the spelling with an *o* is preferred, evidently in view of the majority verdict of the sources which it quotes, omitting, however, Aurelius Victor, *Liber de Caesaribus* 20, 27, which deserves special attention for its bearing on the status of the town. Dr. J. C. Mann kindly provides the following note: 'In *RCHM*, p. xxxvi, Sir Ian Richmond made the stimulating observation that "A dedication by a York merchant in Bordeaux, dated to A.D. 237, mentions the existence of a *colonia*, that is, the highest rank of chartered town, and analogy would suggest that it had been upgraded from a *municipium*", adding in a footnote a reference to Aurelius Victor's report of the death of Severus, in A.D. 211, in *Britanniae municipio, cui Eboraci nomen*, and observing that if Victor "were to be taken strictly the point would be proved." A consideration of Victor's usage suggests that he should indeed be taken strictly, for he only employs the term *municipium* in one other case, namely (*Lib. de Caes.* 15, 1) that of Lanuvium in Italy which is known to have been a *municipium*. The occasion for conferring the more highly regarded title (compare in England "city" as opposed to "borough") might well have been the establishment of York as the capital of *Britannia Inferior*, which on any showing it cannot be supposed to have become before the reign of Caracalla.' What still remains to be learnt is the occasion on which the charter as a *municipium* was conferred on the town which had grown up across the river from the legionary fortress and its *canabae*: 'by 211 at latest' is at present all that we can claim.

I propose to take the inscriptions in the order of their appearance in *RCHM*, copies of which are probably more generally available to readers of this Journal, but in each case I add the *RIB* reference.

(1) *RCHM* 33 = *RIB* 644: *deae Fortunae Sosia Iuncina Q. Antoni Isaurici leg. Aug.* *RIB* rightly translates 'To the goddess Fortune Sosia Juncina, (wife) of Quintus Antonius Isauricus, imperial (legionary) legate, (set this up)', but gives no commentary; *RCHM* refers to the *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*, 2nd ed., A 840-1, in which it is suggested that the legate is to be identified with the Q. Antonius I . . u . . . . attested by a fragmentary inscription (*CIL* vi 2017) as suffect consul with L. Aurelius Flaccus as his colleague in May of an unspecified year; it has been assumed that this consular pair held office in the early 140s (there is no other evidence for either man), but note that in *CIL* vii 233 Huebner observed that the lettering on this altar looks like being of the end of the second century; reference to a paper by Mr. L. C. Evetts in *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 4th ser., xxvi 162 will show that the form of the G is most characteristic of the Severan age, and I think that we must reckon with the likelihood that the York inscription, and the legate's

<sup>1</sup> We may add to the works there cited Professor Kenneth Jackson's *Language and History in Early Britain* (Edinburgh, 1953), which accepts the spelling *Eburacum* without question.



promotion to the consulship a few years later, should be assigned to that period (see also no. 8, below). This altar, found on the site of the old railway station, implies the existence in the town of public baths with separate facilities for men and women, as *RCHM* points out. At present, no further information is available about the legate's wife Sosia Juncina.

(2) *RCHM* 36 = *RIB* 653: *Mat(ribus) Af(ris) Ita(lis) Ga(llis) M. Minu(cius) Aude(ns) mil. leg. VI Vic. guber(nator) leg. VI v. s. l. l. m.* Mr. Wright's drawing gives the form of the dedicator's *cognomen*, though his printed text reads *Aude(n)s*, and he connects the post of *gubernator* with warships; *RCHM* affirms that it 'would imply a river-pilot, and the variety of the dedication is explained by the origins of the cargoes handled.' Such an idea seems excessively far-fetched: the natural explanation is that the legion contained men from Africa, Italy and Gaul – compare *RIB* 88 (Winchester), an altar by a consular beneficiary dedicated *Matrib. Italis Germanis Gal(lis) Brit(annis)*, or the dedication to Mercury from Castlecary on the Antonine Wall, *RIB* 2148, by soldiers of the Sixth Legion *cives Italici et Norici*. The likeliest time for men from Africa to appear in a legion of Britain is in the aftermath of the adventure of Clodius Albinus, when it would be prudent Severan policy to fill some of the gaps in its ranks by the transfer of trained men from loyal legions; and it so happens that a tombstone found at Bird-oswald on Hadrian's Wall a few years ago, *JRS* lii 194, attests a man from Hippo Regius in Africa serving in the Sixth Legion.

(3) *RCHM* 37 = *RIB* 654: *M]atribus suis Marcus Rustius Massa v.s.l.l.m.* Collingwood's drawing and Mr. Wright's text confirm this reading; *RCHM* omits the *cognomen* Massa (which incidentally seems to have a preponderantly Celtic distribution) and inserts *vet(eranus)*, which is not on the stone, but it adds the attractive suggestion that 'The proportion of the remaining fragment of the inscribed die suggests that another dedication may well have preceded that to the *Matres*'.

(4) *RCHM* 39 = *RIB* 660: *RIB* oddly reads *deo Veteri Primulus Vol(usianus) m(erito)*, without attempting to explain or justify 'Volusianus'; here *RCHM* has an acceptable reading to offer, *vo(vit) l(ibens) m(erito)* – Primulus, with only a single name (as normally on the small altars to this British deity), vowed his altar willingly and deservedly. *RCHM* claims the deity as Germanic, but its dedications have a distribution-pattern strongly suggesting that it was northern British, the greatest concentration of altars coming from Carvoran in west Northumberland; like Belatucadrus, it seems to have attracted lower-class votaries than two other British deities, Cocidius and Maponus, both of whom received dedications from legionaries, centurions and equestrian officers, whereas Belatucadrus and Vitiris (or however the name should be spelt) can claim nobody higher than an auxiliary N.C.O. or a veteran trooper as a worshipper.

(5) *RCHM* 40 = *RIB* 640: *deo Arciaconi et n. Aug(u)st(i) Mat. Vitalis ord(inatus) v. s. l. m.* *RIB* offers no comment at all on the

deity; *RCHM* notes that he is otherwise unknown but presumably local, citing as the nearest parallel the name Accio: Holder, at least, regarded the name as Celtic. The centurion, as *ordinatus* is to be translated (the term began to be used instead of *centurio* towards the middle of the second century), presumably belonged to the Sixth Legion; the lettering of the stone, and the abbreviation of his *nomen* to its first three letters, proclaim a third-century date.

(6) *RCHM* 41 = *RIB* 664: ]*s. p. r.* Note *RCHM*'s comment, 'The lettering is very fresh and wholly unweathered and looks like a forgery'; *RIB* treats it as a genuine text, though the position of the letters on the base of the altar, with no lettering on the surviving part of the die, might well have aroused suspicion.

(7) *RCHM* 52 = *RIB* 656: *numinib. Aug. et deae Ioug[ . . . . / . . . . ]sius aedem pro parte di[ . . . . .* So *RIB* has deciphered one more letter of the goddess's name (*RCHM* had recognised that a local deity is probably in question), and Mr. Wright cites the Celtic *iougon*, a yoke. Both works adopt or imply the reading *aedem pro parte dirutam* and translate it to mean a partly destroyed temple; but that does not seem an acceptable translation of the preposition *pro*. For 'partly destroyed' we should need *ex*: compare *Inscr. Rom. Trip.* 467, *cum basilica vetus ex maxima parte ruina esset deformata*. By contrast *pro* implies either 'on behalf of' somebody else, whose name would follow in the ablative as in *CIL* xiii 7917, *aedem . . . a novo sumptu suo omni pro Tertinio Iusto filio Probia Iustina fecit*, or 'as an instalment' or the like, as in a passage in the Digest (46, 4, 9): 'quod ego tibi promisi, id pro parte dimidia habesne scriptum?' In the present case, *pro parte di[media* would seem justified, meaning that the dedicator had borne half the cost of the reconstruction of the temple.<sup>1</sup>

(8) *RCHM* 54 = *RIB* 658: *deo sancto Serapi templum a solo fecit Cl. Hieronymianus leg. leg. VI Vic.* There is no doubt about the reading of this text, the main problem being its date. Both works cite a passage in the Digest (33, 7, 12, 40) and a reference in Tertullian, *ad Scapulam* 3, which reveal him as a senator of the Severan age who died as consular governor of Cappadocia, apparently shortly before A.D. 212; if that is so, he cannot well have been legate of the Sixth Legion earlier than the recovery of Britain by Severus in A.D. 197, if so early, and the inscription will serve to show that at that time York was still the headquarters of a legionary legate subordinate to the consular governor – as opposed to the later situation, first directly demonstrable in the case of Tiberius Claudius Paulinus in A.D. 220, when the governor of Lower Britain was

<sup>1</sup> An inscription from Heliopolis (Baalbek) in Syria, published recently, illustrates this use of *pro parte* delightfully: *Année Épigraphique* 1964 (1966), 55 is a dedication to Jupiter Heliopolitanus for the health of Hadrian, datable A.D. 128-138, made at a cost of eighty pounds' weight of silver by the heirs of a local man who had served in the African legion *III Augusta*, the cost being shared by a veteran *pro parte dimidia*, a child (apparently the veteran's son) (*pro*) *parte quarta*, and two other children jointly *pro parte quarta*.



concurrently commander of the legion and independent of the consular governor of Upper Britain. It will be remembered, incidentally, that Wellbeloved suggested that this dedication was not later than the time of Severus, who was noted for his respect for Serapis.

(9) *RCHM* 57 = *RIB* 643: *Britanniae sanctae p(osuit) Nikomedes Augg. nn. libertus* – so, correctly, *RCHM* expands the *p*, translating ‘Nikomedes, a freedman of the Emperors, set up (this statue) to holy Britannia’; it should be added that the doubling *Augg. nn.* shows that joint emperors were ruling. *RIB* follows Huebner (*CIL* vii 232) in reading *P(ublius)*, and comments ‘Of the *tria nomina* which might be expected the traditional text records praenomen and cognomen only . . . it seems possible that 1. 3 conceals three names’; that is an unfortunate guess, for it was common for an imperial freedman to mention only his personal name, as in *RIB* 179 (Combe Down, Somerset): *Naevius Aug. lib(ertus)*; and if he mentioned the first two names – taken from the emperor who had given him his freedom – they would be followed immediately by *Aug. lib.* (in the position where a free-born citizen would have specified his filiation and tribe), with the personal name, now formally a *cognomen*, last of all; compare an inscription from Sufetula in Africa, *IL Afr.* 135: *d. m. s. M. Aurelius Aug. lib. Inventus proc. diocoesis Leptitanae h. s. e.*

(10) *RCHM* 58 = *RIB* 641 and pl. xi: this is the headless statue of Arimanes or Arimanius, as his name is usually rendered; *RIB* makes no comment upon the deity, but *RCHM* points out that he was the Mithraic god of Evil and it suggests at p. 57, (g), that the discovery of this altar during the construction of the archway through the Mediaeval city wall, for the new road to the railway station in 1874, gives a hint that there was a Mithraeum close by; the uninscribed Mithraic relief, *RCHM* 67, found in Micklegate in 1740 presumably comes from a different Mithraeum – in a town as large as this there could well have been two or three separate congregations of Mithraists, such as was the case at Poetovio in Pannonia.

(11) *RCHM* 90 = *RIB* 696: *RIB* has a slightly improved reading of this fragmentary tombstone, . . .] *fil. v. an. XIII, Vitellia Procula mater p(ro) p(arte) e(res)*; the abbreviation *fil.* does not allow us to say whether the dead child, to whose property the mother was co-heir, was a boy or a girl. It may be no more than a coincidence, but I note that a namesake, if not the same lady, is attested near Thysdrus in Africa, *IL Afr.* 47, as the grandmother of a local magistrate; if she was in fact the same person, she was presumably in York as the wife of an officer, either an equestrian military tribune or a centurion of the Sixth Legion.

(12) *RCHM* 108 = *RIB* 690: the stone coffin of Simplicia Florentina, the daughter of Felicius Simplex of the Sixth Legion. *RIB* omits the centurial sign after the father’s name, recognised by *RCHM* and indeed clearly visible on its plate 56; it is not surprising that it was a centurion and not an other rank who paid for what

must have been an expensive memorial to his child. The change of *nomen* between generations, the daughter's being formed from her father's *cognomen*, is an interesting phenomenon, commonest in the Rhineland – whence perhaps our centurion came; Mr. Wright's improved reading of *RCHM* 77 = *RIB* 685 gives us another instance, the father of the infant Saenius Augustinus being C. Aeresius Saenus, a veteran of the Sixth Legion.

(13) *RCHM* 110 = *RIB* 678 is the famous stone coffin of M. Verecundius Diogenes, missing since the first half of the 18th century. The crux in its text comes after his description as *sevir col. Ebor(acensis)*. *RCHM* reads *ibidemqu(e) mort(uus)*, 'who died in that same place'; but as the inscription ends with *haec sibi vivus fecit*, 'He made these for himself while alive', it must be objected that he could not foretell if he would in fact die in York, so that a different reading must be sought. *RIB* attempts to get over the difficulty by a drastic emendation, attributed to Sir Ian Richmond: *idem q[ui]nq(uennalis) et] cives Biturix Cubus*, 'and *quinquennalis*, also &c.', adding that '*Sevir* is presumably *sevir Augustalis*, later promoted to be *quinquennalis* in the guild', but it omits to adduce any parallel. There is no need to go to such lengths, however. The first recorded reading, by an anonymous Elizabethan writer, gives *idemq. morit.*, and I noted some time ago that an inscription from Cologne shows us what the abbreviated word stands for (*CIL* xiii 8164a = *ILS* 7522): *Apollini C. Aurelius Cl. Verus negotiator Britannicianus MORITEX d. d. – l. d. d. d.*, 'To Apollo, Gaius Aurelius Claudius Verus, trader with Britain, MORITEX, gave this gift – site presented by decree of the councillors.' Dessau's note suggests that *Moritex* may be an ethnic epithet, but there is no known community in the Roman world to which it can be assigned; but Dr. Mann has pointed out to me that Dottin's *La Langue Gauloise* (1918) 273 interprets *moritex* as '“navigateur”, ou nom propre', and in reply to an enquiry from Dr. Mann Professor Kenneth Jackson has kindly confirmed that the word is evidently a compound of *mori* 'sea' and *teg* 'to go', with Old Irish and Middle Welsh analogues, and that its meaning would be 'seafarer'. That surely solves the problem, allowing us to retain the original reading without any emendation at all; the text becomes straightforward and enlightening: *M. Verec. Diogenes sevir col. Ebor. idemq. morit(ex), cives Biturix Cubus, haec sibi vivus fecit* – Diogenes was a *sevir* of the colony and a seafarer (shipper perhaps, rather than ship's captain), settled in York though he came originally from Bourges in Aquitania. We shall be justified in regarding him as a third man engaged in trade between Britain and Aquitania, the other two being M. Aurelius Lunaris, *sevir* of Eboracum and Lindum, who set up that altar in Bordeaux on his safe arrival from Eboracum in A.D. 237 (*JRS* xi 101 ff.), and L. Solimarius Secundinus, *civis Trever*, buried at Bordeaux (*CIL* xiii 634 = *ILS* 7523), who like Verus at Cologne had been a *neg(otiator) Britan(nicianus)*.

(14) *RCHM* 142 = *RIB* 662–3: these are the two bronze plates inscribed in Greek, one to Ocean and Tethys by Demetrius, the



other by Scrib(onius) Demetrius – manifestly the same person – to the Gods τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ πραιτωρίου, rendered by *RCHM* as ‘of the governor’s residence’ and by *RIB* as ‘of the governor’s headquarters’. *Praetorium*, the Latin word transliterated here into Greek, was applied to the official residence of a governor, a legionary legate or the commander of an auxiliary unit; the Greek epithet applied to it here is (by contrast) a non-technical one, best rendered as referring to the residence of ‘the commander’, and as far as I can see there is no necessity to suppose that it refers to a governor and not to a legionary legate. In any case, both *RCHM* and *RIB* assume without question that the dedicator is the Demetrius of Tarsus, known from Plutarch to have visited Britain shortly before A.D. 83–4; and if the identification is correct (and many people must find it a very attractive one), the residence of the governor of Britain can hardly have been in question at so early a date, when there can have been nothing Roman at York apart from the fortress of *leg. IX Hispana* and presumably the nucleus of civilian *canabae* alongside it. If, however, the residence of a governor was in fact intended, it can only have been the praetorian governor of Lower Britain, under Caracalla at the earliest, and the identification with the man from Tarsus must be abandoned. After all, there is no evidence to suggest that he was a Roman citizen and that his *nomen* was Scribonius, and Demetrius was an exceedingly common name in the eastern provinces from which our dedicator came, as is demonstrated by his choice of Greek for his dedications.

#### APPENDIX

##### Comparison between *RCHM* and *RIB*.

###### (a) Items in *RIB* omitted from *RCHM*:

1. *RCHM* 68 is a relief of Mercury, treated as uninscribed; *RIB* 655, with a good drawing by Mr. Wright, shows that the small altar depicted in front of the god is inscribed *deo Mer(curio)*, the last three letters partly missing but their reading in no doubt.

2. *RIB* 702 repeats Mr. Wenham’s fragment rescued from the *York Courant* of 29 June 1742, *pi]entissim[–*, which I cannot find mentioned in *RCHM*.

###### (b) Items in *RCHM* omitted from *RIB*:

1. *RCHM* 94 with Fig. 85 reads *in ho[c monumento*, rightly interpreted as part of the tombstone formula stating the penalty due to the *fiscus* if there should be any unauthorised burial in the tomb.<sup>1</sup>

2. *RCHM* 111 is the lid of a coffin, inscribed *d(is) m(anibus)*.

###### (c) Different treatment in the two works:

*RCHM* 131 records nine limestone fragments from an ‘altar-tomb’, found in 1878 in the garden of the Royal Station Hotel, without attempting a reading; *RIB* gives most of them under 642 but two under 703, showing that it was in fact an altar to *Bonus Eventus* and *Fortuna*, the pair of deities to whom at Caerleon a husband and wife dedicated *RIB* 318.

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<sup>1</sup> In *JRS* lvi 225 Mr. R. P. Wright reports that microscopic examination proves this item to be a brick, stamped INGHA[M – presumably of relatively modern date.

(d) Better readings in *RIB* (in addition to those mentioned under nos. 2, 3, 4, 7, 11, 12 above):

1. *RCHM* 1 with plate 41 in an impressive reconstruction of the missing parts of the Trajanic building-record credits the emperor with the title *imp. V*, but *RIB* 665 rightly reads *imp. V[I]*, taking into account the acclamation which Trajan received in 106 on the successful conclusion of the second Dacian war.

2. *RCHM* 17 is a difficult fragment, but Collingwood's drawing, *RIB* 697, gives the personal name (in the dative) *Civili* which seems more convincing than *RCHM*'s *civibus*.

3. *RCHM* 32 is bettered in minor details of its text by *RIB* 659, but their renderings of *corni(cularius)*, 'clerk' and 'staff-clerk' respectively, will not do; 'adjutant' would be more appropriate, as is clear from the evidence of inscriptions and papyri, unless indeed at legionary headquarters 'A.D.C.' should be preferred: such men were eligible for direct promotion to centurion.

4. *RCHM* 55: *RIB* 661 has read a little more on these fragments from a dedication-slab, without adding significantly to its interpretation.

5. *RCHM* 76 reads *Sec(undio) Crescente M(arci) f(ilio)*, but *RIB* 695 is evidently correct in reading *sec(us) Crescentem f(ilium)*: Antonius Stephanus buried his wife Eglecta beside their young son Crescens.

6. *RCHM* 78 reads *7 leg. Vic., Classicus Aprilis*, whereas *RIB* 675 rightly reads *7 leg. VI, C. Classicus Aprilis*.

7. *RCHM* 83: *RIB* 672 has a slightly better reading, by Collingwood – the *nomen* of the dead man was Bassaeus, not –]obassaeus.

8. *RCHM* 84 is a tombstone of which *RIB* 689 offers a fuller and more satisfactory reading.

9. *RCHM* 92 reads *coniu]gi iucundissimae*; *RIB* 693, with Collingwood's convincing drawing, gives the reading *coniugi piissimae*.

10. *RCHM* 109 reads the last two letters on this coffin *e(ius) c(ausa)*, but *RIB* 677 rightly prefers *(h)e(res) c(uravit)*.

11. *RCHM* 145 is the inscribed leaden canister of which *RIB* 691 gives a much improved reading: it commemorates a woman of almost twenty-four, not a girl of almost nine, and her father Ulpius Felix does not mention his *praenomen*.

(e) Better reading in *RCHM* (in addition to those mentioned under nos. 4, 9, 12 above):

*RCHM* 7 = *RIB* 669: Browne's drawings of these lost centurial stones are difficult to make certain readings from, but *RCHM*'s suggestion of *7 Antoni Primi* for two of them is more convincing than *RIB*'s *7 Antoni Rufiniani*, and *RIB* attempts no reading for the stone for which *RCHM* offers the attractive *7 Calp]urni Vict[o]rini*.

I add a concordance between *RIB* and *RCHM*: an asterisk before a number signifies that it gives a better reading than that of its opposite number.

*RIB*=*RCHM*=*my No.*

640	40	5
641	58	10
642	131 (part only)	
643	*57	9
644	33	1
645	56	
646	34	
647	51	
648	53	
649	29	
650	30	
651	31	
652	38	
*653	36	2

*RIB*=*RCHM*=*my No.*

674	105	
*675	78	
676	81	
*677	109	
678	110	13
679	88	
680	91	
681	79	
682	71	
683	103	
684	73	
*685	77	s.v.12
686	80	
687	106	



<i>RIB = RCHM = my No.</i>			<i>RIB = RCHM = my No.</i>		
*654	37	3	688	82	
*655	68 (no text)		*689	84	
*656	52	7	690	*108	12
657	35		*691	145	
658	84	8	692	74	
*659	32		*693	92	
660	*39	4	694	89	
*661	55		*695	76	
662 } 663 }	142	14	*696	90	11
664	41	6	*697	17	
*665	1		698	4	
666	2		699	85	
667	3		700	93	
668	5		701	130	
669	*7		702	—	
670	104		703	131 (part)	
671	72		704	87	
*672	83		705	86	
673	75		706	139	
			—	94	
			—	111	

# THE RICHMONDSHIRE APPARITORS

By JOHN ADDY

The ecclesiastical courts had messengers attached to them who were named apparitors and in theory each court, whether Consistory, Archidiaconal, Chancery or Probate, had their own apparitors but in practice a number of these men acted for all these courts in general. Their duties were manifold and often arduous, for to them was entrusted the business of citing and convening the defendants into court, to introduce the process issued by the judge and report on their success or otherwise to the court. Originally there were two kinds of apparitors, the walking and riding, but in process of time this differentiation disappeared and one apparitor undertook both duties.

Appointment of apparitors was made by the court and the judge might suspend them for misbehaviour but not remove them if they held office by Letters Patent. From time to time instructions had been issued in the past governing the conduct of their business. They were not permitted to lodge in an inn but could stay at the parsonage of the parish to which their mandate was addressed, they were not to ask for money nor entrust the delivery of the process or citation to another person, under penalty, nor charge excessive fees. A complaint under this head appears in the churchwardens presentment for Bedale in 1724.

‘The Apparitor demanded and took One Shilling and Sixpence for the Delivery of These articles which is sixpence more than was ever Paid as appears by the Church Book.’<sup>1</sup>

The Justices of Peace also kept a watchful eye on the charges of the apparitors who, if caught, were punished at Quarter Sessions. In 1618 the apparitor of the Archdeacon of Cleveland was brought before the Quarter Sessions to answer a charge of excessive fees.

‘. . . that William Denton of Kirby Moorside, clerk, official to the Archdeacon of Cleveland for extortion in taking, colore officii sui, 5s and 4d from Christopher Atkinson churchwarden of Carlton Minitt, viz 3s. 4d. as a fine and 2s. for the Apparitours call.’<sup>2</sup>

The majority of the apparitors, such as Jackson, Nelson, Sagar, Short, Petty and Brown, are almost mere names, for we know but little about them. They must have been tough men to face the hardships and dangers involved in crossing the Pennines and traversing the trackless parts of Cumberland and Westmorland, to which must be added the danger of assault by the person on whom the

<sup>1</sup> Churchwardens Presentments, (Bedale 1724) RD/CB/8/6 No. 24 *Leeds City Library*.

<sup>2</sup> North Riding Sessions Records, Vol. 2, p. 171.



citation was served or at the best to be the recipient of vile abuse.

In the Archdeaconry of Richmond the apparitors, like the Rural Deans, were appointed by Letters Patent for one, two or even three lives. The apparitor, like other officials of the court, received his income from two sources:

- (a) from fees received for documents issuing from the Court;
- (b) fees when attending the Commissary or his deputy at the Archidiaconal visitation or attending an official on court business.

It will be observed from the list of fees quoted below that part of the duty of the apparitor was to witness the oaths of parties in a cause, to witness the oaths of compurgators, to witness a marriage licence and accompany the notary public when he was taking depositions of witnesses. During a visitation the apparitor accompanied the visitor and witnessed the exhibit, by the clergy, of their Letters of Orders and also the oaths of the new churchwardens.

For executing a Citation per mile	1d
Dimisso ex officio	2d
Dispensation	1d
Dispensation for matrimony without banns	2d
Oaths of parties in a Cause	1d
Oaths of compurgators in adultery cause	4d
Oaths in a fornication cause	2d
Inventorii Reformatio	2d
Expenses on journeys to examine parties or witnesses	2-6d
Proclamations	2d
Exhibit of licences of Rectors, Vicars, Curates and Schoolmasters	4d
Hearing oaths of churchwardens	4d
Probate fees	1-2d
Scrutiny of Final Decrees <sup>1</sup>	1-0d

Further light is thrown upon the work of the apparitor in Richmondshire by the chance survival of a bundle of letters and orders for these officers covering the years 1725-1773. This correspondence reveals the difficulties faced in tracking down those who were to be cited into court. In 1766 apparitors Sagar and Scott cited sixty-two persons to appear in court for various moral offences and there receive punishment. Of this number, thirty-three never appeared, a further twenty-seven had 'fled the diocese' (of Chester) and were out of the jurisdiction of the court, so finally only two offenders put in an appearance.<sup>2</sup> A letter from Warwick Sagar to the Registrar in 1768 confirmed that he had cited all the persons listed in his process but that he was unable to find Richard Metcalfe of Askrigg.<sup>3</sup> This problem of missing persons was by no means unusual, for in 1767 Joseph Short reported that three persons had given false names to the court and a further thirteen could not be found.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Fees in Richmond Courts, Precedent Papers PO 78/9 Borthwick Institute, York.

<sup>2</sup> Apparitors Correspondence RD/CA/1. No. 18 Leeds City Library.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.*, No. 12.

<sup>4</sup> *ibid.*, No. 16.

The apparitors were not overcareful on occasions with the various documents entrusted to their care and this negligence evoked a reprimand from the deputy Registrar Metcalfe to Sagar when he enclosed his next correction process. In this he gave instructions to Sagar to attend the next court with the process on 23rd September 1766 and 'to keep it clean . . .'.<sup>1</sup>

On their travels round the archdeaconry the apparitors were often presented with a petition for the court requesting a commutation of a penance either for reasons of poverty or social disgrace that would follow performance of a public penance. In 1767 Anthony Postlethwaite, vicar of Easby, presented a petition to commute the penance of Margaret Wake, 'a poor woman'<sup>2</sup> and in 1771 Charles Eldal, minister of Hawes, made a similar request for Mary Ridding followed in the next year by one for Betty Branton of Askrigg.<sup>3</sup>

When penances were commuted for a monetary payment the apparitor usually collected the money, as the following certificate from William Robson testifies.

'These are to certify that Ann daughter of George Fryer of Whastow has commuted or changed the Order of penance enjoined her for the crime of Fornication to a pecuniary fine, a sum received by the hands of William Robson.'<sup>4</sup>

The Commissary of Richmond claimed that he had power to commute penances and this led to friction with the Bishop of Chester, who tried to stop the practice and this may account for the existence of apparitors who attempted to arrange private commutations in return for a fee. A complaint on the prevalence of this practice was made by the vicar of Grasmere in his presentment of 1698, ' . . . penances are commuted for money.'<sup>5</sup> Another complaint on the same subject came from the vicar of Preston in 1749 when he wrote:

'Henry Cottam was presented for fornication with Mary Throup some time ago but agreed with the late Apparitor for a Sum in Hand to clear him of the Court and therefore together with some others in this Parish did not appear at the last Correction Court for the reason mentioned . . . he is willing to give 4 or 5 shillings for his Penance order so pray assist me and him in this office with your advice . . .'<sup>6</sup>

Cottam was granted a penance with five shillings costs, being excused personal appearance in the court. The following year the apparitor openly offered a commutation at Broughton which led to the following complaint from the vicar to the registrar.

'Sir,

I receiv'd an Excommunication Order against Theophilus Stephenson dated 8th of June last. I deferr'd denouncing it 'til I acquainted You with the Young Man's Case. He told me he was ready to appear upon his Citation

<sup>1</sup> Apparitors Correspondence RD/CA/1. No. 15 Leeds City Library.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.*, Nos. 6, 7.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.*, No. 34.

<sup>4</sup> *ibid.*, No. 35.

<sup>5</sup> Visitation Book EDV/39 (1698) n.f. Chester Record Office.

<sup>6</sup> Comperta Book Ch.R. 1749 f.5, Preston Record Office.



But Wilkinson the late apparitor hinder'd him & for a Fee of Three half Crowns promis'd him an Exemption from the Court, or if a Penance Order was serv'd upon him, he promis'd (as appears by the inclosed Note under his own Hand) to indemnifie him. as the Case stands I hope your Worship will reverse the Excommunication and suffer That to take place Now which you wou'd or wou'd not have inflicted had He appear'd as He intended & not been put (off) by this the iniquitous dealing of the Apparitor. I shou'd be glad to have a Line from your Worship with Orders how to Act.

P.S. Eliz; Palmer was mentioned in  
the same Order  
Broughton Sept, 21 1750<sup>1</sup>

I am Sir  
your most humble  
and most obedient  
Servant  
John Cowper  
Minister of Broughton'

Occasionally the apparitor would report on anything of a suspicious nature that he found on his travels. In 1766, while at Marton cum Grafton, he sent in a report that the vicarage coal house and pig sty had been demolished, the stable had no doors and the garden wall was in a ruinous condition.<sup>2</sup> At Hudswell he reported Joseph Coates, the parish clerk, for 'opening the grave of Mary Jefferson within a year and a half after she was buried and removing the Corps about a yard from the Place where she was interred'.<sup>3</sup>

Complaints on the way in which many apparitors executed their office are many and varied. The earliest complaint in 1590 from Langton on Swale was one of illiteracy;

'John Wild apparitor who because he cannot read or write is unfit to exercise that office.'<sup>4</sup>

In 1677 Thomas Milward, rector of Dean, complained to the registrar about the careless manner in which the apparitor served a process.

'... I conceive it my duty to make some returns to the inclosed command & indeed I snatch this opportunity for it (having neither seen him that conveyed it to my house nor one to wait for it from me) saving my neighbouring Brother parson offers his services to supply the want of an Apparitor ...'<sup>5</sup>

It is evident that citations were not always served by the apparitor but entrusted by him to some person travelling to a particular parish. On these grounds we find the vicar of Grasmere complaining that the 'Apparitor sends citations and excommunications by the Common Carrier ...'<sup>6</sup> During the visitation of 1716 the vicar of Cockermouth, after complaining that the deputy Commissary was a nongraduate, continued his attack by writing that 'Our Apparitor executes his office by a Deputy', while the incumbent of Whicham complained that all the court officials were strangers and charged exorbitant fees.<sup>7</sup> That the apparitors kept accounts is confirmed by

<sup>1</sup> Comperta Book Ch.R. 1750 f.24, Preston Record Office.

<sup>2</sup> RD/CA/1. No. 25. Leeds City Library.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.* No. 26.

<sup>4</sup> Archbishop's Court Book R.VI.A 11 f.16 Borthwick Institute.

<sup>5</sup> Comperta Book ARR/15 (1677) f.66 Preston Record Office.

<sup>6</sup> Comperta Book EDV/39 (1698) n.f. Chester Record Office

<sup>7</sup> Comperta Book ARR/15 (1716) ff.1, 2 Preston Record Office.

the chance survival of an account book for 1791–1796 in which Wm. Bell and James Mayor recorded their income. During these years the greater part of their revenue came from probate business and witnessing the oaths of churchwardens. Selections from these accounts are given below.

*Accounts of William Bell*

1795	Oaths of 22 churchwardens in Lonsdale	14s–8d
	Oaths of 25 churchwardens in Kendal	16s–8d
	Oaths of 3 churchwardens at Ambleside	2s–0d
1797	Probate administration	£3 ; 3 ; 0d
	Notices	1 ; 11 ; 4d
	Delivering Briefs	2 ; 6d
	Heversham sequestration	2 ; 6d
	Sedbergh sequestration <sup>1</sup>	2 ; 6d

The churchwardens' oaths were witnessed at the visitation held during the year but, since Ambleside wardens neglected to attend, the apparitor had to attend personally at Ambleside. Briefs or official appeals for subscriptions towards the repair of churches destroyed by fire, or the relief of prisoners in Turkey, or persons suffering from plague were delivered by apparitors as part of their duties.

The life of an apparitor was no easy undertaking, for journeys to serve citations, on more than one occasion, to the same person were arduous and frustrating. The difficulty they experienced in getting offenders to appear in court can be illustrated by a reference to the case of Mary Gooder of Garsdale who needed four citations to get her to court, at Lancaster in 1738. To the first she replied that she had 'a sucking child', to the second citation she replied that 'she did not know the way to Lancaster'; the third time she went one better and claimed 'she was witless', and finally, that 'she had no relatives where she could find accommodation.'<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Apparitors' Account Book 1791–1796 Ch.D./R Preston Record Office.

<sup>2</sup> Western Deaneries Documents WD/B1/2 No. 13 Leeds City Library.



## AN UNAUTHENTICATED PRIOR OF PONTEFRACT

By SIR CHARLES CLAY

In a paper on the Early Priors of Pontefract contributed to volume xxxviii of the *Journal*, there was included (p. 461) a certain Reiner with the suggested date for his priorate of 1214–16. The sole authority for his inclusion was a short abstract in English, given in the printed edition of *Abstracts of the Chartularies of the Priory of Monkbretton*,<sup>1</sup> p. 224, from MS. Dodsworth clix, f. 36, being the record of a decree by R. abbot of Peterborough and R. dean of Lincoln, in accordance with a mandate of Pope Innocent [III], relating to the method of electing the priors of Monkbretton. It was supposed that the Dodsworth copy came from a lost folio of the Monkbretton Chartulary, now Lansdowne MS. 405. It now transpires that his copy was taken from charter no. lvij in the Pontefract Chartulary, now Add. MS. 50754 in the British Museum.

In Mr. Holmes's edition of the latter manuscript<sup>2</sup> he omitted charter no. lvij entirely, stating in his heading to no. lix that it did not belong to the original collection and was in an altogether later hand. That, however, is not so. It is in precisely the same hand as that of the preceding charter of archbishop Theobald, no. lvij and of the succeeding charter of archbishop Thurstan, no. lix; and it is an essential part of the original manuscript. After the initial address made by R. abbot of Peterborough and R. dean of Lincoln the papal mandate is given in full.<sup>3</sup> It was addressed to the bishop of Ely, the abbot of Peterborough and the dean of Lincoln, with no initials given, and is dated 12 April 1202. It contains the relevant clause

Constitutis in presentia nostra Rein' prioris et monachorum de Pontefracto et W. monachorum de Brettona procuratoribus . . . and it records certain arguments put forward both by the proctor of the monks of Bretton and the proctor of the monks of Pontefract. The entry in the Pontefract Chartulary then proceeds to give the decree by R. abbot of Peterborough and R. dean of Lincoln.

There is therefore no doubt that Reiner and W. were the proctors of their respective monasteries when the papal bull was issued; and there is no authority for the inclusion of Reiner's name in the list of the priors of Pontefract.

It will be noticed that as R[obert] did not become abbot of Peterborough before 1214 the verdict was not issued until several years later than the papal bull ordering it to be made.

<sup>1</sup> Y.A.S. *Record Series*, vol. lxvi (1924).

<sup>2</sup> Y.A.S. *Record Series*, vols. xxv and xxx (1899, 1902).

<sup>3</sup> The text is being printed by C. R. and M. G. Cheney in *Letters of Innocent III concerning England and Wales*. My thanks are due to Professor Cheney for drawing my attention to the mistake.

## THE TABLES OF THE YORK VICARS CHORAL

By CANON J. S. PURVIS

York Minster possesses two very unusual ancient records, indeed unique in England except for a single example from Glastonbury Abbey, although at one time such records were not uncommon in great Cathedrals. These records are known as 'The Tables of the Vicars Choral'. In the ancient Statutes of the Minster in 1294 there is an entry which orders the Succentor to take from Vicars Choral when they are admitted an oath that they will 'repeat their histories' on pain of possible expulsion. These 'histories' were a collection of chronicles of the world, of England and of the Minster, with copies of Grants and papal Bulls, which were written on Tables and hung up in the Minster for the study of the Vicars. The Tables are two large triptychs or folding boards of oak on which were fastened sheets of parchment. Little is known of their history, except that these which were made about 1390 cannot have been the first examples. There is evidence that they were hanging in the Minster in 1534, and soon after this their use may have been discontinued; after that they are not mentioned again until the mid-XIX Century, and then disappeared again until they were found about 1920 in the Minster coal cellars. They were then cleaned so drastically that much of the writing was scrubbed faint and blurred, and some became altogether illegible even by modern scientific methods. But the rarity and interest of the Tables is so great that a short account of them may be welcome.

The larger Table measures 56 ins. by 37½ ins. It has retained less of its original iron fittings, and suffered generally rather more heavily from the merciless scrubbing of its cleaning. Its contents are disposed as follows. On the left-hand panel, a series of extracts from chronicles, William of Malmesbury 'De regibus', Martinus 'De pontificibus,' Geoffrey of Monmouth 'De Gestis Britonum,' Alfred of Beverley the Treasurer; then extracts from papal Bulls barely legible and a long quotation from an indecipherable chronicle about the Liberties of the Church of York, and some early grants and privileges. Probably all these were derived from records formerly in the Library of the Minster, and some were obviously influenced by Bede. There is some repetition; several of the entries agree in recording the conversion of King Lucius, only son of King Coill, by Pope Eleutherius. In particular, Geoffrey of Monmouth gives the Eleutherius story; 'Martinus Poloni' gives a history of Eleutherius who received a letter from Lucius, King of Britain, asking to be made a Christian, and sent two religious men, Fagan and Damian, who baptised the King and his people. Martin then goes on with a version of the



Archflamens – Archbishops story, which is very similar to the account in Alfred of Beverley who quotes Gildas, and the general debt to Bede is evident throughout.

The whole central panel of the larger Table is occupied by a single text of great importance. This is in Latin verse, and can be dated fairly accurately as not earlier than 1388 or later than 1397. The particular interest of this chronicle is that it gives so much space to the early traditional history of the Minster, and that from internal evidence it was written at and for York, and used records then preserved in the Minster Library, many of which are recorded in surviving Library catalogues. Although this traditional history has been slighted sometimes as quite fantastic and unreliable, it might be preferable to reserve judgement before dismissing it, and even to admit a possibility that there is an underlying foundation of actual fact however mutilated in handling in course of time. The name of the compiler is not known. The total length of the chronicle is 512 lines; the Latinity is far from Virgilian, but reasonably good for its date, although the writer seems to be uncertain at times whether he is writing hexameters or elegiacs, and his metre and scansion are often quite barbarous. It shows considerable debt to the early chroniclers used elsewhere in the Tables. The Vicars Choral are nowhere mentioned specifically. Copies of this text exist in MS. Cotton Titus A.XIX and Cleopatra C.iv., but without indication of authorship, and the chronicle has been printed in Raine, *‘Historians of the Church of York, II, p.446.*

The poem begins with a *‘Prologus de origine et statu ecclesie Eboracensi,’* and may be translated thus. ‘The present Table displays the state of the Temple of York, the metropolis, the City and the Church. The metropolitical Temple has stood for 1200 years then given over to Archflamens. You may know from what follows the times, the laws, state, progress and beginning of the Church. It has never changed the honour, and it alone keeps this glory to this age. On these foundations it has stood for twelve hundred years, and Christ, the Virgin and Peter shall prolong its splendour. If you wish to join the times of Church and Temple you will number two thousand and five hundred years. These small matters I have written from many archives, and have fixed them thus publicly lest they remain hidden in concealment. Now, when these things have been described, lo, the Father and Primate the Fourth Thomas presides in the Cathedral (Thomas Arundel, Archbishop 1388–1397). That you may know the laws of the Church, the history is written more fully in the Table’.

Then follow 24 lines setting out the foundation of the City by Ebrauc, and the establishment of Archflamens from 1200 B.C.

‘In thinking on the famous Church of York, I set forth to all the first beginnings of the Mother Church. Once Britain was distinguished by three Archflamens, and in noble places, London, York, and the City of the Legions (Caerwent), which was then the metropolis of the Cambrians. These ruled eight and twenty Flamens, for with such a number the land then flourished. A little after the time of

Christ the famous Archpontiffs take over these Cities. Their remains are lost, they are shorn of their first honour, but York alone remains firm. In the year 156 King Lucius and his people believed in Christ. (Omit four lines describing Lucius). St. Fagan and his colleague Damian cleansed in the font the King with his people. The Temple having been cleansed, consecrated and repaired, a church is founded as a holy metropolis, a gleaming basilica is founded to the kindly Virgin, and a patriarchal seat is erected. They placed the Archpontiff in his seat, that he might be over the rest of the rulers of the people. So the Archbishop puts to flight the shade of the Archflamen, and takes the See, the law, the land and the place.' The next 28 lines describe the country of Albany, the help sent by Pope Eleutherius, and the wars of Angles, Jutes and Saxons and the resulting desolation. 'The Angles attack the Britons, spoil them, slaughter them; they burn the cities; the fields are depopulated. The Archbishop is slain, the See is made vacant; the clergy, the commons, the people go into exile, depart, are gone. The enemy overthrow the songs of Divine praise, the Offices cease, the Church is thrown down. Aurelius Aureus, the glory, praise and crown of the kingdom, raises the perils of the Clergy to better case. Aurelius sets up again the Church, the See, the metropolitical seat and the other pontiffs. He appointed St. Sampson as Metropolitan, a man illustrious for his merits, his manners and his faith. (Six lines in praise of Aurelius). He beat down the enemy, and calmed the citizens in peace, but succumbed to death; poison was the cause. The wars revive, worse dangers raise their head, while the impiety of the pagans prevails. A false and fleeting peace is lightly made; in a new sedition both peace and country perish. Soon the despoiled Archbishop St. Sampson left his See, the famous Metropolis.

The bold Arthurus, hard in the contest of war, strong and sure, is as a wall to his fellow-citizens. Source of wealth, avenger of wrongs, generous source of honours, the sceptre-bearing Arthurus restored all things. He restored happily the temples to God, the Clergy to the temples, and set Piramus over the metropolitan See. (13 lines describing the collapse of British rule after the death of Arthur). 'So disappeared the monarchy of the Britons. (8 lines giving the reasons for the fall of British rule.) In this disturbed state Tadiocus the arch-priest left the See of his Church and his country. This Tadiocus was the last of the Archpontiffs of the See of York out of the peoples of the Britons. He bore away the bodies of the Saints, and all the vessels of the holy rites and all other holy things remaining. The Britons driven out leave their name and country and were called Wallenses by a barbaric name.'

The story goes on with the mission of St. Gregory, and then the conversion of Northumbria by Edwin and Paulinus, with a reference to 'Cophy then Protoflamen of York' and his action in destroying heathen temples. Wilfrid follows, then Egbert 'to whom the pallium was restored,' and Athlestan with his gifts and privileges. After this, the fall of the English and the coronation of William the Conqueror by Archbishop Aldred of York. The line ends with Archbishop



Thomas I and with a long passage of charters relating to Scotland, beginning with the Bull of Calixtus making York the Metropolis of the Scots. This section is obviously derived generously from charters then existing in York Minster Library; these derivations may be identified from an 'Index cartarum ad Ecclesiam Ebor. olim spectancium' of the late XV Century still in the Dean and Chapter Library. A remark in the poem l.458 points to these, 'The written signs prove each of the foregoing (claims).' The Index contains copies of notes on Papal Bulls of Calixtus II, Innocent II, Pascal II, Eugenius and Alexander III, in support of the claims relating to Scotland, Man and Norway, and of 'Professions' by named Bishops of Glasgow, Whithorn (Candida Casa), St. Andrew's, the Orkneys, 'Archadia' and Dunkeld, with Durham and Carlisle as Suffragans of York.

This is perhaps the most interesting of all the chronicles used in the Tables, as composed in and for York and using York records. It does something to suggest where to look for the author or composer of the Tables. The dates agree well, and the free derivation from the early Minster archives has much significance. Unfortunately, the present state of illegibility of the Tables forbids any close comparison of texts; where a reference of entries in the Tables, even where abbreviated, to MS. or printed versions of other chronicles is possible, some useful comparisons may be made.

The right hand panel gives at the top a long series of extracts setting out the supremacy of the See of York over the Bishops of Scotland, including the Orkneys and the Isles. These corroborate the remarks made above about derivations from the early Minster archives, in which may be included the 'Magnum Registrum Album,' although the copies of Bulls entered in full here are post-Conquest in date. The same applies to the lower part of the panel, made up of copies of charters or grants by early Kings, beginning with the (probably forged) charter of Athelstan, followed by grants of Edwy, Edgar and perhaps Knut; the last three are almost entirely illegible, but the connection with the Index Cartarum is evident. Generally, later tests of these charters surviving in the Minster show that the texts given in the Tables are much abbreviated.

The smaller Table measures  $45\frac{1}{2}$  ins.  $\times$   $33\frac{1}{2}$  ins. This triptych has retained its original iron loop for suspension and two contemporary iron butterfly nuts for closing the panels. The left-hand panel contains a history of England, where the events are given in curiously bad sequence. Early entries relate to St. John of Beverley, St. Dunstan, St. Edward Confessor, St. William of York, and St. Hugh of Lincoln, and lead to a reference to the death in 740 of Cadwalader the last King of the Britons. The next entry is 'In the year of Our Lord 900 Alfred began to reign,' after that is 'A.D.924 Adelstanus began to reign who was the first monarch of England and endowed the English Churches and restored peace in the land.' This is followed immediately, after King Edgar, by Richard I's conquest of Cyprus and Acre; next come Edward I, II, and III and the Black Prince who is named Edward IV, with his conquests in France and



Spain. There is then a sudden change back to Harold's Battle of Stamford Bridge, which evidently introduces a new section on battles, although there is no sign of any change of subject; almost the whole of the lower panel is filled with a series of battles and 'discomfitures,' all dated. The first is the Battle of the Standard ('Allerton Moor'), then the Battle of Alnewyk and the capture of the Scottish King. Next appears a long and rather confused account relating to the King and the rebellion of the Barons 'on account of the laws and statutes which Edward the Confessor made,' including references to the Battles of Lewes and Evesham, 'where Simon Montfort was killed and many other great ones. And it is said that for the same cause afterwards the Lord Thomas de Lancastria was killed A.D.1312.' Then the Battle of Fawkyrk and defeat of William Walays, the 'discomfitures' of Dunbar and Strivelyne; Bannockburn where 'more than 20,000 English were slain by the betrayal of their own men'; the Discomfitures of Myton and of Byland, the Battles of Gladmore, Halydonhil, on the Sea against the French (presumably Sluys), Cressy, Dunelie, Poyters, and the Battle in Spain where Peter the Bastard and his army were destroyed.

This panel ends with another unannounced change of subject for 15 lines, including at least three matters almost impossible to read satisfactorily. The first appears to relate to Havilok the Dane and a daughter and heiress of the King of Northfolk and apparently an occupation of Norfolk and Suffolk until the time of Alfred or Edgar 'who drove them all from the land'. The second subject no less illegible mentions the Emperor Charlemagne but seems to be concerned mainly with a reform of the English coinage by Henry III. The next four lines refer to 'mortalities' in England and their dates (illegible) of duration; the last three lines are on rebuildings of the Minster, 'opus corporis' and 'opus chori', where the names of William de Melton and John Thoresby can be deciphered.

The central panel of this smaller Table contains two columns of text. That on the left, which appears on the whole fairly legible is actually rather too badly rubbed to be transcribed with any certainty; it seems to contain large sections of Geoffrey of Monmouth's 'History of the Britons,' but with variations and omissions. The column on the right is even more defaced, and in places badly stained; the text here is arranged in short dated paragraphs of which it has not been possible yet to identify the source. It may possibly be based in part on Bede, or on MSS. in the Minster Library. It is possible to decipher sufficient to show that from a little below the middle downwards the material deals with the history of England. There is a paragraph relating the arrival of Paulinus three years after the marriage of Edwin, King of the Northumbrians in 627, the subsequent slaying of Edwin by the pagans and the flight of Paulinus, the destruction of the Church of York and a year later the coronation of Oswald and the restoration of the Church; 'et postea docuit(*sic*) est fidem(*sic*) per beatum Aydanum de Scotia huc adductum cui Lindisfarnensi insula dedit sedem episcopalem. Et sic Ebor ecclesia xxx annis remansit vidueta pastore usque ad tempus Ceade qui rexit eam tribus annis et



postea cessit beato Wilfrido.' The following paragraph begins with the killing of Oswald in 642 and the succession of Oswin, and the establishment in 635 of the See of Lichfield by St. Aydan, after which nothing can be made out with any certainty. There is apparently a reference to the establishment by Bishop Aldred (?) of a college of secular Canons at some place indecipherable where in 1086 William (?) Bishop of that place deposed the Canons on account of their insolences and brought monks from Weremowth and from Crowe (?) and put them in place of the Canons. This is followed by what seems to be a reference to a founding of Regular Canons at Carlisle, and then a notice quite illegible of Archbishop Thurstan of York. Ten paragraphs hopelessly defaced come next, part of them possibly containing a reference to the Crusades ('hospitalariis' occurs in one line), under which come the only reasonably legible lines in the whole column, which record the establishment of the Friars Preacher in England in 1224, and after them the Carmelites. Then follows the remarkable mutilated passage of which the surviving words are: 'Anno domini MCCX tempore regis Johannis . . . . -tavit . . . . et graviter eos decepit . . . . (An)gliam et incarcerati et tandem de terra e- . . . . Et eodem anno vel tempore . . . . -as factas per regem ecclesie Angl- . . . .' The mutilation of this passage, which evidently included references to King John's quarrels with his barons and submission to the Pope, can be dated exactly to the first few days of June 1534, when Sir George Lawson walking in the Minster with John Leland 'erased' the passage as offensive. (S.P. Hen. VIII 1/88, f.161.).

Of the remainder of this column nothing can be read with certainty; there are references to the killing of St. Edmund, King of Norfolk, to St. Edward, King of England, and St. Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury. The whole passage ends with: 'Ceadda post pauca tempora . . . obiit plenus (? egritudinis) et apud Lechefeld est sepultus.'

The right hand panel of the triptych contains a history of the world from the Creation. Most of this has suffered grievously from the usual scrubbing out of the text, but parts may be interpreted with some confidence. The first legible date is the Year of the World 15, the birth of Caym; the sacrifice of Abel is apparently given as the Year 30. Then in the year of the world 130, the birth of Seth, with a blurred reference to 'according to the Hebrews and the text and according to the Septuagint and . . . Josephus and the Master of Histories.' The Translation of Enoch follows, with a note of Helyas the Prophet; next comes the General Flood apparently in A.M.656, and the Building of the Tower of Babel in Year 101 after the Flood. The next ten lines are badly defaced, but it can be seen that the beginning refers to the region of Babilon and the last few lines refer to Abraham the Patriarch and the institution of the Law of Circumcision, who since Christ was related to him is called the Father of Believers. In 881 after the Flood 'here ends the third age of the world as it seems to me, although it is reckoned otherwise by the elders. And at the same time afterwards the Lord overthrew Sodom and

Gomorrah and all the region round about on account of their luxury, and made that land uninhabitable . . . and since then there is there that swamp which is called the Dead Sea because it allows nothing to remain in itself according to Josephus and the Master of Histories.' This is followed by the Plagues of Egypt in the year after the Flood 989, the destruction of Pharaoh and his army in the Red Sea and the giving of the Ten Commandments. 'The Lord afflicted the Egyptians on account of the people of the Hebrews whom they were unwilling to let go from them, leading them free out of the midst of them by many marvels and through the Red Sea, in which He drowned Pharaoh's army and himself following the people of the Lord. And in the same year about the fourth month the law of the Decalogue was given to Moses by the angel of the Lord in Mount Synay. And here ends the fourth age of the world as it seems to me although by others it is reckoned otherwise. And after this the people was ruled by secular judges for fifty years and more up to the time of the Priest Hely. In the year after the Flood 1553 began the kingdom of the Jews . . . under Saul their first King and lasted for 478 years until the transmigration under the Babilonians when the Temple was destroyed and the King and the people led to Babilon. But after the space of 116 years the Temple was rebuilt by . . . the Priest, and then the people was governed by Priest Judges as by the Machabees and others up to Christ.'

The Incarnation of Christ is given as in the year of the world 4268, which was the year of the Flood . . . (?) 'if we do not err,' and this is followed by a very patchy and uncertain passage in which there are references to lunar and solar Cycles and to various letters, and entries about the Baptism of Christ 31 years 'after this,' and the Passion 33 years after. 'And this ends the fifth age of the world. The sixth age shall end . . . because thenceforth there shall be as it were the Sabbath of this world (?and) of the kings of the Church of Christ and the faithful from the attacks of the unfaithful because henceforth there shall be one fold only and one shepherd and all (shall) believe in Christ as . . . The seventh age of the world shall end at the end of the world on the day of the Last Judgement when there shall be the general Resurrection to another life as in the eighth age which shall endure for ever.'

The panel ends with a final passage which becomes progressively more uncertain and difficult to decipher, describing other versions of the Ages of the World. 'Almost all others lay down six ages only and say that the second ends at the rise of the Patriarch Abraham, the third at the beginning of the reign of King David, the fourth at the removal to Babilon, the fifth with Christ and the sixth at the Last Judgement . . . Since the world was made in seven days it is fitting that it should be consumed in seven ages.' The rest is hopelessly confused.

At the foot of the panel are four lines of very much smaller script almost entirely illegible. In the first line 'and by fealty of William the



conqueror' can be deciphered, and 'the king of Scotland' in the third, and really nothing else.

### Dimensions

#### Larger Table.

Overall height	..	..	..	56 in.	143.5 cm.
Width: centre panel	..	..	..	33½ in.	85 cm.
sides	..	..	..	16¾ in.	42.5 cm.
Total open	..	..	..	67 in.	170 cm.
Parchment surfaces: height	..	..	..	37½ in.	94 cm.
Width: centre	..	..	..	29 in.	73.5 cm.
sides	..	..	..	13 in.	35 cm.

#### Smaller Table.

Overall height	..	..	..	45½ in.	115 cm.
Width: centre	..	..	..	27½ in.	70.5 cm.
sides	..	..	..	13¾ in.	34.8 cm.
Parchment surfaces: height	..	..	..	33½ in.	65 cm.
Width: centre	..	..	..	2 × (10¼ in.	26 cm.)
sides	..	..	..	9¾ in.	24.7 cm.

## REVIEW

*Early Yorkshire Charters*, vol. XII: *The Tison Fee*, edited by Sir Charles Travis Clay (Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series, Extra Series vol. X, 1965).

Two years ago when the volume of *Early Yorkshire Charters* relating to the Percy Fee appeared, it was announced that no further volumes in the series under the same editorship were contemplated. Fortunately, this anticipation has proved false, and there is now published by the Yorkshire Archaeological Society yet another instalment of these documents under the expert care of Sir Charles Clay. The present volume contains the text of 120 deeds. A large proportion of these come from the period 1180–1220 but there are several important charters of the earlier half of the twelfth century, and one exceptional and fascinating text from the reign of William Rufus. Seven of these deeds survive in the form of original charters, and five of these are here reproduced in admirable collotype plates. This is in fact a sumptuous production, and for the rest it need only be added that this volume is characterised by the same high standards of scholarship as distinguished its predecessors. The texts have been established, it would seem, with impeccable accuracy; the commentary, though austere and restricted, commands confidence; and the indexes are models of their kind.

There is little doubt that the Yorkshire family of Tison came from Normandy, but its particular place of origin cannot be determined, and it is probable that the name itself denoted some personal characteristic and not a locality. Sir Charles is probably correct in supporting Farrer in the belief that there is no connexion between Tison and Tesson, but a more robust scepticism may be entertained respecting the story that Gilbert Tison the Yorkshire tenant-in-chief in 1086 had served as standard bearer at Hastings in 1066. Such an assertion, typical of so many others of the same character, derives, as Sir Charles shows, from a deed which is 'an obvious fabrication'. Indeed, since Gilbert may well have survived until 1124, or even later, there is some probability that he did not come to England until later in the Conqueror's English reign, and, although the evidence is very slight, he may even have had a pre-Domesday predecessor, as a tenant-in-chief, of the name of William Tison.

It is, however, with the lands held by Gilbert Tison in 1086, most of which soon passed into the honour of Mowbray, that this volume is concerned, and their descent is traced in detail by the editor. His texts, moreover, illustrate the history not only of the Tisons themselves, but also of other notable Yorkshire families such as Salvain of Thorpe Salvin, Salvain of Thorpe-le-Street, and Constable of Flamborough. Nor is their interest to be circumscribed by the bounds of local and family history, for these charters, so meticulously edited, will undoubtedly in due course be made to illustrate



many general features of the feudal structure of mediaeval England. It is therefore with a feeling of gratitude that one restores this book to its companions on the appropriate shelf. The ten stout volumes which Sir Charles Clay has contributed to *Early Yorkshire Charters* have placed all English mediaevalists in his debt, and they represent an achievement of which any scholar might be proud.

DAVID DOUGLAS

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